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MAPPING SILENT NARRATIONS:

Racism and multiculturalism in a Melbourne school

1988 – 1998

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This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or any other educational institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signed: [redacted]

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Abstract

Over the past decades Australian society has been transformed by changed immigration patterns. Schools in large cities such as Melbourne have been irretrievably altered by changed demographic trends. In this dissertation, I examine the ways that teachers and parents in one Melbourne secondary school speak about race and ethnic relations in the midst of these changes. I found that race and ethnic relations were seldom, and only reluctantly, broached. Yet, and at the same time, notions of ethnic and race relations remained as the central background to the discussion, approached indirectly through discussions about policies and programs of multiculturalism.

In analysing these conversations about multiculturalism, it is possible to describe the categories, conditions and logics of race and ethnic difference and the terms and conditions that shape the ways such groups can belong within the school and within the school community. This thesis argues that the logic of these terms and conditions derives from deep-seated notions about the relation between self and other, and the ways in which those who are one-of-us can define their identity though the definition of that which they are not. These logics remain in place even as in an increasingly globalised and post-modern world people negotiate between raced and ethnic identities in ways that seem increasingly unconstrained and fluid.

The multi-layered complexity of these relations are examined from the different analytic viewpoints of individual practice, fields of debate and normalised ways of knowing and being in the world. At one level, teachers and parents tell a multiplicity of stories about the different ways they negotiate ethnic identity. At another level they negotiate the conceptual and material domain that allows them to deal with identity relations. At a third level, these stories take their logic from taken-for-granted and deep-seated conceptions about the ways that identity and otherness is lived.

Examining the relationship between these three different analytical vantage points allows the process of speaking and not speaking about ethnic and race relations to be delineated more clearly. I found that while, at one level, individual negotiations between identities become confused and frightening, considerations of ethnic relations remains underpinned by taken-for-granted understandings of the ways people belong, and do not belong. The other person remains the focus of conversations about race and ethnic relations, even as he or she remains not quite known and out of reach. I argue that the conceptual and material domain of 'multiculturalism' becomes the rhetorical field of the thing to be discussed, even as that of 'racism' becomes the field, which is difficult to discuss or cannot be discussed at all.

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Introduction:

Speaking of race and ethnic relations

> Just as the formation of the nation necessitated coded language and purposeful restriction to deal with the racial disingenuousness and moral frailty at its heart, so too did the literature, whose founding characteristics extend into the twentieth century, reproduce the necessity for codes and restriction. Through significant and underscored omissions, startling contradictions, heavily nuanced conflicts, through the way writers peopled their work with the signs and bodies of this presence – one can see that a real or fabricated Africanist presence was crucial to their sense of Americaness. And it shows. (Toni Morrison, *Playing in the dark*, 1992)

In her text, *Playing in the dark*, Toni Morrison examines the ways that race and ethnicity are spoken about within American literatures. She argues that the 'signs and bodies' of an 'Africanist presence' shape narratives about American identity. The raced and ethnic presence of the African is a 'coded' and 'restricted' narrative, omitted from day-to-day conversations and spoken of in coded languages and euphemistic forms. The discussion of the African American person is fearfully avoided and yet significant in omission. The African is the focus of attention, and yet remains someone who is difficult to speak directly about. He or she remains a contradictory presence, both someone outside of a 'sense of American presence' and crucial to it.

Toni Morrison's examines the ways race and ethnic relations are spoken about within an American context. Her argument is that some people are able to define the terms and conditions of belonging within a community and that they do this through the conception and the embodiment of those people who do not belong. Her writing brings to mind two narratives so often defined as 'silent' in post-colonial theory, cultural studies and

writings on whiteness.[1] Here, the person of the community defines him or herself through the presence of others. As such, they find it difficult to speak about themselves in other ways. The other, the person outside of the community, becomes understood only through the descriptions that delineate his or her difference; so spoken for that he or she is left with no place from which to speak independently.

Here, I examine the ways that race and ethnic relations are spoken about within an Australian context. By the 1980s, the push to expand Australia's population base and the final dismantling of the White Australia Policy meant that the essentially Anglo-Celtic composition of Australia's population was transformed. The 1976 census figures showed that 20 percent of Australia's population had been born overseas, most of them in Europe.[2] By 1986, the numbers of immigrants who had arrived from countries other than Europe (the Middle East, Asia, Africa) increased. Although the numbers of these migrants remained as less than 5 percent of Australia's total migrant intake, larger cities such as Melbourne became increasingly cosmopolitan. The end of the 1990s saw a second change in Australian population patterns as globalising trends altered the ways that populations move within and between countries. By the end of the twentieth century there were few Melbourne schools whose school population had not been irretrievably changed.[3]

I examine the way that teachers and parents at one particular Melbourne state secondary school speak about race and ethnic relations in 1988 and again in 1998, in the midst of these changes. My analysis begins with my observation that Australian school

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[1] I develop my discussion of post-colonial literature through a large number of quite different writings including those by Fanon (1986; 1990), Said (1991), Spivak (1995), Bhabha (1994), Morrison (1992), Chow (1993; 1996), Brah (1996; 2000), Young (1995), Ghandi (1998), and Ashcroft (2001). My Discussion of cultural studies emerges particularly from the work of Hall (1997b; 1997c), Grossberg (1996b; 1997) and Giroux (1994; 1997). My develoonment of the concept whiteness emerged through the several writings of, for instance, Frankenberg (1993; 1997), Dwyer (1997), Fine (1997), hooks (1997),and Bonnett (2000). Recent writing by Hall (1992; 1993a; 1996b; 1996c; 1997a; 1997b; 1997c), Chow (1993; 1998) Brah (1996; 2000). Brah et al (1999) and Mirzoeva (1999), to mention a few, trace out the terms and conditions of this logic. Writings by Hage (1998), Papastergiadis (1998; 2000) and Ashcroft (2001) consider the ways that these concepts have been played out within contemporary Australian society.

[2] The story of Australia's migration is an oft-repeated trope. See, for instance, Government documents such as Cigler and Cigler (1985) and Jupp (1996).

[3] There is little work written about the way that Melbourne schools have been changed by globalising trends. For material about globalism and Australian educational institutions see, for instance, Rizvi and

representatives are often reluctant to speak about race and ethnic relations and that these conversations commonly take place as discussions about programs and policies of multiculturalism. Conversations about racism seldom take place and are often only reluctantly broached. However, notions of race and ethnic difference remain as central concepts within the discussion. The terms and conditions of these conversations are predicated on deep-seated and taken-for-granted notions that define the condition of who-we-are through those who-we-are-not. I argue that these notions become more difficult to speak about because they require that people consider the place of an-other who cannot be quite known but who nevertheless defines the edges of their self-identity. This becomes difficult to do as the boundaries between identities, and between self and other, become more difficult to define. Multiculturalism, because it is fundamentally concerned with the interchangeability and malleability of ethnic and raced identities, defines the field of that which can be spoken about. Racism, as it broaches the material, as well as the conceptual conditions under which unequally empowered entities come to embody these relations, represents the field which is both the centre of the conversation and that which is difficult, almost impossible, to speak about.

This chapter has four sections. The first section, 'The field of the research', describes the background of the research and the development of the research project. The second section, 'The terms of the research', describes the research project and sets out the themes and fields of the research. The third section, 'This whispering' in our hearts', broaches the difficulties I faced as researcher as I too was implicated within the 'silent narrations' I 'mapped'. The final section, 'Speaking of race and ethnic relations', sets out the structure of my thesis.

The field of the research

> The sun shone brightly on the housing commission flats across the oval and then, more tiredly, lit up the rows of tangled haired children wriggling quietly in their low, wooden desks. The teacher's voice cut across our noisy-silence.
> "Hands up anyone who was born overseas"
> Hesitantly I put up my hand.
> I was the only one. (Adapted from Arber, 1993b, p.9)

Walsh (1998), Taylor et al (1997) and Galligan et al (2001).

My thesis question emerged from the changes I witnessed as a teacher and a student within Melbourne schools My memories were that of a lone Jewish student with olive skin and dark hair, sitting in the midst of an almost exclusively Anglo-Australian student population in the early 'sixties'. By the time I returned as a teacher in a western suburbs state-secondary school, dark hair and olive skin were no longer strange. My students came from Greece and Italy. Their parents, shifted from their rural villages to the assembly lines of nearby factories, determined that their children should have the education once denied to them. Ten years later, I returned to teach at the same school. The children of migrants who arrived a decade before sat alongside students who recently arrived from an array of countries: Yugoslavia, Poland, Portugal, Philippines, Syria, Palestine, China, and Vietnam. The school was also markedly changed. Amalgamated with the nearby technical school, we now taught a miscellany of subjects – physics, chemistry and English literature – but also motor mechanics, carpentry, graphics arts, health sciences and hospitality. The career aspirations of my students were also changed. They no longer necessarily envisioned university but a bewildering number of possibilities: 'TAFE', apprenticeships, 'VET'. As I began to write my dissertation, I found that the school in which I teach, had changed again. Students fight to sit at the computers placed within the recesses of my classroom. We have a sister school in China and we make arrangements for our students to confer over the Internet. Many of my students have shifted to Australia through many places: Vietnam via Indonesia, Yugoslavia via Germany, the Pacific Islands via New Zealand, Belgium via France, England and America, Somalia via Kenya and South Africa.

My experiences in a Melbourne school are reflective of the vast demographic change that has taken place within contemporary Australian society. Over the last decades Australian society has been transformed by changed immigration patterns. After World War II the numbers of immigrants encouraged to Australia first increased and then broadened. Migrants from Northern Europe, then Southern Europe and the Middle East joined the mostly British migrants enticed to Australia since its federation in 1901. It was only in 1972 and with the final dismantling of the White Australia Policy that migration was also encouraged from African, Asian and Pacific countries. The objective of migration to Australia also changed. After World War II, the principle of 'populate

and perish' and the need to provide a labour force for Australian manufacturing and agricultural industries provided the rationale for increased migration.[4] This changed as successive governments encouraged the immigration of wealthier and more educated 'business migrants'.[5] The notion that Australia had a legal and moral imperative to provide for 'refugees' remained an important principle for assessing appropriate migrants; even as it provided a focus for those people concerned by the increased size and diversity of Australia's population.[6] Most recently, researchers have remarked on the effect of globalising trends on the ways that people settle within and travel between countries. Whilst arguing that post-settler Australia has always been a globalised nation, a recent book *Australians and globalisation* examines the 'opportunities' and 'challenges' (p.11) of modern globalising trends on the way in which:

> Australian citizenship and government with its layering of multiple affiliations and spheres of national and sub-national politics are appropriate for a modern global nation. Such a system allows flexibility and multiple adjustments to be negotiated in ways that can deal with complexity while accommodating diversity.[7] (Galligan et al, 2001, p. 190)

Melbourne schools have been particularly changed by these trends. In 1988, the White Australia Policy had been dismantled for little more than a decade. As well as the European migrants coming to Australia since World War II, Melbourne schools now received students from a large number of countries, particularly in South-East Asia, South America and the Middle East. In 1998, Melbourne schools received students from an expanded number of source countries: Africa, the Pacific Islands and Southern Asia, as well as from Asia, Europe, the Middle East and South America. By this time, altered technologies of travel and communication and information, and methods of finance and administration, changed the ways that movements of peoples between countries – its motivations and its consequences – could be understood. The numbers of students who had moved between countries before coming to Australia, and the increasing number of international students entering Australia temporarily, are only two examples of these trends.

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[4] See, for instance, Castles et al (1988), Collins (1988) and Foster (1988).
[5] See, for instance, Marginson (1997) and Taylor et al (1997).
[6] See, for instance, Mares (2001) and Markus (2001).
[7] A few texts discuss the effect of globalising trends on Australia's demographic patterns. See, for example, Galligan et al (2001), Ashcroft (2001), Tomlinson (1999) and Taylor et al (1997).

In 1988, I began a project to understand how ethnic and race relations are spoken about in the midst of such demographic change. Basing my approach on the principles of 'naturalistic inquiry'[8] and of 'grounded theory'[9]; I interviewed nearly 30 teachers and parents in one Melbourne school. These discussions described the multiplicity of day-to-day experiences that face a community caught in rapidly changing times: the parent reminiscing about the loss of his rural neighbourhood, the migrant remembering his home country, the teacher faced with changed class cultures, the principal instigating a new school program. The focus of the discussion was the multiple and often disjunctive constructions of reality made by experiencing, changing, unitary persons as they made sense of their world in ways which are considered and rational but are nevertheless unpredictable. Together they made up the 'multiple voices' and 'multiple discourses' that people provide as they speak within a particular instance of time and place. My job as conductor of the research was to find the means by which these could be placed together.[10]

As my research continued, I became concerned that this method of research could not adequately explain the ways that race and ethnic relations were spoken about within the school. In particular, I was troubled by three observations. First, when I asked the question 'how are ethnic and race relations spoken about in schools?' I found that teachers and parents seldom spoke explicitly about those relations at all. Second, when I asked the question 'How do ethnic relations take place in schools?' I found that teachers and parents usually spoke about concepts of multiculturalism and the effectiveness of multicultural policies and programs. Conversations about racism, and the way raced and ethnic relations were conceptualised and embodied within the school, were seldom and often only reluctantly broached. Third, when discussing people's experiences with ethnic relations and when considering matters of multiculturalism and racism, I found that, despite their reluctance to speak about it, people did rely on deeply held notions about 'who they are' and 'who we are' and the relation between these notions.

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[8] See, particularly, the work of Lincoln and Guba (1985), Guba and Lincoln (1999), Denzin (1989) and Denzin and Lincoln (1998).
[9] See particularly the work of Strauss (1987), Strauss and Corbin (1998).
[10] For a description of this kind of approach see Denzin (1989), Denzin and Lincoln (1998), Guba and Lincoln (1989; 1999) and Lincoln and Guba (1985). For a criticism of this approach see Crotty (1998).

In 1998, I instituted a second study to examine the ways that teachers and parents spoke about race and ethnic relations within the same Melbourne state secondary school. In order to maintain the consistency of the research I continued to use the same naturalistic methods and procedures that underpinned my research a decade earlier. This time however, I sought to understand these conversations by exploring the taken-for-granted and unequally empowered conditions that writings about post-colonialism, cultural studies, and whiteness suggest underpin contemporary western societies. They argue that research that examines conversations about race and ethnic relations must account for the deeply held and taken-for-granted notions that define ways people do not belong within communities. Researchers should examine two almost silent narrations.[11] The first is the silence of the person who is textualised as not-one-of-us and who is therefore other in this way. Such people are left with no position from which to speak. The second is the person who understands himself through others in this way. Such people understand themselves through others and have no need to speak of themselves.

Nevertheless, for many weeks, perhaps months, I stared at the piles of data that documented my conversations with teachers and parents. I worked endlessly with material about contradictory, negotiated debates about multiculturalism. I found very few conversations about racism and those I did find, were often contested or described in euphemistic terms. The conversations I had with teachers and parents were concerned with normalised ways of understanding identities and difference but I could not understand how these different observations related to each other. In order to write my thesis, I had to rethink the ways that research about race and ethnic relations might take place. This rethinking had three themes. In the first, I needed to find a way to bring together the different viewpoints provided by the literatures that informed my research. The epistemological fields of these writings are inconsistent with each other and often inconsistent within themselves. 'Naturalistic research' inquiry examines the individual stories that people tell about their day-to-day practice and experiences. It is limited to the extent that it fails to consider the relation of these stories to each other or to their socio-historical contextual positioning. Writings about post-colonialism, whiteness and

[11] See the work of hooks (1995), Lather (1991) and Morrison (1992).

cultural studies pertain to the taken-for-granted ways of knowing and being in the world that frame these relations. They do not always spell out how these frames can be understood in relation to the discussions of individual practice and experience or as contingent conceptual or historic domains of expression. The problem was to provide a methodological frame that could work from each of these three vantage points: individual experience and practice; the interconnectedness of those experiences and practices within a particular field or practical domain; and the normalised ways of knowing and being in the world which both frame and are framed by those individual experiences and practices.

Second, I needed to define a methodology that could allow me to describe the noisy discussions that speak about race and ethnic relations, but also to examine conversations about these relations that are contradictory, that speak of these relations in other ways, or that do not speak directly about them at all. By the end of the research I collected large amounts of material about the ideas and the policies and programs of multiculturalism. People seldom and only reluctantly spoke about racism, or about the material and conceptual conditions that underpinned race and ethnic relations at the school. Teachers and parents spoke about their experiences as they negotiate ethnic and race relations often without directly alluding to those relations. My respondents negotiated ways of dealing with different groups of people in contradictory ways without making explicit the relation that provided the conditions and terms of the debate. Their conversations were profoundly concerned with conceptions of identity, belonging and not belonging, and yet these crucial constructs were only reluctantly broached, coded in euphemisms or avoided altogether. An underlying task, and the second theme for this thesis, is not only to analyse what is being said about these relations from each of these different analytical vantage points, but also to explore that which is not spoken about, spoken about reluctantly, or spoken about in other ways.

Third, I needed a methodology, which could examine how these relations, as they are understood as individual experience, a debated conceptual and material domain and the normalised ways of being within the world, change. Teachers and parents spoke about their seemingly random day-to-day experiences and practices, which took place

differently in 1988 than they did in 1998. They negotiated these experiences and practices even as the everyday world in which they worked and lived seemed altered by demographic change. Moreover, in an increasingly globalised and post-modern world, these stories of the everyday and the policies and practices negotiated to deal with them, were made and struggled over, even as the most essential and taken-for-granted of notions – time and space and identity – seemed fluid and changed. Recent literatures of globalisation, transformation and hybridity examine the transformations, which emerge as changed globalising processes – communications, technologies, capital labour markets and trade, the productions of goods and services and the mass movement of people and services – change everyday practice and the ability of national states to structure the materialities of the day-to-day.[12] The contemporary transcendence of the relations between individuals, the nation-state and the international world has put pressure on the traditional ways these entities are understood. Albert Paolini (1997) explores the paradoxical ambit of these literatures as they 'theorise the nature and possibilities of the global process along normative and even utopian lines' and:

> Celebrate the possibilities unleashed by globalisation along less utopian lines and instead point to hybridity, multiple identities and indeterminacy as a condition of living in the late modern age. (Albert Paolini, 1997, p.35)

His argument is that the changes brought about by globalising trends are not about individual experiences of change, or about debates that define 'the possibilities unleashed by globalisation'. They have also altered the way the terms and conditions of the discussion are commonly understood. In this dissertation, I look at the ways in which teachers and parents speak about ethnic and race relations at a time when the definition

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[12] As I point out in Chapter Two, literatures of globalisation cover a number of different literatures. I am particularly drawn to discussions by (Bauman, 1990; 1997a; 1997b; 1998; 1999; 2001) and his vivid analysis of the paradoxical tension that exists between the fluid definitions that define identities in post-modern times and the reassertions of positionality that underpin contemporary processes of globalisation. I also find important: literatures which trace the relation between the commodification, culture and globalisation (see, for example, Jamison (1998), Featherstone (1995)), the relation between globalisation and the transformation of concept and imagination (see, for example, Appadurai (1996), McCarthy (1998)) and the ways in which the most taken-for-granted of boundaries between identities and machines (Haraway, 1991), identities and their genetic portraits (Haraway, 2000) and space and time (Virilio, 1993) become confused, conflated and differently used. I find interesting the work of Giddens (1999; 1990) and Beck (2000) who consider the notion of risk as the sense of the present becomes deferred to the future and also confused. Paolini (1997) and Ashcroft (2001) who are discussed here, importantly although in quite different ways, take the understandings that emerge within these literatures and relate them to the literatures of identity and hybridity. The articulation of the relation between identities as they change within an increasing globalised world makes up a central focus of my methodology chapter.

of the most basic notions – time, space and identity – seem changed, negotiated and to fall apart.

The terms of the research

A recent document published by the Victorian Department of Education (2001), *Guidelines for managing cultural and linguistic diversity in schools,* defines 'race' and 'ethnicity' in the following terms:

> The term 'race' is taken to include a person's colour, descent, ancestry, nationality, ethnicity and ethnic or national origin. It is often closely connected to visible or tangible cultural differences such as spoken language, skin colour, hairstyle, body language or clothing. It can also include intangible differences such as behaviour, eating habits, mannerisms and other characteristics that belong to, or are imputed to, a person of a particular race.
>
> The test is not biological, but rather is a socio-cultural construct. It relates to whether the relevant individuals or group regard themselves and are regarded by others in the community as having a particular racial or ethnic identity. (Victorian Department of Education, 2001, p.3)

The document argues that notions of 'race', 'ethnicity' and 'culture' are 'not biological' but rather 'a socio-cultural construct'. The central argument is that 'cultural differences', as well as phenomenological differences such as colour, can be understood as precursors to 'having a particular racial or ethnic identity'. The document makes three points about this definition. First, the document argues that 'race' and 'ethnicity' are not primordial and essential notions, which make some individuals different from others, but are rather social representations, which at a particular historical point of time, have come to define some people differently to others. Second, the text suggests that individuals share a common humanity. The addition of different and constructed, 'raced' identities add characteristics that make that person representative of a 'particular racial or ethnic identity'. Third, the document suggests that a miscellany of attributes – colour, descent, ancestry, nationality, ethnicity, but also languages, skin colour and eating habits – can form the basis of such social constructions.

Stuart Hall (1996c), speaking of this way of defining 'race' and 'ethnicity' within recent British documents examines the social constructedness of these terms.[13] He is concerned

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[13] I particularly like Hall's (1991; 1996b; 1996c; 1997b; 1997c) analysis as he articulates both the embeddedness of the politics of race and the disjunctive condition of these debates, as they are contingent

that the contingent, and negotiated definitions these terms take on within the political debate, often hides the knowledge that these constructions are tied to real positioning that have material consequences. Moreover, the conflation between the terms 'ethnic' and 'raced' underpins a shift within the politics of race. Earlier definitions of 'race' described an-other person made essentially dissimilar by seemingly primordial, biologically differentiated traits. Ethnicity, which is often defined as socio-historic and cultural difference, was often used to define differences that appeared as equally elemental and unchangeable. The politics of race, when viewed through the logic of these definitions, seemed as being fought between dualistic, incompatibly differentiated and unequally empowered forces. Hall posits that recently these politics seem to have changed. Definitions of 'race' and 'ethnicity' have become conflated. Their definition appears as contingent, disjunctive, fluid and often as chosen. Hall's point is that these changes do not necessarily mean that politics of race have disappeared but rather that they have changed. These politics are no longer about changing 'the relations of representation' but about changing 'the politics of representation itself'.

The examination of the ways that 'race' and 'ethnicity' are represented within a contemporary Australian context is an important focus of this thesis. In fact it is very difficult to find Australian federal or Victorian documents, written within the last decades that define the notions 'race' and 'ethnicity'. The Australian *Racial Discrimination Act* of 1975 explains that:

> It is unlawful for a person to do any act involving distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin. (Department, Attorney General, Reprinted as at 31 October 1995, p.6)

But the difference between these terms is not defined. A second booklet *Understanding racism in Australia,* put out by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC), is concerned that no person should be prevented access to Australian resources because of 'race, culture or language'. Race and ethnicity in these documents is considered as self-evident (Zelinka, 1996, p.iv). At the same time its meaning remains unclear. Concepts of race slide between those of colour, descent and national or ethnic

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within socio-historic time and place. Other texts that add valuable material to this definition include the work of Floya and Yuval-Davis (1992), Mac an Ghaill (1999), Goldberg (1994), Hall (1998),

origin. What is more interesting is that the concepts – race and ethnicity – are seldom spoken about at all. In fact, as I will document in this thesis, most government documents and academic texts spoke about 'race' and 'ethnicity almost exclusively in terms of multi-cultures. In 1993, I recorded the difficulty of defining what 'multi-culture' meant in that:

> The simplest way of defining multiculturalism is ... to ask the question 'multi-what'? Even at this level, the definition of the Australian population as consisting of 'multicultures' is one fraught with difficulties. Few writers would dispute that Australia has a cosmopolitan population ... Showing Australia to be linguistically diverse (Jupp, 1986), (Rizvi, 1985), religiously diverse (Jupp, 1986), diverse by birthplace (Martin, 1978) or, ethnically diverse (Medding, 1973) is not the same as calling Australia culturally diverse. Obviously, many of these criteria apply to what are seen as core values by most cultural groups. Nevertheless, they are not necessarily adequate measures of what are cultural groups. (Arber, 1993b, p.26)

This shift in the ways in which identities and their representation as 'raced' and 'ethnic' are defined and the implication of programs and policies of multiculturalism within this process, underpins the work of this thesis. The work of this research is to examine the very different ways these terms and the relations between them have been negotiated and spoken about. Moreover the terms and conditions that underpin these debates have also changed. As Hall (1996a) so dramatically puts it, in recent times conceptions of identity itself have come 'under erasure'. The conception of the human person as essentially formed, fully centred, unified and reasonable, Hall (1992) argues, is more recently constructed as 'post-modern', a 'moveable feast' in which conceptions of who-we-are are in process and at odds with themselves, as their conception is made and changed within the contingent and disjunctive vagaries of socio-historic context. A crucial task within my thesis is to set out ways that teachers, parents and I have used notions of 'race' and 'ethnicity' and described the relations between them. Moreover, it is to examine these relations at a time when these conceptions are subject to a changed politics of representation and when the essential notions that underpins them – especially those of identity – are changed.

In defining the notions 'race' and 'ethnic' I am drawn to Goldberg's (1994) important treatise *Racist culture: Philosophy and the politics of meaning*. Whilst affirming that

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Miles (1989), Rizvi (1986, 1995) and Pickering (2001).

'race' and 'ethnicity' are social constructions, (Goldberg, 1994, p.2, p.76) argues that these terms remain crucial in that they are used to naturalise the ways that identities are understood and positioned. 'Race' and 'ethnicity' are concerned with the various designations, which in modern times are used to define peoples as part of bounded groupings that share and are differentiated by common characteristics – mental, cultural, moral, aesthetic, kinship and linguistic. The concept 'ethnic' emphasises the way cultural content – history, culture, social origins – underpins the terms and conditions of difference. The concept 'race' suggests that commonalities of biology and descent provide the logic of such differentiation. The term 'racialised' illustrates how these terms do not remain innocent of meaning but rather are conceptual and embodied notions which come to 'include any and all significance extended both explicitly and silently by racial reference over discursive expression and practice'. The term 'racist' is used to invoke 'those exclusions prompted by racial reference or racialised significance, whether such exclusions are actual or intended, effects or affects of racial or racialised expression'. As such, 'race' and 'ethnic' define the conceptual and material domain, which categorises some groups as different in terms of their cultural or biological commonality. 'Racialisation' is concerned with the taken-for-granted and normalised formulations that define the terms and conditions of being 'raced' or 'ethnic'. It is concerned with the commonly understood logic that defines what it means to be called of a particular race or ethnic group. 'Racism' examines the way these formulations, as they are commonly explored and debated, are given materiality and embodiment within modern societies. That is, it is concerned with the conceptual and material conditions and consequences (both premeditated and unpremeditated) of racialisation.

This dissertation is concerned about ways that race and ethnicities are spoken about in contemporary Melbourne schools. This does not mean that it is not concerned about the ways other conditions, particularly those of class and gender, position people in contemporary societies. These conditions of thinking and being in the world dominate the politics of our time just as surely as those of race. It is interesting to note that much of the literature which forms the basis of this thesis was written by women and their insights were pertinent not only to the silences of race but of gender. The data collection and analysis was of course gendered. Issues of gender underpin my thesis discussion –

both in the questions I asked, the people with whom I spoke and in the way some were made other. The discussion of the ethnic woman, which is implicit in much of my analysis, is crucially formed not only by the way we define others racially but also in the way they are gendered. In the noise of multidimensionality it is difficult to discuss all of these conditions (race-gender-class) and in this case I will highlight the importance of race. The interesting fact is that the people in the research did not talk about class and gender any more than they did about race and that these debates were underpinned by similar silences.

'This whispering' in our hearts

In a recent book, *The whispering in our hearts,* Australian historian Henry Reynolds (1998) reflects on the diary of the colonist administrator, Windeyer. He adds, as he does so, his own commentary that:

> It was a sustained attack on both Aboriginal rights and on the humanitarians who upheld them. In a sweeping peroration Windeyer declared:
>
> The consideration of the rights of Aborigines to the enjoyment of their laws and customs, to the soil of the country, to its wild animals is done. The argument is sound; the chain of reasoning is complete.
>
> And yet that was not the final word. His powerful analysis had not satisfied his own conscience. 'How is it our minds are not satisfied?' he asked. 'What means this whispering in the bottom of our hearts?' (Reynolds, 1998, p. 21)

Reynolds's concern is that discussions about Australia's indigenous people can be understood from different viewpoints. In the first, debates about indigenous rights take place in ways that represent them as primitive, almost animalistic and as tied to the soil. The reasoning within the argument seems 'complete'. Within the ambit of this debate there seems no other logic. Yet there is still 'a whispering in the bottom of our hearts' that all is not right. 'Our minds are not satisfied'. There is the feeling that debates about race and ethnicity need to be understood in other ways. Other recent literatures have spoken about the unease that exists beneath contemporary western discussions about race and ethnicity. Stratton (1998) speaking of a contemporary Australian context entitles his text 'Race daze', whilst Hage (1998) researches 'white fantasies'. Morrison (1992), whose text begins this chapter, suggests we are 'playing in the dark'.

This thesis begins as a 'whispering' that race and ethnic relations, as they are described in schools, need to be understood in other ways. It emerges from my increasing realisation that conversations about ethnic relations are contradictory and debated, often leave things out, say things in other ways and sometimes can't be said at all. This thesis is in so many ways underpinned by my own story – my own journey if you like – to understand these conversations more complexly. It is by no means an easy journey. My project to understand relations between ethnic identities in schools is, as James Clifford (1997) argues, homework. It is the critical confrontation with almost invisible, taken-for-granted ways of meaning that not only shape the ideas of the teachers and parents with whom I converse, but also shape my own thinking. I negotiate my discussions with teachers and parents from different positions. Sometimes I find I share with them similar ways of understanding the world of the school. Sometimes I come from outside of the form and content of their narration and I struggle to listen to and to understand the voices to which I listen. Over the decade I share differently commonalities of age, education, class, race, whiteness and gender. At other times, I share commonalities of migration experience and ethnic and religious identity. I already share with my respondents, commonalities in the way that I understand and speak about race and ethnic relations and the world of the school. I also share with many of them a 'whispering in my heart' that the conversations that we have about race and ethnic relations do not properly explain what is happening within the school. It is only with some difficulty that I begin think that these conversations need to be understood in other ways: that I need to listen to the things that teachers, parents and I speak about; but also to the things said in other ways; or hardly said at all. It is a complex journey as the terrain I map, already provides the maps which ground my text. I am in a very real way indeed 'playing in the dark' as a part of process of re-imagining whereby:

> For them, as for me imagining is not merely looking or looking at: nor is it taking oneself intact into the other. It is, for the purposes of the work, *becoming*. (Morrison, 1992, p.4)

Speaking of race and ethnic relations

My examination of the ways that race and ethnic relations are discussed in Melbourne schools is carried out in a series of moves. These reflect not only the increased complexity of the argument I am able to make as the research continues, but also the

progression of my own journey as I come to understand the research process differently. The first chapter, 'Encountering silent narrations: Beginning the research', describes the implementation of my research project. The chapter describes the sequence of events that unfold over periods of change, as I speak with teachers and parents about race and ethnic relations. The observations that emerge as the research continues – the avoidance of discussions about race and racism and the pervasiveness of discussions about multiculturalism – suggest that the method and methodologies, which inform the thesis, might need to be reconsidered. The final part of the chapter examines the changed research methods I implement to explore the almost silent as well as the noisy discussions about race and ethnic relations that take place in schools.

In the second chapter, 'Beyond silent noise: Articulating methodology', I examine ways to find a more adequate methodological framing which can be used to explore the ways that people in school speak about ethnic and raced relationships. My argument has three strands. In the first strand, I explore the dimensions of the different methodologies that underpin the framing of my thesis: those of naturalistic research design; radical and critical theory; and writings on whiteness, post-colonialism and culture studies. The second strand sets out an alternate framing which can allow the unequally empowered, contingent and often-disjunctive ways of knowing and being which describe the social world of a Melbourne school to be examined. I argue that the multi-layered complexity of these negotiated and changing relations can be examined from the different analytic viewpoints of individual practice (which I have defined as 'narrational practices'), fields of debate ('narrational fields') and normalised ways of knowing and being in the world ('narrational maps'). The final strand examines literatures that describe race and ethnic relations from the different vantage points provided by this analytic approach.

Chapter Three, 'Race dealing; Multicultural moments' explores how conversations about race and ethnicity can be understood in contemporary Western societies such as Australia and the changing ways these have articulated over the decade. It uses the methodological frame developed in the previous chapter to examine the ways that ethnic relations are spoken about in contemporary Australian society (particularly as they have

been spoken about as multiculturalism rather than racism) and the ways such speaking has changed.

Chapter Four, '(Re) Telling history: Analysing narrational fields', describes the conversations I have with teachers and parents in one particular Melbourne secondary school when I talk with them about race and ethnicity in 1988 and in 1998. I suggest that race and ethnic relations are seldom spoken of directly and are often discussed as policies and programs of multiculturalism. Conversations about racism are seldom and only reluctantly broached. Yet, and at the same time, notions of ethnic and race relations remain as the central focus of the discussion.

In Chapter Five, '(Un) Making maps: Overturning narrations', I re-examine the conversations I have with teachers and parents. I trace out the categories and conditions that make up the logic of these conversations about race and ethnic relations. These notions formulate the terms and conditions that shape the ways such groups can belong within the school and within the school community. I argue that the logic of these terms and conditions derives from deep-seated notions about the relation between self and other, and the ways in which those who are one-of-us can define their identity though the definition of that which they are not.

In Chapter Six, 'Speaking of us: Between disrupted narrations', I examine these dualistic narratives about selves and others and I try to describe the self who utters these relations. I find this difficult as that person remains unmarked, taken-for-granted and almost impossible to describe. Nevertheless, this relation between the self who speaks these relations and the other who is spoken for, is negotiated and disrupted as in an increasingly globalised and post-modern world people negotiate between raced and ethnic identities in ways that seem increasingly unconstrained. Moreover, even as the notion of difference seems to disappear, I find these conceptions remain tied to ontological maps that continue (no matter how disrupted and negotiated this relation might be) to concern themselves with the relation between others and us.

In the concluding chapter, 'Mapping silent narrations' I argue that the obsessive evasiveness that underpins the relation of self and other comes to underpin the 'noise', but also the 'silence', that underpins discussions about race and ethnic relations. The noisy and silent narrations that speak of ethnic and raced relations do more than trace individual negotiations between raced and ethnicised identities and contingent and changing debates about multiculturalism and racism. They include the taken-for-granted notions of self and other, as they are negotiated across shifting inequalities of power, which are the subject and the object of these conversations.

This then is the overall substantive argument of the thesis: the conceptual and material domain of 'multiculturalism', as it considers the negotiated, contingent and disjunctive conditions of ethnic difference, becomes the rhetorical field of the thing to be discussed. 'Racism', as it considers how these conceptual and material conditions are normalised and embodied within unequally empowered identities, becomes the field, which is difficult to discuss or cannot be discussed at all.

MAPPING SILENT NARRATIONS:

Racism and multiculturalism in a Melbourne school

1988 - 1998

Chapter 1
Encountering silent narrations: Beginning the research

> He heard one day that Australia was being urged to accept more Africans and South Americans. Soon afterwards, thinking himself well prepared with two Indo-Chinese aides, he went to meet a new group of migrant teenagers and found himself in a room full of Ethiopians and Hispanics. This year's arrivals have added three new languages to the 40 already spoken at the school: Hakka (Chinese), Pushtu (Afganistan) and Tigre (Ethiopian). An overwhelming 93 percent of the school's 814 pupils come from ethnic backgrounds, nearly half of them Indo-Chinese and the school qualifies as disadvantaged in three ways: because of the number of migrant students, the recency of their arrival and their parents' low incomes. It would seem a volatile mix ... If the teachers didn't have a good attitude this would be the centre of racial tension in the state. No such tensions are evident in the schoolyard. The European boy who wants a go at basketball confidently joins the Asians who began the game, and the Muslim girl swathed in traditional veiling above her uniform causes no second glances as she crosses the yard. "We've got so many kids who look different that we don't know what different is. Nobody stands out in this school. (Kissane, 1988, p.31)

The article is headed 'Schools, a harmonious melting pot'. The pictures are of smiling children who seem to come from everywhere. The two girls are of Southeast Asian appearance, the three boys from somewhere in Africa. There is the veiled girl and her olive-skinned friend from somewhere around the Mediterranean. A school community so changed by immigration and where 'no such tensions are evident' delights the writer. Karen Kissane's story has several parts. The first describes the suddenness of demographic change at the school. The changes are overwhelming. Now half of the students in the school are Indo-Chinese and the 'school qualifies as disadvantaged'. The volatility and racial tensions that could underlie such relations are avoided because of the 'good attitude' of the teachers. Kissane's final comment is both a statement and a question. 'We've got so many kids who look different' she tells me, 'we don't know what different is'.

I look at this article today from several different vantage points: the multiplicity of stories which discuss an everyday world altered by increased and different migration patterns; the policy and practices put in place to deal with those changes; and the taken-for-granted conceptions about identity and difference which underpin those debates. I am concerned with the comments that are made in this article – about the students who get on so well, the racial tensions that do not occur, the large numbers of students who suddenly arrive – but also with what is not said or said only indirectly. Kissane's observation brings to mind the paradoxical and confusing juncture between the day-to-day experience of negotiating difference and the taken-for-granted understandings, which nevertheless position some people as the same as us and some as different. A crucial task for this thesis is to find a methodology which can trace out these three vantage points (individual experience, the conceptual and material domain in which they are negotiated, and the normalised understandings which are site and subject of these negotiations), the ways these relations can be spoken and not spoken about, and the ways these change.

Questions about 'how' one can research ethnic and race relations in schools underpin this thesis. My methodology, as it was implemented in 1988, emerged from my reading of 'naturalistic research' and 'interpretive' literatures.[14] In their text *Naturalistic inquiry* Yvonna Lincoln and Egon Guba (1985) set out what they define as the essential features of method for human inquiry.[15] Following from a number of sometimes-disparate writings (Dilthey, Husserl, Heideger), their exploration begins from the proposition of 'verstehen' or 'interpretative understanding' whereby people understand the world around them through the meaning they give to their day-to-day actions. The notion describes the study of human action as a relation between the knower and the known as they both exist within the vagaries of a disjunctive, seemingly haphazard context.[16] Anselm Strauss' (1987) model of 'grounded theory' and his attempt to 'capture the complexity of reality' by grounding the analysis in an evolving interaction between data

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[14] For ethnographic writings important to my study in 1988, see, in the first instance: Goetz and LeCompte (1984), Denzin (1989), Guba and Lincoln (1984), Strauss (1987), Guba and Lincoln (1989), Lincoln and Guba (1985), LeCompte and Goetz (1982) and Lofland (1974).
[15] See Appendix One.
[16] See, for instance, Crotty (1998).

collection and the coding and the making of meaning, gave direction to this kind of research. Nevertheless, by the end of my 1988 research, I became concerned that these methods did not explain these experiences as a relation to socio-historical context. The work of Anthony Giddens (1976) particularly provided a pertinent reminder that meaningful social interaction is socially constructed and therefore needs to be understood as the socially structured and culturally patterned behaviour of groups and practices of institutions.

Guba and Lincoln's principles for method underpinned my research project in both 1988 and 1998.[17] Nevertheless, I became increasingly concerned that the assumptions underpinning these research methods needed to be questioned. In the first section of this chapter, 'Setting up the research', I describe my research project as it was first set up in 1988. In the second section, 'Re-entering the scene', I describe my return to the school ten years later, the research project as I determined it that second time, and the difficulties I faced as I try to put this research in place. In the final section, 'Unravelling the research', I explore my changed relation to my study (to the method, the context and to the parents and teachers with whom I speak), as my own understanding of my project changes over the decade. Literatures of race, cultural studies and post-colonialism provide the timely reminder that it is not only the relation between the researcher and those who are researched that needs to be reconsidered but also the relation between the researcher and the epistemological framing itself.[18] This chapter describes naturalistic methods for the collection and analysis of material as they underpinned both my 1988 and 1998 research inquiries: how these were implemented; and the ways they proved useful or not useful to my research project. In the next chapter, 'Beyond silent noise', I develop a integrated and more coherent methodology through which the exploration of ethnic and race relationships can take place.

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[17] For a description of these approaches in 1998 see, for example: Denzin and Lincoln (1998), Guba and Lincoln (1998) and Guba and Lincoln (1999). See also Appendix One.

[18] For the discussion of these issues see Chow (1993), Clifford (1997), Fine and Weis (1998) and Scheurich and Young (1997).

Setting up the research – 1988

In 1988 my commitment to and excitement with multicultural policy and practices provided the immediate focus for my research project. I was to reminisce at the time that:

> The study of multiculturalism became irretrievably linked with my developing interest in Australia's cosmopolitan population. Like many others of the time, I was entranced by Al Grassby's vision. Here was a world where people of different ethnic backgrounds could maintain their culture and yet still play an active role within mainstream Australian society. It was a world where government policy enshrined the concepts of tolerance and understanding. It was a world, which accepted something that I had always believed; that individuals and groups have different ways of conceptualizing the world and functioning within it. (Arber, 1993b, p. 10)

My research focus as I defined it in 1988 was to describe and analyse the ways that multiculturalism was comprehended, intended, implemented and experienced in Melbourne state secondary schools.[19] That research was divided into two sections. In the first pilot study, I interviewed principals at 30 Melbourne secondary schools to uncover the ways in which multicultural policies and practices were understood, proclaimed and practised in those schools. I found that few schools had put in place multicultural policies and practices and that those schools that had done so introduced policies and practices quite different from those suggested by governments. In order to explain these discrepancies, I implemented a participant study into a government state secondary school. Teachers and parents were interviewed and observed to find out how and why multicultural policies were understood and implemented in particular ways. During that first study I became a 'participant observer' in the school for a period of a year observing classrooms, sitting in staff-rooms, walking around playgrounds and talking with bureaucrats, parents, teachers and students. In 1987, I describe my first impressions of Southgate Secondary College:

> Drove around the area as very early, very industrial and very flat. Drove past the new Start migrant hostel. Beautifully landscaped but it looked totally uninhabited. I later found I was right. A couple of years ago they had closed the hostels because no cooking facilities etc and shifted everyone to Merriton. Now they were closing Merriton and shifting everyone back to New Start. Drove to Southmead High School- a school in the Greyton mould in the middle of large, flat, yellowed fields. Then back to Southgate Secondary School – a school with a similar design and many portables. On the way past Southmead shopping centre, Chinese and Vietnamese named shops dominated the centre. A few miles away on Branxton Road Greek signed shops seemed to come to the fore. (Journal Bk 1, 1987, p.157)

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[19] See Arber (1993b).

As I look through my journal in 1988, I am left in no doubt about why I chose Southgate for my research project. The school had a demographically diverse population, with a large number of its students only recently arrived to Australia from South-East Asia. In September 1986 Southgate Secondary College had an enrolment of 826 students, 676 or 81 percent of whom were of Non-English-Speaking Background (NESB). Most of these students were migrants who had arrived in Australia within the last five years and about one third of these were of Asian origin. Unusually, the school was about to launch a multicultural program the following year. Importantly, the school community, its teachers, parents and students, were renowned for their inclusiveness, warmth and friendliness. It was a feeling of welcome, which was to accompany my work at the school in both my 1988 and 1998 studies. On February 22nd, 1988 I sent off a letter to Southgate with a request to work at the school. The following Friday I met the Principal, Mr. Barrows and I was in.

> Met Stephen Barrows, Southgate High School. He gave me permission to work at Southgate. Met also Sophie and Violetta who are in charge of the multicultural committee and Barry who is in change of ESL. They all seemed very happy for me to come. In fact Violetta was all for being interviewed straight away but I told her it would be better if I was properly prepared first so we have made an appointment for next Wednesday. (Journal Bk 2, 1988, p.33)

Methods were chosen to provide the responsiveness, adaptability and holistic emphasis necessary to adjust to the complex world of multiple constuctions of reality suggested by Lincoln and Guba's (1985) approach. Because I was painting such a broad picture of policy implementation a wide variety of data collection methods became relevant. Document analyses, interview collection and observation were crucial methods in this study. Data collection for my school study began during the second week of the 1988 school year. For the rest of that year, I spent most school days and many evenings as well, as a 'participant observer', working within the school.[20] Although I didn't actually work at the school, 'I lived as much as possible with the individuals being investigated'. Field notes of observations taken of events in classrooms, staff-rooms, the playground and at meetings were kept in folders, coded, dated and analysed. As 'material manifestations of the beliefs and behaviours that constitute a culture', documents and other artifacts were an

[20] My 1988 analysis was particularly derived from the work of Lincoln and Guba (1985). (See Appendix One). See, also, for example: Denzin (1989), Guba and Lincoln (1984, 1989) and Goetz and LeCompte (1984).

authoritative means of portraying the day-to-day life of the school. Such things as policy statements, curriculum designs, handbooks, souvenir badges and newspaper cuttings were collected throughout the research.

As 'conversations with a purpose', the interview uses dialogue as a means to define the constructions of respondents as they describe their context.[21] In 1988, the questions, which focused my conversations with parents and teachers, were particularly concerned with issues of multiculturalism, the implementation of those policies and practices and their consequence. To begin, respondents were asked to fill in a brief cover page to provide statistical data about the sample. This section included questions about age, status, length of time teaching and language background. Following from Spradley's (1979) suggestion to use open ended 'grand tour' questions, I set up thematic guides at the beginning of the research and then allowed questions to become progressively more focused as the data collection continued. The use of a tape recorder provided a permanent record of conversation and the freedom to concentrate on the flow of the interview. The typed transcripts and documents and statistics collected were coded and filed in separate folders. Following from Strauss' (1987) suggestion that the reseach analysis should be grounded within the research context, theories devised from these data were taken back and verified within the school context.

Respondents included within the research were decided upon 'purposively' to achieve 'maximum variation', and 'to generate the information upon which the emergent design and the grounded theory could be based'.[22] My initial lists sought to interview teachers for their role as implementors of general school policy, as initiators of specific programs and practices of multiculturalism or as people who, as I defined it quaintly at the time, had 'particular experiences' of immigration or racism or who defined their ethnicity as 'non Anglo-Australian'. As the study continued, decisions about whom I should include within my data 'snowballed' as respondents told me about others who might be interesting to my research.[23]

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[21] See, particularly: Lincoln and Guba (1985).
[22] Ibid.
[23] See Spradley (1979)

Teachers differed in their class, gender and ethnic identity. Only six of the eighteen teachers I interviewed were men, but all of those teachers had positions of responsibility within the school. Teachers were diverse in ways they described their ethnic identity. In answer to the question 'What do you consider to be your ethnic background' eight teachers replied that they are Australian. Of these respondents three simply replied Australian. Others replied that they were 'Oz', Australian for 200 years, Anglo-Celtic Aust. and White Australian. Alongside this teachers replied that they were, one-quarter Greek, one-quarter Norwegian, and bi-culturally Greek and Australian. One teacher replied that she was English, another Jewish and a further two that they were Greek. The two staff aides identified themselves as Indian and as Chinese. One teacher and one aide refused to fill out the form. Meeting with parents seemed a more difficult task. Some of the parents had only a limited command of English and children were often given the task of translating. Finding convenient times to meet was not always easy as many parents worked extremely long hours and the schools themselves often did not have direct contact with families. Parents described themselves as coming from a miscellany of ethnic backgrounds. One parent described himself as Australian, another as Irish/Scottish, two as Australian/Chinese, two as Greek, one each as Croatian, as Vietnamese, Yugoslav, and as Turkish. Of these eleven parents, seven were women and four were men.[24]

I became increasingly concerned about the role I played as a participant researcher. My notes in 1988 consider that:

> I was a teacher returning to an environment that was extremely familiar to me. Being of similar age, education and background to teachers I was able to gain much information from casual conversations in the staffroom, playground and classrooms as well as from the more formal interview. (Arber, 1988, p.42)

As a teacher returning to a school I felt that my relationship with teachers was a comfortable one. My concern was that I should go 'native' and would not be able to separate my ways of thinking from those of the teaching community I observed.[25] On the

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[24] See Appendix Two.

[25] Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.305) speak of going native as the following:

> We wish to add a caveat against the danger of what anthropologists have referred to as 'going native' ... 'When an anthropologist has become so like the group he is studying he ceases to consider himself as part of the progression – or ceases to consider either his cultural or professional subgroup as his dominant reference group ... Identification with the 'natives'; or co-optation, as a persistent problem of inquirer identification, has been part of the 'warnings and advice'

other hand I became increasingly concerned that my meetings with parents necessitated the negotiation of problematic and almost insurmountable cultural borders. My journal lists conversations I had with teachers and professionals to discuss correct ways of approaching parents. I reminisced about conversations in which I behaved impolitely or inappropriately. I was exultant that my meetings with parents were warm and pleasant and that I shared with them in common, life experiences.

Several steps were put in place to maintain what qualitative research writings define as the 'credibility of the research'.[26] The 'prolonged and persistent engagement' of my participant study provided the 'scope', and 'persistent observation' provided the 'depth' for my research inquiry. The large number of respondents and the variation in data collection methods allowed for the implementation of a process of 'triangulation', between multiple observers.[27] The maintenance of tape recordings and official documents provided a means of 'referential adequacy' or 'benchmark against which later data analyses and interpretations could be tested'. A process of 'member checking' allowed me to check whether my reconstructions of 'analytic categories, interpretations and conclusions' were 'recognizable to stakeholding groups as adequate representations of their own (and multiple) realities'. The 'thick description' of the context was carefully documented to establish the transferability of the research.[28] Finally, I maintained a careful 'audit trail' to maintain the 'confirmability' and the 'dependability of the research'. Raw data, analyses materials, data reconstructions and process notes were

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> given to new participant observers for several decades ... Moreover 'prolonged direct participation' entails the risk that the researcher will lose his *detached wonder* and fail to discover certain phenomena the uninvolved researcher would discover ... The longer the investigator is in the field, the more accepted he or she becomes, the more appreciative of local culture, the greater the likelihood that professional judgements will be influenced.

[26] See, for instance: Lincoln and Guba (1985), Goetz and LeCompte (1984) and Denzin (1989).

[27] Triangulation remains an important method for maintaining the credibility of the research. Guba and Lincoln (1985, p.307) and again (Guba and Lincoln, 1998) suggest that this way of checking sources against each other takes place at several levels: the checking of sources, of method, investigators and of theories. They argue:

> We believe it to be the case that the probability that findings (and the interpretations based upon them) will be found to be more credible if the inquirer is able to demonstrate a prolonged period of engagement ... to provide evidence of persistent observation ... and to triangulate, by using different sources, different methods and sometimes multiple investigators, the data that are collected. At the same time the naturalist must guard against overraport (going native) and premature closure, and take care that modes of triangulation inconsistent with naturalistic axioms are not employed.

My concern with methods of triangulation (as well as with concerns about going native) relate to the failure of these writings to untangle the relation between these individual practices and the cultural and historical context in which they are part. The consideration of these debates underpins my discussion of methodology as it proceeds throughout the next chapters.

[28] See Geertz (1973).

documented and filed. In particular I kept a series of 'reflexive journals' which recorded such things as daily schedules, study logistics, feelings, ideas and insights about the research, methodological decisions and their accompanying rationale.

Following from Strauss (1987), the research material was analysed in 'successively evolving interpretations' as I moved back and forwards between the data collection, its elaboration and its verification within the field. The data collected within my initial process of 'generative questioning' was coded, verified and extended within the field in a process of inductive moves between the data collection and its theoretical framing. At the same time my task as researcher was to portray the multiple constructions of the school world presented to me by my respondents. I argued that even as I owned the research, my task was nevertheless one of conductor of different constructions of reality. As the author of the study I was the one 'who orchestrates all the discourses in the written text'.[29] Within this chorus, I would and could allow each of the individual voices within the research to be heard and their portrayals of reality to be produced as accurately as possible.

As the year drew to an end I found these methods increasingly problematic. First, I became concerned that the methodologies, which underpinned these research techniques, could not show how the *ad hoc* and disjunctive conversations I collected from parents and teachers within schools were related to the patterns of social meaning and practice related to government debate and academic documents. The academic literatures that described the institutional factors and historical factors that mediated the implementation of multiculturalism seemed to have little to do with the disjunctive and changing personal conversations I collected.[30] Strauss' (1987) notion that these connections can be theorised without recourse to languages and structures already in existence in academic or government literatures seemed difficult, if not impossible. In my paper 'Reification or relativity' written shortly after the completion of this first study, I considered how it was possible to bring together what I understood then as an impossible dualism: the reification

[29] See for instance Denzin and Lincoln (1998).
[30] See for instance Castles, Kalantzis, Cope, and Morrissey (1988), Foster and Stockley (1988) and Collins (1988).

of institutional structures or the relativity of individual experience.[31] Second, I was concerned that the relation between the 'knower and the known' as it was described within the interpretive literature, was limited. I began to realise that identities were made and placed within schools in ways that were unequally empowered. The few respondents who spoke to me about their discomfort in schools remained contested and unsupported. Nevertheless, I began to suspect that they too had credibility. Debates about 'going native' and 'triangulation' of different sources no longer seemed straightforward processes. In several papers written at the time I repeated commonly held concerns that I might 'go native', even as I felt that my relation to the research needed to be understood more complexly.[32] Finally, and most importantly, I became concerned that I could not explain my research data. My study of multicultural policy and practice showed that the implementation of these policies was inconsistent and contested. It could not explain why teachers and parents strongly supported some of these policies and practices, while others were ignored or strongly contested. In particular it was not possible to explain why racism was something I hardly discussed at all.[33]

Re-entering the scene – 1998

When I returned to the school in 1998 it was in many ways like returning to old friends:

> It was really quite strange going back to Southgate a decade later. Across the road the same factories still stared (drably). Somehow entering Southgate seemed like entering another and completely self-contained world. The buildings, although still the sixties confab as before had been refurbished and seemed bright and new. There was an immediate feeling of friendliness, of excitement, of happiness. I can't explain why I should think that. Perhaps it was the friendly way I was greeted by the staff at the desk. Perhaps it was the fact that even as I walked into the entrance hall two teachers who remembered me greeted me.
>
> Varvara came soon after and greeted me warmly. There never seemed any doubt that I would return to the school ... I had not brought my tape recorder because I had not wanted to seem as if I was pre-empting her decision but I really wished that I had. (Journal Bk 5, 1998, p.10)

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[31] 'Reification or relativity: Linking structure with individual experience' (Arber, 1993c).

[32] In papers I wrote at the time, I continuously expressed concern that 'as a teacher returning to the familiar environment of the secondary school I might "go native"' (Arber, 1988).

[33] In a paper, A hidden racism: The failure of multiculturalism in schools (Arber, 1993a) I suggest that the failure to implement multicultural policy and practice was due to the presence of a hidden racism in schools. However, I was not able to bring together a research methodology which could explore this proposition.

My reasons for returning to Southgate were similar to, and followed directly from, my decision to enter the school in 1988. I already had research data collected from the school in 1988. Returning to the same school allowed me to implement a long term study of a school which continued to have a widely diverse demographic population and which was well known as a site for best educational practice in, and for, an Australian multicultural society and continued to have a warm and welcoming school community environment.

Despite my warm welcome back to the school, my return in 1998 was by no means straightforward. In 1988 my research at the school and my conversations with community members were expressed as matters of multiculturalism. Thus my letter of request to study at the school explained that I was 'studying the nature of multicultural policy and practice within post primary schools' whereby:

> Over the last decade the Government has put forward several statements relating to a policy of multiculturalism. The academic literature has also suggested several scenarios that could occur in schools in relation to these policies, However, very little research has taken place in the environs of the school to understand what is actually taking place there. There would seem to be many reasons why the reality of the school situation can bear little resemblance to either suggested policy or academic theory. (See Appendix Three)

In 1988, it never occurred to me to talk about ethnic relations in any other way. Nineteen eighty eight was the bicentennial year, a year when Australians celebrated unashamedly the second century of European occupation of the Australian continent. It was a year, which culminated with the much heralded and broadly acclaimed multicultural agenda statement. Re-iterating remarks made by Geoffrey Blainey four years earlier, the then leader of the Australian opposition, John Howard, made comments condemning multiculturalism. However, these remarks seemed isolated and were strongly contested by Australian government and other public figures. Government reports and academic discussions about ethnic and race relations in schools spoke of these relationships as multicultural.[34] Most particularly, I had a long enamour with Grassby's vision of a cosmopolitan country in which there could indeed be 'difference in unity' and 'a family of a nation'.[35]

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[34] The exception here were discussions about migration and indigenous issues which were discussed quite separately. For a discussion of the policies of the time see Foster (1988) and Rizvi (1985).

[35] The documents of the time express an excitement which I carried into my project development. See, for

By 1998, I had begun to suspect that policies of multiculturalism were limited in ways they understood and dealt with issues of ethnic relations. Public discussions about race, culture and migration had become increasingly pertinent issues after the publicity given to comments made in a maiden speech by newly elected independent parliamentarian, Pauline Hanson. These debates meant that multicultural documents contemporary to 1998 questioned values that seemed self-evident to most Australians in 1988. The 'stolen children's report'[36], the 'Royal Commission into Aboriginal deaths in custody'[37] and the 'Australian Reconciliation Convention' held in 1998[38] problematised in quite different ways, the nature of a European presence in Australia. Most importantly, I had come in contact with peoples and literatures, which emphasised the need to think about matters of race and multiculturalism in other ways. The letter that I sent to the school in 1998 therefore describes my research differently, arguing that:

> Ten years ago I completed a research thesis at your school where I looked at the way policies of multiculturalism were being understood, implemented and experienced in schools. Towards the beginning of 1998, I wish to initiate a second research project as part of the research for my doctoral degree. This study seeks to critically examine the various approaches to anti-racist education developed in Australia since 1978, in order to develop a more systematic and coherent theory. This second study at your school would provide the basis for a longitudinal view of the school and the progress it has made in institutionalising its commitment to multiculturalism.
>
> Racism has been a central construct throughout Australia's post-settler history. During the last 20 years a series of legal, political and educational approaches to anti-racism have been developed and implemented. Yet recent writings have suggested that these approaches have not fully realised their lofty aspirations, have serious theoretical limitations and most seriously, share many of the same understandings, which underpin the racist elements, about which they are concerned. Education particularly has been understood as a central strategy within these academic discussions. However little research has undertaken within school to trace out the history, form and consequences of these strategies. This project seeks to fill this void. (See Appendix Four)

Implicit within my 1998 letter were two requests. The first followed directly from my 1988 research project and sought to explore ways that policies and practices of multiculturalism were understood and practised in the school. The second considered the ways that racism was understood and dealt with within the school. At my first meeting at the school, the Principal, Ms Kokanakis, was most supportive of a study of

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instance, documents by Zubrzycki (1982; 1979), and Grassby (1973; 1974).

[36] *Bringing them home: National inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families* (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1997).

[37] *The Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody* (1991).

[38] *Australian Reconciliation Convention*, World Congress Centre, Melbourne, 26th-28th May, 1998.

multiculturalism within the school. She suggested however, that I change my research proposal to avoid terms such as 'race', 'racism' or 'anti-racism'. The real meaning behind this suggestion became clear when I outlined my research project at the next school council meeting. My research journal records that:

> Went to Southgate Secondary College for council meeting. Had thought that I already had permission to enter the school. I had spoken to Ms Kokanakis and she had sounded positive (that my research could continue) provided that I changed the title of the research. I therefore planned a fairly normal speech i.e. introduction, focus, method, why the school. I already knew that racism was a sensitive topic – that is the focus of my present paper but I had not expected the vehemence that faced me ...
>
> When it got to my turn I basically said that my research was looking at strategies, i.e. (those of) multiculturalism. I stopped there. I did not read the rest of my talk. The attack was intense. What was I calling the research? My mind went blank. I could not remember the new title but said that I was changing it. However, I did maintain that the nature of my research would remain (the same). Mr Cannes said then that my time was up but that he could see that I was already more sensitive to them (i.e. to the issues raised). I said that was unfair – I was well aware of their sensitivities. (Journal, Bk 5, 1998, p.1)

The sensitivity of the school towards allusions to racism was not ill conceived. Only some weeks earlier senior bureaucrats within then Victorian Department of Education asked me why I thought it likely that particular schools were racist and how I would measure such racism. I explained then that the focus for my research was quite different; that I was not concerned with defining some individuals as racist nor with measuring racism within schools; that rather that I was concerned about ways that relationships between ethnic groups were spoken about in Australian schools. At the next council meeting therefore, I tabled a second document, which discussed the background of the research and explained what the research was about and, more particularly, what it was not about. I called the research project, 'The way forward: Strategies for multicultural education in contemporary Australian schools'. Nevertheless, I was not able to take my research project into the school for another nine months. The letters sent to teachers and parents seeking their co-operation were now inscribed firmly within languages of multiculturalism:

> In 1988, I implemented a research project at your school that looked at the way multicultural policies were interpreted and implemented in schools. Ten years later, I want to carry out a second 'follow up' research project as part of my studies towards a PhD. In this study I wish to examine the way you and your school have developed your thinking about multicultural education and the ways some of these policies and practices are now different. In this way this second study would become part of a longitudinal view of the schools practices in multiculturalism.

> Multiculturalism has provided a central focus for Australian strategies for good community relations for the last two decades. However, very little research has taken place to discover what form these policies and practices take, how they are implemented and the effects they have. The focus for this research is to study best practice within real schools as a first step towards building a new and more coherent approach to multicultural education. (See Appendix Four)

In this dissertation, I set out to discuss ways that ethnic and race relations are spoken about in schools. In 1988, this focus, the questions that support it and the conceptualisation of the study analysis were phrased in terms of multicultural policies and practices. Such conceptions of ethnic relations not only seemed useful, they seemed self-evident. In 1988 it did not occur to me (or to most of those to whom I spoke) that these relationships could be discussed in other ways. In 1998 however, I set out to discuss ethnic relations as they are understood as the contention, implementation and experiencing of multicultural policy but also in terms of anti-racist policy and practice. However, I found that despite my different understanding of these notions, it was even more difficult to speak about racism than it had been ten years earlier.

The repercussions of these changes underpin my thesis argument. In the short-term the implications were several. Because it had been so difficult to enter the school, it was no longer possible to engage in the same long-term approach I had in place in my first study. Instead, my re-entry into the school was brief and concentrated on just two of the methods used in my 1988 study: the document study and the research interview. The method used to collect my interviews was similar in form to that which underpinned my data collection in 1988. My decision was motivated by two understandings. First, I wanted to maintain some consistency in the ways I carried out my research. Second, recent texts of qualitative method continue to suggest that data collection should use similar methods to those suggested in 1988.[39] My data was therefore collected, taped, typed and coded using methods akin to those used in my earlier study. To maintain the credibility of the research printed texts of the research material were sent back to the respondent to be checked, material was collected from different sources and 'triangulated', contact was maintained between the school throughout the data collection

[39] See Denzin and Lincoln (1998) and Guba and Lincoln (1999).

and analysis process, an 'audit trail' maintained and reflexive journals kept. Following Strauss' principle of 'grounded research' ideas and themes were collected, coded, conceptualised and then taken back into the field to be tested.

New teachers and parents were chosen 'purposefully' using similar criteria to those used in my study in 1988. As well as this I was able to interview ten teaching staff and three parents who had been at the school the decade before. When I asked teachers to tell me about their ethnic identity in 1998 they did not always answer me in the same way as they did a decade earlier. Two teachers identified themselves as Australian, two teachers as Australian Greek, whilst one teacher – who replied one quarter Greek in 1988 – now called herself English. One teacher who said he was Chinese in 1988 now wrote that he didn't know what he was and two teachers continued to identify as Indian and Chinese. A third aide again refused to fill out the form. Teachers new to the school identified themselves variously as Jewish, Australian-Chinese, Dutch, German, Serbian, Anglo-Australian, and Chinese. Teachers and aides were understood differently in 1988 than they were in 1998. I became increasingly aware of the unequally empowered relations that underpinned the very different access that teaching aides and teachers had in school decision-making. On the other hand, members of the school council were no longer necessarily parents or teachers and were often co-opted from the local business and academic community. The school principal and two of the assistant principals were now women. Of the teachers I had not interviewed previously four were women and four were men. There were now more teachers of Non-English-Speaking Background (NESB) employed at the school and many of these held positions of responsibility within the school. The Principal saw herself as Greek-Australian, one Vice-Principal as German and the head of the language unit as Serbian.[40]

In 1998, my relationship to the parents I was able to interview seemed changed. Parents identified themselves as being from New Zealand, the Cook Islands and as South American, Vietnamese, Australian Cambodian, and Indian. I reinterviewed parents who identified themselves as Italian, Yugoslav and South American. Of the parents I had not

[40] See Appendix Two.

interviewed earlier, three were men and five were women. My access to parents continued to be limited. It was difficult to meet parents who were not already involved within the school and it was still often necessary to ask students or school workers to translate interviews. Nevertheless, my access to parents seemed easier than it had been a decade earlier. The cultural barriers that so concerned me the decade before no longer seemed problematic. I no longer spoke with teachers about the best ways to talk to parents of seemingly quite other ethnic groups. Many of these respondents had come to Australian in the last decade but unlike my respondents a decade earlier, spoke English well, were often highly educated in business or professional employment and, in at least two cases, were undertaking research degrees themselves. This did not necessarily mean that the socio-economic class from which students came had changed but it did mean that the school was able to draw to its council a professional group of parents.

My questions to parents and teachers followed from those I asked in 1988 and were, for the most part, about changes to the form, history and effects of multicultural programs and policies within the school. Despite my good intentions, discussions about racism seldom took place. The one question contained within my list of focus questions, was carefully worded and left till the end of the questionnaire. Under the heading 'difference and its effects on relationships' it asked:

> When I was at the school last time teachers were unsure about how differences, especially cultural differences had changed relationships at the school. On the one hand they felt that students got on well together and that there had been very little conflict within the school related to difference. On the other hand they were concerned that some groups were remaining separate from mainstream school life or were leaving others feeling excluded.
>
> What do you see as the effects of difference on relationships between students and between students and teachers at the school? Are there any other things that schools could do to help deal with this? (See Appendix Four)

At the end of my 1988 research, the relation between the individual practices of teachers and parents and their cultural and historic context seemed unexplained and the relation between the myself as knower and my respondents as known, problematic. Moreover, the observations I made in my research project remained unexplained. In 1998, the method I used to collect and analyse this data followed a similar sequence to that followed in 1988. Following from Strauss (1987), and Strauss and Corbin (1998), I

chose quotes to illustrate the patterns that I found in the data. I noted words and ways of understanding, which were repeated so often, that they could not be ignored. The collation of these patterns filled my notebooks and helped formulate future research questions. Nevertheless, as my analysis continued I found, once again, that these methodologies did not allow me to adequately explain my data. I began to realise that these 1998 conceptions needed to be considered differently.[41] In the last part of this chapter, and in the next chapter, I begin to unpick these concerns.

Encountering silent narrations

In anthologies printed in 1998, Guba and Lincoln (1998) and Strauss and Corbin (1998) publish papers, which reaffirm the method frames that had so impressed me ten years earlier. In the introduction to this collection Denzin and Lincoln (1998) argue that qualitative researchers have at hand a multiplicity of methods from which they might choose. As a set of interpretive practices, such research is a set of interpretive practices that privileges no single methodology over another. For these writers qualitative research is produced as 'bricolage'

> And the researcher as bricoleur ... A bricoleur is a 'jack-of-all' trades or a kind of professional do-it-yourself person. The bricoleur produces a bricolage, that is, a piece-together, close-knot set of practices that provide solutions to a problem in a concrete situation. (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, p.3)

I delight in Denzin and Lincoln's redefinition of Levi-Strauss' term. I am indeed a bricoleur in the sense that I patiently put together a miscellany of research methods as part of a considered attempt to unpick the conception and practice of race relations in schools. Nevertheless, I am concerned by their analogy. The matter, as Michelle Fine and Lois Weis (1998) point out, is that 'methods are not passive strategies'. In 1988, I used these tools in order to describe more adequately the multiple constructions that described one particular school context. By 1998 this interpretive frame no longer underpins my analysis. Individual experiences and the ways each of my respondents described them, continues to be important. However, now I cannot but be reminded of Dorothy Smith's (1987) position that these experiences need to be made problematic

[41] Once again my concerns can be found in the papers that I wrote at the time. See Arber (2000; 1999).

within the context of an unequally empowered day-to-day world.[42] Smith's insight is that the subject's material and bodily existence needs to be located within the everyday world and that the relation between that existence and the social conditions and material forms of this world in which they are part, need be made explicit. Her point broaches that point of articulation or linking between individual practices, the contingent and interweaving patterns of meaning and practice and taken-for-granted categories of human existence that come to underpin the methodology discussed in this thesis. The untangling of the relation between these different social vantage points and their relevance to my research methodology is the focus of my next chapter.

I am arguing that the study of people speaking begins with the everyday discussion of individual experience but that the study of this day-to-day world is understood as a relation with the conceptual and material world in which they are profoundly implicated. Literatures of critical theory argue that as experiences are lived within an unequally empowered social world, those power differentials must also focus the research process.[43] Mainstream research method, they argue, has largely produced stereotypical accounts of ethnic relations and, as such, merely served to uphold the status quo. As qualitative data 'are always open to alternative explanations' at best an ethnographer can persuade the reader to agree that the explanation is a plausible one, but not that it is the only plausible one. As it is, David Gillborn argues:

> Whatever the particular school(s) of thought to which we adhere, we should surely be cautious about sociological work that presents the existing status quo as an equitable or natural state of affairs, since such arrangements usually emerge as anything but equitable in research that penetrates surface assumptions. This does not mean, of course, that factors such as social class, gender, sexuality and ethnicity will always be present with predictable consequences in every situation. It means we should be sensitive to the consequences in every situation: it means that we should be sensitive to the ways they have operated elsewhere and how they might be figured (sometimes in novel and contradictory ways) in contemporary relations. (Gillborn, 1998, p.45)

Gillborn's position is that the significance of class, gender and ethnic positioning is not always predictable but that the researcher must remain sensitive to their possible consequences. Joe Kincheloe and Peter McLaren (1998) reassert this position explaining that critical literacy is about the empowerment of individuals and the confrontation of an

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[42] For recent discussion of these issues see Smith (2001).

[43] See for example:Troyna (1993), Troyna and Carrington (1993), Gillborn (1998) and Connolly (1998).

unjust society. In resisting the status quo, researchers do not just describe and analyse their world but seek to work towards its change. Barry Troyna and Bruce Carrington (1993) best sum up this position asking, 'whose side are we on?'. They argue that theory cannot be easily separated from practice and research and should be considered as a transformative process. Whilst they warn against allowing dualisms – black/white, superiors/underdogs, us/them – to underpin research projects he nevertheless maintains that the pre-eminent commitment of research must be to promote concepts of social justice, equality and participatory democracy.

My commitment to anti-racism and to the promotion of good multicultural policy and practice underpinned my community work and my work in schools for over two decades and provided, in the first instance, my reason for undertaking this research. Nevertheless, I did not find these good intentions easily or even appropriately translatable into my research project. After one particularly harrowing experience, for instance, I was to write in my diary that:

> This is an instance of racism – not at the school but at my university – my institution. I am not a 'white knight' (who can) change the world. It is a misconstruction to sell myself (in) that way. Just listening and believing is something but it is not enough. It is on your shoulders now. You cannot just listen to something that could be in your power to change and not change it especially as it is not within the school at all. (Journal Bk 5, 1998, p.16)

Parisha's story describes her daughter's experiences at the university. It is a horrible story and I am in no doubt that something should be done to change the situation, Taking action is not a simple matter however. Even when I am sure that I have command of the 'facts', I am unsure as to whether intervention on her daughter's behalf is within my power, sensible or even ethnical. How was it that I thought that I could deal with the situation more adequately than Parisha's daughter could herself? Most particularly, neither Parisha nor myself were sure that the events we described were racist. 'I am not sure if this is racism or not', she tells me as she begins her story. Even were I able to choose 'whose side I was on' working within such a paradigm of critical theory was not straightforward and difficult to implement. It was difficult to know when racism had happened. Even when racist events were discussed, their veracity was strongly contested. Moreover, and as I have already indicated, conversations about racism were difficult to broach and seldom discussed at all.

Critical theories were important in so far as they provided tools to examine the relation between the day-to-day experiences of individuals and the socio-historic context in which they were part. However, they could not explain the relation between these activities and the ways in which they were positioned and framed by ontological context. In this way I could not know how I could help. I knew I was on Parisha's side because I wanted to help, but I knew that I was not on her side because I was not an Indian-Australian. I was aware that to define Parisha as Indian was to describe her as different and other, to ignore this notion and its consequences was to fail to hear her story. Together, we were not sure if the events described were racist or not because we were not looking in the right direction. To do that would be to explore the terms and conditions that defined what it was to be Indian within a contemporary Australian context. In an important paper, James Scheurich and Michelle Young (1997) suggest that the locus of these debates does not lie within the discussions of concept and practice we record but elsewhere in the terrain of the ontology in which they are in turn implicated. Applying herself to the question that research epistemologies themselves might be racially biased she suggests that by not being reflexive about the epistemologies we use, racism is unconsciously promulgated on an epistemological level. As Gloria Ladson-Billings has it:

> Epistemology is linked to world-view. Shujaa (1997) argues that world views and systems of knowledge are symbiotic – that is, how one views the world is influenced by what knowledge one possesses and what knowledge one is capable of possessing is influenced deeply by ones worldview. Thus the conditions under which people live and learn shape both their knowledge and their world-views. (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p.258)

The way in which we come to understand the manner of the world around us has an internal logic and an external validity, which like the world we study, is already-formulated within a taken-for-granted world of form and meaning. Ladson-Billing's point is that research method must not only consider what is said, but also consider the effect of 'a dominant paradigm' upon the study. In particular, the logics underpinning the form and purpose of the study need to be questioned. With this in mind, I cannot but look again at what it means to return as a white, middle-class academic to an environment similar to the one in which I had been teaching for many years: what this means to the ways I already share taken-for-granted conceptions with my respondents; and how this changes the form and practice of my research methods.

Ruth Frankenberg (1993) in her groundbreaking study of white woman and race is concerned that the logics of race and difference play an integral part in the way these everyday experiences are understood by both the researcher and the researched. She argues that the inability to see racism is not about the disappearance of race difference in contemporary society but implicit within, what she calls the 'double move between colour evasiveness and power evasiveness'. Conversations which suggest that 'everyone is the same under the skin' and that race difference and therefore racism are no longer of concern fail to realise ways that differences underpinned by race continue to be crucial. Race, she argues, is not something innocent but rather underpins every aspect of our society: the friends we make, the places we can go, the person we can become. In their article, 'Writing the wrongs of Fieldwork: Confronting our own research', Fine and Weis comment in a slightly different vein that:

> Reading the narratives, it's hard to miss entrenched, raced patterns of daily life. Most white respondents *say* that they don't think much about race; most people of colour wish they weren't reminded of their race – via harassment, discrimination and on-the-street stares – quite so often. Many argue that race *shouldn't* make much of a difference. Yet the life stories as narrated are so thoroughly raced that readers of the transcript can't not know even an anonymous informant's racial group ... Yes race *is* a social construction, but it's so deeply confounded with racism that it has enormous power in people's lives. We can't simply problematise it away as if it does not really exist. (Fine and Weis, 1998, p.18)

Fine and Weis' point is that the way that we think about and negotiate matters of race, are not only found within social structures but within 'entrenched, raced patterns of daily life'. Race and ethnicity make a difference because the day-to-day negotiations that make up its experience and practice take place in relation within the normalised frames that define who we are and how we understand others and ourselves in contemporary societies. These frames are taken-for-granted, barely thought of and seldom spoken about. The social world one inhabits as a researcher, the social world one examines and the logic of the research technologies one uses, are caught up within the same taken-for-granted conceptions.

Rey Chow's (1993) question, 'Where have all the natives gone?', particularly considers Fine's third vantage point of analysis. Her position is that the discussion of race by contemporary western ethnographers is in some way 'essentially pornographic'. Chow's argument is that in Western societies the conceptions of who-we-are are, are understood

in relation to notions of who-they-are. In the process others become the both the object of our obsessive gaze and an-other who cannot quite be known and made visible. Our work as ethnographers and to know and locate others often repeats and reinforces these same contradictory frames. Thus the researcher confronts the other through the same ambivalent logics that underpin the ways that raced difference is known and located within that same social setting. For Chow, this is a distorted, decentred map: the sacred-thing that needs to be saved is the bad-thing that needs to be replaced; the other who becomes the obsession of our focus is the thing we can barely discuss so that:

> 'Natives' are represented as defined images – that is the fact of our history. But we must represent them a second time by turning history 'upside down' giving them the sanctified status of the non-duped? Defilement and sanctification belong to the same order. (Chow, 1993, p.54)

The focus of our research is an-other who is both faulty and wonderful. This other person marks the edges of who we are and as such is described as someone who is more than or less than we are ourselves. There are three points particularly, which I take from Chow's reminder. The one introduces the ontological frame I describe in the next chapter. Here I argue that an unmarked us views itself through the others whom they are not. The second posits that race and ethnic relations must be understood in relation as individual experience and as social structures but also in terms of the taken-for-granted ways of knowing and being in the world which frame them. The third maintains that these ontological frames are not only site and subject of what is said but of what is not said. Even as I go to work to understand ethnic relations and to work towards their disappearance I find that I am already caught within the logics that underpin the conditions from which they have been made. Because of this, I realise that I do not always hear properly what people tell me. Moreover, because I am inclined to think through those same logics I need to beware that I do not simply reaffirm them.

To move across these ambivalent, negotiated spaces is not simple. Ruth Behar points out that research into matters of race and ethnicity require a sense of crossing boundaries where:

> It now seems impossible to imagine doing any kind of ethnography without a concept of the borderlands or of border crossings. The concept of borderlands, so poetically explored by Gloria Anzaldua, is rooted in the slippery social landscape created by international capitalism and migration. (Behar, 1993, p.15)

Discussions about race and ethnicity are not only about moving from one form of ethnic identity to another but about doing this in recent and increasingly globalised times when these terms have become increasingly slippery. As I move into the school, I find that the boundaries that define self from others do not work as I predict. I come to the research from a number of different positions.[44] It is a positioning that becomes increasingly complex as my own positioning changes over a decade. My increased responsibilities at the university for instance mean that I no longer understand my relation with teachers in quite the same way. The respondents who I reinterview from 1988 have also changed. Further, the teachers and parents I interview for the first time in 1998 often have quite different experiences. Parents particularly, have often had quite different educational opportunities and experiences and opportunities from those parents I had interviewed earlier. I find I often share a common social position with parents in ways that I did not in 1988. The parent born in Cambodia who discusses with me the progress of his research degree is only one example of this. As Fine (1998) reminds me, research work needs to be considered as both: a colonising process of the other but also as a crossing of the hyphen. It is that

> Much of qualitative research has reproduced, if contradiction-filled, a colonising discourse of the 'other'. This essay is an attempt to review how qualitative research projects have *Othered* and to examine an emergent set of activist and/or post-modern texts that interrupt *Othering*. First, I examine the hyphen at which self-other join in the politics of everyday life, that is, the hyphen that both separates and merges personal identities with our inventions of others. I then take up how qualitative researchers work this hyphen ... through a messy series of questions about methods, ethics and epistemologies as we rethink how researchers have spoken 'of' and 'for' others while occluding ourselves and our own investments, burying the contradictions which percolate the self-other hyphen. (Fine and Weis, 1998, p.15)

Fine's claim is that qualitative research, as much as other activities within contemporary western society, reproduces the logics of race within its concepts and its ways of action. Her central point is that the study of the day-to-day of contemporary life is already implicated in the same materialities and conceptions as those it seeks to understand. Fine's second point is that even as these underlying conditions serve to normalise ways of understanding others and therefore selves, they are nevertheless based on contradictory logics. The relation between identities of self and other is both meaningful, yet one which shifts and changes and falls apart. The point is that the definition of these

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[44] See Introduction.

identities and the relation between them changes over the decade. A crucial question to be dealt with in this dissertation explores the implications of these changes on the way teachers and parents speak about race and ethnic relations in a school.

Clifford (1997) describes earlier research efforts as ones where ethnographers were travellers who are adopted, 'learn' the language and dig in for a while. The task for such researchers is to find natives who as representatives of the places to which they belong are asked to speak. 'The native speaks: the anthropologist writes.' To be concerned about 'going native' is to worry endlessly about somehow becoming like those others we have come to research. Clifford's point is that the context of the research needs be rethought so as to negotiate these discourses within an unequally empowered conceptual and material domain. He suggests that the ethnographer remains a traveller but that this relation needs to be understood relationally. Ethnography, he argues, is no longer about outsiders visiting outsiders or about leaving home where things are safely known to go out in the field somewhere else where things are different. Research, he argues, needs to be considered as 'homework'. As such, Clifford suggests, it has two meanings. In the first it is a matter of shifting locations, a place of border crossing where the boundaries blur.[45] To enter a school is no longer a matter of outsiders visiting insiders, but an exploration of practices, identities, and relationships articulated within histories, cultures and experiences, which I both share and do not share. It is about them and it is about me. It includes me, some of the time as insider and sometimes from outside. In the second place, Clifford reminds me that it is precisely at this point that the 'worlding' of the research becomes imperative.[46] That is, it becomes absolutely pertinent that the research is caught within the contingent and yet profoundly meaningful historical and political understandings and circumstances of which it is part. My research into ethnic relations is indeed a matter of 'homework'. It is a critical confrontation with the often taken-for-granted ways of meaning, which shape and make relationships between those who do and those who do not belong. It looks not only at the ways that these relations are embodied and enunciated by those to whom I speak but at the ways that they are ones in

[45] See also Gupta and Ferguson (1999).
[46] See particularly: Spivak (1996), Pettman (1992).

which I too am profoundly implicated. It is about what I can speak about and can hear, and what I can hear only faintly.

Conclusion

The way in which ethnic and race relations are spoken about in Australian schools is, of course, the focus of this dissertation. In particular my thesis is concerned with my initial observation that although it was easy to debate some matters others became increasingly difficult to broach. My reading of recent literatures of cultural studies and post-colonialism suggest that methods used in the research cannot be considered to be innocent. Instead these writings suggest that discussions about ethnic relations in contemporary Western societies might not be just about hearing what people tell me but are also about listening to what is left unsaid: that is about listening to noise but also to silence in a changing and increasingly globalised world. In this chapter, I describe my research project and the methods I used to undertake this research. I find that these methods describe the individual practices and experiences of parents and teachers but are limited in the ways that they are able to set them within the material and conceptual conditions of their socio-historical context. Moreover, they fail to suggest how to interpret these conversations when the terms and conditions of these relations remain inexplicit. I argue that method must not only consider these individual relations but the taken-for-granted conceptions that underpin their negotiation. In the next chapter, I look more closely at literatures of post-colonialism and cultural studies as a way to build a more comprehensive methodology through which to read the noisy-silent conversations I collect.

MAPPING SILENT NARRATIONS:

Racism and multiculturalism in a Melbourne school

1988 - 1998

Chapter 2
Beyond silent noise: Articulating methodology

> The first years of research ... were wonderfully exciting ... The picture that I was able to paint of the school and the individual experiences which were occurring within them were vibrant and glowing. It was full of exciting stories about the people I was meeting during my research. Why was the Chinese teacher having so much difficulty introducing a curriculum of Chinese studies within the school? Why was the ESL teacher at one school able to introduce a multicultural policy statement with so much ease and yet be so ineffectual in changing the actual activities of teachers within the school? Why was the new principal at a second school able to change the school curriculum so quickly without the benefit of such a statement? Most exciting of all, I was gathering the stories about the lives of individuals and their experiences within an ethnically diverse school system. What was it like to be a new principal in a school that was suffering from increasing ethnic division? What was it like for the student who had narrowly escaped through the jungles of Cambodia and had never had time for an education before? What was it like for the Greek teacher who felt torn between the aspirations of his parents' compatriots and the demands of his professional peers? I felt like a detective as I doggedly tracked down the clues ...
>
> And then everything came to a stop ... The standstill came not because of the sheer immensity of the material although it was massive. In fact, the vast stores of data from which I could draw helped me to paint an ever-widening and more dynamic picture of what was happening within the schools. Rather, the problem was one of concept(ion). (Arber, 1993, p.1)

In 1988, I interwove the miscellany of narrations that brought to life a school community. Through the words of my informants, I placed together a mosaic of the day-to-day of school life. As the year progressed however, I became increasingly concerned that I could not properly explain my research material. The stories I collected seemed unpatterned, *ad hoc* and changing. They negotiated practices in ways that seemed idiosyncratic and inconsistent. They included frequent and noisy conversations about some matters while other matters were discussed only reluctantly. By the end of 1988 it

was clear that if I were to explain my data I would need to find a methodological frame which could allow me to deal with my data more adequately.

A crucial task for this dissertation is to find a cohesive methodological framing which can explore the ways people in schools speak about ethnic and race relationships. My project has three particular directions. First, I account for the ways that ethnic and raced identities are conceptualised and practised and how they relate to each other in their changing context. Second, I explore the ways these identities and the relation between them can be spoken or not spoken about and to account for the ways these relations might change. Third, I examine how these first two directions (the ways these relationships are understood and practised and they are spoken about) are located within the particular and changing conditions of contemporary Western societies such as Australia. In this chapter, I build a method frame to explore the relation between speaking and the conceptual and material relations of individual practice, the contested and negotiated conditions that which make up this conceptual and practical domain and the taken-for-granted ways of being and knowing the world which frame and are framed by this discussion.

The phenomenological approach that underpinned my research project in 1988 continues to provide useful ways to explore the individual stories told to me by teachers and parents. However, by the time that I resumed my research project in 1998, I became concerned that this approach could not provide the theoretical and methodological concepts to account for the problematic relation between experiences in school and their narration. This chapter deals with these concerns in three sections. The first lays out the dimensions of the problem and develops a framework that reconsiders the relation between individual experiences and the ways they can be spoken about. The second uses these methodological notions as vantage points from which definitions of ethnic identities and difference and the relations between them can be understood and spoken about and the ways these might change. The final section sets out the conditions for a more comprehensive framing through which the noisy yet silent conversations about ethnic relations can be explored. In the next chapter, I consider how these

methodological notions provide a frame to analyse the ways ethnic and raced relations are spoken about within the changed places and times of an Australian context.

Framing narrations

My task in this research was to explore the ways teachers and parents spoke about race and ethnic relations. In 1988 I set out as an artist, a kind of photographer who came from outside to take a picture of an 'instant-in-action'. My goal was to take a snapshot of school experiences that were individual in their circumstance even as they were caught within contexts, which were fluid, and in a state of 'mutual simultaneous shaping'. As a portrait-maker, apparently unimpeded by the world outside the school, I sought to understand the moving shadows contained within the discussion. It is not that I considered myself to be value-free or that I could know the truth. My task was one of *verstehen*, of 'interpretive understanding', of conceptualising both the nature of the activity and the meaning that individuals assigned to their actions.[47] Following from Yvonna Lincoln and Egon Guba (1985) I considered the voices of individuals as they attached multiple, constructed and holistic meaning to the experiences they met with in their everyday life.[48] It was a process from which I could not consider myself separate. I, the knower, and they, as known, were inseparable. The end-point of such studies was the point of 'saturation'; the culmination of a constant shuffling between social events within their pristine 'natural setting' and the 'grounded theory' which I as the researcher developed through this dialogue between conception and experience.[49]

As I have explained, my research model continues to depend on the tools suggested in Lincoln and Guba's *Naturalistic Inquiry* (1985). However, the ways that I understand these methodological practices and my role as a researcher has changed. I no longer imagine the world that I study is something that belongs to others but rather that it is a shared and lived world in which I am both active and positioned. The task is to

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[47] See Smith (1983) for an explanation of this approach as it underpinned my work in 1988.
[48] See also Guba and Lincoln's (1999) recent summary of this approach.
[49] For material, which conceptualises the inquiry as an instant in action see, for instance: Wilkes and Krebs (1988). For discussions about the nature of naturalistic inquiry as it informed my 1988 research see particularly: Lincoln and Guba (1985), but also, for instance, Polkinghorne (1983), Denzin (1989), Potter and Wetherall (1987) and Arber (1993b). For discussions of grounded theory see particularly Strauss (1987).

reconstitute as problematic an everyday world already located within the knower's consciousness and within the various and differentiated matrices of my own experiences as researcher.[50] This is to uncover a world where ways of knowing and being in the world intersect, change and matter differently.

A central insight within Lincoln and Guba's naturalistic approach is their conception of the constructedness of reality where:

> Events, persons, objects are indeed tangible entities. The meanings and wholeness derived from or ascribed to these tangible phenomena in order to make sense of them, organise them or re-organise a belief system, however, are *constructed realities.* (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.84)

Their argument is that reality, were it to exist in itself, could not be recognised. Rather, the world that is 'known' can only be known through the construction or the beliefs about that reality. As there are multiple ways that individuals might construct reality, Lincoln and Guba argue that reality is multiply constructed and disjunctive. The individual in this approach is an experiencing, changing, unitary being who makes sense of the world in ways which can be considered rational but are nevertheless unpredictable as decisions are made individually and separably within changing places and times.

Following from the insights made within literatures of cultural studies and post-colonialism[51] I am reminded that conceptions of the everyday world are not always already there, nor are they discretely individual and necessarily differentiated responses within an disinterested context. Rather they are profoundly interwoven within the ways that the world is made meaningful to experiencing subjects through shared language.[52] The arrangement of knowledge and facts is one that is made through the day-to-day activities of the real people, even as the practical experiences of everyday lives are made through these same relations. This relation between day-to-day practice, the negotiation

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[50] See particularly Smith's (1987) book *The everyday world as problematic* as well as her recent book *Writing the social* (Smith, 2001).

[51] For other literatures, which combine this two theoretical perspectives, see for instance Bhabha (1994), Chambers (1994), Chow (1998), Clifford (1997), Grossberg (1992) and particularly Hall (1997a).

[52] For materials, which explore social constructions of reality see Berger and Luckman (1976). For theories that the world is made meaningful through unequally empowered ways of meaning, consider, for instance, Gee (1996a) and Fairclough (1989). For theories, which consider the relation between these ways of meaning and subjectivity consider, for example, Hall (1997b), Henriques et al (1984), Grossberg (1996b),

of facts and the taken-for-granted of 'a historical forever' make up what I have called the terrain of 'imagination'. Marion O'Callaghan defines this term, 'imagination' as:

> The selecting out and rearrangement of 'facts' in order to provide coherence, framework and seeming unity between ideas and action, or more precisely to provide a basis for the direction of social relationships and the social creation of categories. It is what is imagined that posits the 'natural', that is, the normal, the fixed and unchanging. Seeming to exist in a historical forever, this is nevertheless framed by the present. To put it in another way, imagination is socially created in what follows, not precedes, the structure of social relations. (O'Callaghan, 1995, p.22)

O'Callaghan defines the terrain of imagination as the taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world that provide the frame through which everyday practice and the negotiation of social conditions take place. At the same time she maintains that these structures are 'socially created' and emerge from the negotiation of those same relations. To contemplate social relationships through O'Callaghan's definition of imagination is to consider them in terms of the most basic categories of human existence. These are frameworks of meaning which underpin every aspect of the universe of social knowledge, the ideas, facts and unities which formulate it and the normalised ways of understanding and being within it. The world, as it is viewed from this viewpoint seems self-evident and forever present, inviolate. Nevertheless, these ways of understanding and being in the world do not exist in themselves. The formulation of the universe as it is known and practised remains firmly fixed in relation to its negotiation within the social world. It remains linked within the unpredictable process that interweaves the actions and ideas of identities and the ways of meaning and practice in which they are part. The 'terrain of the imagination' defines the 'taken-for-granted' ways things are known about and done in the world but also the contingent link of these processes with their socio-historical and cultural context and with day-to-day experience and practice.[33]

The terrain that I describe here is a shifting, changing one where unequally empowered ways of meaning are struggled over by experiencing individuals who are themselves caught within these same ways of understanding. Atvah Brah (1996) in her particular imagination of diasporic space provides an important description of the multilayered

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and Weedon (1995).

[33] This codification of the world as it is made and known and is caught in a formation of 'linkage' has been described by Hall and by Grossberg as 'articulation'. For an in-depth discussion of articulation see Grossberg (1992, 1996a).

complexity of these relations. She reminds us that that these relationships are not only ones of concept but also ones of materiality played across patterned fields of power as they constitute and transform social relations and identities. Constructs such as class, gender and race and ways of talking about them as multiculturalism and racism are made as 'a specific type of power relation' produced and exercised in and through a myriad of economic, political and cultural practices. These come together in imagined spaces in which:

> Individuals and collectivities are simultaneously positioned in social relations constituted and performed across multiple dimensions of differentiation: that these categories always operate in articulation. Multi-axiality foregrounds the intersectionality of economic, political and cultural facets of power. It highlights that power does not inhabit the realm of macro structures alone, but is thoroughly implicated in the everyday of lived experience. Multi-axiality draws attention to how power is exercised across global institutions ... On the other hand, it emphasises the flow of power within the inter-and intra-subjective space. That is, it is equally firmly tuned to the unexpected disruptions of psychic processes to the complacency of rationality. (Brah, 1996, p.242)

Brah's analysis expands the point developed here. It is not just that individuals and social collectivities and normalised conception are linked. It is that this 'multi-axiality' is formed as an intersection between different facets of power. The terrain that the imagination considers is a never-reached, always-in-process construction of contingent and often-disjunctive ways of meaning and practice that make up the ways of knowing and being in the world within socio-historic place and time. Its topography is not singular but consists of unequally empowered multifarious, disjointed, parallel, conflicting, incompatible and compound notions. Moreover, the power of imagined space does not remain as one of concept, but is profoundly material. Its logics and the notional and structural conditions it engenders, mediate the relation between day-to-day experiences and practices of individuals and their social world. It marks the different but always-possible location of 'real' positions and 'real' people.

As a participant within these same imagined spaces I understand their narration from three different, but integrated vantage points. These viewpoints can be understood as an articulated relation between three levels from which the social can be analysed: the narrational practice, the narrational field and the narrational map. From the vantage point provided by *narrational practice* I examine the seeming *ad hoc* nature of individual experiences and stories and the ways that experiencing individuals understand

and participate within their day-to-day worlds. Lincoln and Guba's (1985) concern to understand the multiple constructions of the reality of people caught within interacting but not necessarily related events and processes exemplify this position. At the level of *narrational fields* I explore the patterned yet contingent and often-disjunctive ways in which meaning and practice are related to a particular conceptual or practical domain. This includes discussions about discourse formations such as multiculturalism, nationalism and racism, situational structures such as the school and the home and structural processes such as race, class and gender. The analysis of these negotiations and their often-discordant links with each other and with socio-cultural place and time has been the subject of a number of methodological works including those by critical theorists as I discussed them in the last chapter.[54] The final vantage point, that of *the narrational map,* considers the interconnectedness of narrational fields as they define the essential ways of knowing and being in the world. Recent writings about post-colonialism and whiteness explore and problematise these taken-for-granted maps. The quote from Morrison's (1992) *Playing in the Dark,* which begins this thesis, is one example of this viewpoint.

Table 1: Levels of analysis.

Methodological level	Methodological focus
Narrational practices	Considers individual experiences and stories.
Narrational fields	Considers the interconnectedness of individual practices as contingent and often-disjunctive ways of meaning and practice related to a particular conceptual or practical domain.
Narrational maps	Considers the interconnectedness of narrational fields which make up the normalised ways of knowing and being in the world.

The methodolological framework that I am developing is concerned with a social world articulated from three levels. The first is concerned with the individuality of experience as it is understood and talked about by people as they discuss their day-to-day practice.

[54] I consider for example the work of Gillborn (1998), Troyna and Carrington (1993), McLaren (1995),

The second contemplates the proposition that these changing ways of knowing and being in the world are made and remade as fields of meaning by those who are both positioned by them and participate in their making. The final viewpoint emphasises the notion that these fields of meaning, however contingent, make up the world as it is known to the experiencing subjects who move within it. Recent post-colonial literatures and cultural studies writings describe identities as fragmenting, changing, contingent, 'in process' entities, even as they consider these subjects as firmly positioned by framings of race and ethnicity, gender and class.[55] They remind us that the interconnection of meaning and identity is not an innocent process but represents real struggles played out within the times and spaces of contemporary Western societies. These fight together to negotiate the most crucial of conditions: who one is, how one can belong, and how one can speak. They define the territorial struggles that define who can and who cannot belong within local communities such as schools, and they reconsider the ways of understanding and meaning that frame these relations. The 'levels of analysis' approach developed here emphasises practices, fields and maps of narration. However, this is not to imply that narration is the central or overriding practice of social life – only that is it central to the present thesis.[56]

The examination of levels of narration as 'narrational' describes the non-necessary relation or linking between the different viewpoints from which I consider my analysis: that of practice, historical and political context, and normalised ways of being and knowing the world. It also describes the process of their enunciation. In line with my method, which I have already spoken about, we can analyse narrations as spoken about from three different vantage points. Story telling describes what people do with each other as they try in their day-to-day lives to explain themselves to themselves. Historic patterning is what people do as they negotiate the contingent and disjunctive stories they tell as a relation with socio-historical circumstance when they talk about a particular conceptual or practical domain. Mapping is what people do as they make their stories

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Kincheloe and McLaren (1998) and Connolly (1998).

[55] See for example: Giroux (2000), Grossberg (1997), Brah (1996), Spivak (1996), Chow (1993), Minh-ha (1999), Bauman (1997a)and Hall (1997a).

[56] I am much indebted to Paul James' (1996) work on analytical abstraction from which this approach takes its inspiration and methodological parameters.

from the already understood and taken-for-granted ways-of-knowing and being in the world which frame and are framed by these stories and historic patterns as they appear as beyond time and beyond space.

Table 2: Levels of narration

Level of narration	Narrational process	Analytic process
Story telling	What people do with each other as they try in their day-to-day lives and relatively unreflexively of their practical consciousness to explain themselves to themselves.	Re-telling the stories which people recount to each other as they try in their day- to-day lives and relatively unreflexively of their practical consciousness to explain themselves to themselves.
Historic patterning	What people do as they negotiate the contingent and disjunctive stories they tell as a relation with socio-historical circumstance when they talk about a particular conceptual or practical domain.	Describing the patterns which emerge when relating the negotiations between the disjunctive and contingent stories people tell as a relation with socio-historical circumstance when they talk about a particular conceptual or practical domain.
Mapping	What people do as they make their stories from the already understood and taken-for-granted ways-of-knowing and being in the world which frame and are framed by these stories and historic patterns as they appear as being beyond time and beyond space.	Tracing out the taken-for-granted ways-of-knowing and being in the world which frame and are framed by these stories and historic patterns as they appear as being beyond time and beyond space.

The analysis of these levels of narration describes a double hermeneutic process in which the analyst considers the actors' accounts of their conduct and experience, the patterned conceptual domain and the ways of understanding that conceptualise that domain. However, even as the researcher considers these narratives and makes the effort

of translation he or she both remains framed by them and part of their renegotiation.[57] The process of analysis therefore has three different entry points: the re-telling of stories which people recount to each other as they try in their day-to-day lives to explain themselves to themselves; the description of patterns which emerge when relating the negotiations between the disjunctive and contingent stories people tell as a relation with socio-historical circumstance; and the task involved when tracing out the taken-for-granted ways-of-knowing and being in the world which frame and are framed by these stories and historic patterns. In this chapter I explore the notions of identity and difference, their relationship and their enunciation as they are articulated as miscellaneous experiences, chaotic patternings and fundamental positionings. In the next chapter, I explore how these logics are played out in recent Australian places and times. In the second half of the thesis I consider how these concepts are spoken about in a Melbourne school.

Re-imagining identity

In his chapter, 'Who needs identity?' Stuart Hall (1996a) contemplates the complex relation that exists between identities and their representation.[58] His analysis explores the subject, commonly defined as essential, unchanging and autonomous from three different theoretical directions. In the first part of his analysis, Hall reconceptualises Foucault's theories of discourse formation to argue that social positions are constituted and reconstituted as individuals actively interpret the world and are themselves interpreted through the realisation of different versions of meaning. These conceptions of identity are fought over and changed within struggles between unequally empowered ways of meaning and practice and formed within the vicissitudes of history and socio-economic context. Identity becomes about:

> using the resources of history language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from' so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. (Hall, 1996a, p.4)

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[57] For a definition of the double hermeutic process see, for example: Giddens (1984). For an explanation of Giddens' concept see Cohen (1986).

[58] I find Hall's exploration of identity particularly succinct. Variations of this analysis are found in Hall (1997a), Henriques et al (1984), Giroux and McLaren (1994), Rattansi (1992), Weedon (1995), Barrett

Hall initially formulates identities as contingent, changing and fragmented entities tied to the historical and socio-cultural trajectories in which they are participant and embodied. It is a model well illustrated by his own particular story in which Hall describes his youth as a member of a middle-class and ethnically mixed family in Jamaica (Hall claims African, East Indian, Portuguese and Jewish antecedents) and his later life in England as an academic.[59] The complex ambiguities of these life-changes underpin the incredible complexity of ascribing identity as essential and predestined and examine instead the multiplicity of social and historical trajectories in which identities are formulated.

The second strand of Hall's argument is that identities are formulated through the eyes of others. In Hall's reworking of Lacan, identities are made through the 'eyes' of those who they are not. He reiterates Lacan's image of the mother and child each looking within the mirror; each remaining in each other's gaze even as the other remains not quite knowable, always just out of grasp.[60] The voyeur within this scene remains, separate from the watched, unable to cross the wall of language and never fully confident of the other's reply (or lack of reply). The desire to know the other person becomes unfulfillable and interwoven with fantasy. The conceptualisation of the other is overlaid by 'ambivalence'; it is both someone loved and desired and something threatening; a site of danger, negative feelings and lack of control.[61] It is a process that relies for its existence on something outside oneself, on another identity. The conception of the self, as subject, remains ambivalent, grounded in fantasy and decentred from itself as it is constantly troubled by the presence of those others who define the limits of its own selfness.

Hall's argument broaches Althusser's project to bring together the structuralism of Marxist thought and the seemingly discrete behaviours of individuals as Lacan expresses

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(1991), Gee (1996), Mac an Ghaill (1999).

[59] See Chen's (1996) interview with Stuart Hall.

[60] For further information about the derivation of these concepts from the work of Freud and particularly Lacan see also Dews (1990).

[61] For further discussion about the ambivalent conceptualisation of the other see for instance Chow (1993), Bhabha (1994), Brah (1996) and Pickering (2001).

them.[62] This approach has been particularly important within post-colonial and feminist literatures because of the challenge it provides to notions that subjects are unitary and self-aware and innately and biologically determined. These writings argue that identity is not integral to individuals but is formed in ambivalent relation with others. The image of the other as both desired and hated, studied but never quite known – and the self as construed, not in its own selfness, but through its relation to otherness – provides insight into the ways the enunciation of these two entities (self and other) might be understood in contemporary contexts. Nevertheless, these models often work to re-establish the very essentialist notions they wish to disrupt. The reformulation of patriachical images in Lacan's own work and the symbolic relations he reads from these are an ever-present reminder of the ways such historical and political models can become normalised.[63]

Hall's third point is that the conceptualisation of identity is a profoundly over-determined and decentred process. Noting Derrida's displacement of the sign, Hall argues that in contemporary times subjectivity comes under erasure and can no longer be thought of in old ways.[64] Discussions about subjectivity become in a sense a play of text. Dualisms – black/white, coloniser/colonised, self/other, racist/raced – fall apart, are disrupted, double back on themselves as the relation between text and meaning is disrupted. This (de)construction of the individual through the representation of those made different defines subjects as bundlings of ever-changing contingencies formed in excess of their parts, never finished and always deferred. The dualistic notion – who we are and who is different – is distorted in a process of 'doubling' where there is always a trace, an unfolding, an over-or under-determined 'something left over':

> a process of articulation, a suturing, an over-determination not a subsumption. There is always 'too much' of 'too little' – an over-determination or a lack, but never a proper fit, a totality. Like all signifying practices, it is subject to the 'play' of differance. It obeys the logic of more-than-one. And since as a process it operates across difference, it entails discursive work, the building and marking of symbolic boundaries, the production of 'frontier effects'. It requires what is left outside, its constitutive outside, to consolidate the process. (Hall, 1996a, p3)

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[62] Works by Hall (1996a; 1997a) and by the feminist writer Kristeva (1982) are seminal examples of this.
[63] For a critique of Lacan's theories as they apply within feminist thought see for instance Barrett (1991), Ramanand Widdowson (1993). For a critique of these ideas as they apply within discussions of identity generally see Seldon (1993), Dews (1990).
[64] For a detailed reconceptualisation of Derrida's writing and its relation to representation and identity see Dews (1990). For further discussion of this reconceptualisation as a play of text see Bhabha (1994) and Chambers (1994).

Identity politics in this sense is phantasmagorical. It is negotiated in process as the identities of selves are made through representations of an-other. It is a production of the 'I' through alterity, which is never finally made, as spaces between the making of identities and their text are never quite sufficient and never quite complete. Identity becomes notionally a place of never quite becoming. Its imagination is negotiated not only within its embodiment but within its enunciation. Its representation marks the unreachable relation between the speaking of 'social practice' and its doing.

In writing this, Hall broaches Homi Bhabha's (1994) conception of the never quite finished, always in-between subject never quite grounded in the enunciation of representation.[65] Bhabha's project is to untangle the observation that subjects are formed in excess of the parts of their difference, especially as they are defined as race, class and gender; that subjects share experiences but have understandings, and priorities that are antagonistic, conflictural and incommensurable. His argument is that hybridity constructs identities as political objects that are 'neither the one nor the other'. His term develops the notion that the over-determination of identities as collections of complex and disjointed complexities properly 'alienates our political expectations' (1994, p.25). The danger is that such disruption of the very core of identity construction contemplates the disintegration of the self altogether. Identity becomes something always in process and in-between as the ambivalent representations of the 'sly civility', the 'mimicry' and the 'signs' of others disrupt not only its conception but also its corporality.[66]

In the confluence of these three approaches (discursive, psychoanalytic and deconstructive) identity becomes redefined as something fragmentary, changing, constructed, in process, struggled over, something that 'we might become'. The resources of history, language and culture become part of a 'process of becoming' rather than something in 'the process of being'. Subjects are formulated within struggles between ways of meaning articulated within socio-historical context. The other remains an ambivalent figure, always just out of reach, delineating the end points of what we are not. Difference is not merely something oppositional, a series of dualisms reflecting

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[65] See Terry (1995).

margin and centre, but something that is never finished, something that is always deferred.

Beneath the quite different theories of Derrida, Lacan and Foucault is a lacunae. Connie Zwieg (1995) in her critique of post-modern theories mourns the loss of the 'good ol' self, so deconstructed that it has become transparent and leaves nothing else left. Like so many others I am concerned that post-modernist theories, even as they provide new insights into the nature of identity relations, have left the crucial formulation of the central condition of identity empty.[67] Nevertheless, it is this notion of identity as non-unitary, fragmented, contradictory and constructed that has proven most important to the emancipatory politics of our time. The post-modern deconstruction of the individual has become crucial as a way to problematise taken-for-granted relations and to consider uncertainty and change in an increasingly globalised contemporary world.[68] Hall's threefold redefinition of the subject reconsiders it as both site and subject of the interweaving and often disjunctive ways of meaning.[69] It is ambivalent and decentred from itself as it is troubled by the always-just-out-of-reach other and unfinished sets of relations caught in the never-quite-reached spaces between the speaking of 'social practice' and its doing. This rethinking is crucial to the methodological frame being developed here.

Moreover, the central point of post-colonial writings is that the imagination of identity and, more particularly, difference neither disappears nor ceases to matter. Their central concern is the juncture between the contingent disjunctive nature of identities as we know them and the ontological positions to which they are tied (no matter how temporarily), and they emphasise the essential materiality of these positionings. Hall speaks of this as:

> the meeting point, the point of *suture*, between, on the one hand, the discourses and practices which attempt to 'interpellate', speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce

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[66] For a critique of Homi Bhabha's work, see particularly, Young (1990).
[67] See for example Dews (1990) in his most careful analysis of post-modern theories.
[68] See for example Zwieg (1995), Bulbeck (1998), Barrett (1991), Frankenberg (1993) and Brah (1996).
[69] For an explanation of the relation between site and subject see Barrett (1991) as well as her recent book Barrett (1999).

> subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be 'spoken'. Identities are thus points of temporary attachment to the subject positions, which discursive practices construct for us. They are the result of a successful articulation or 'chaining' of the subject into the flow of discourse. (Hall, 1996a, p.5)

The interweaving and struggling discourses that make up contemporary Western identities are not made in isolation but are linked within the socio-historic trajectories that map out the day-to-day of the social world. They consider not only the disjunctive and contingent relations which make up the vantage point of the narrational fields but the ways those often discordant patternings are tied to seemingly essential ways of knowing and being in the world. The next section looks more carefully at the ways these maps have been made and defined.

Articulating Others

A central point of the post-colonial analysis[70] I am considering is that the subject is firmly tied to the positionings mapped out for him or her within a constantly remade, contingent, but naturalised and 'taken-for-granted', social world. This argument is made from three different but nevertheless related directions. In Frantz Fanon's (1986) work the material realities of conflict within a colonial world are relentlessly portrayed to us, not as abstractions, but as unremitting pain and suffering. Although he is writing from the particular situation of the Algerian revolution, his writing starkly details for us the horrors that policies and practices of colonialism have played out on the bodies of the colonised. Nevertheless, the ultimate terror that Fanon portrays is not the destruction of the bodies of the colonised but the reconfiguration of their imaginations. It is a terror that is most ably summed up in Sartre's introduction to Fanon's treatise, *The wretched of the earth*:

> Not so very long ago, the earth numbered two thousand million inhabitants; five hundred million men, and one thousand five hundred million natives. The former had the word; the others had the use of it. (Sartre in Fanon, 1990, p.7)

Words, Fanon's (1990) analysis suggests, are powerful weapons through which the terrors and violences of colonisation take place. The crucial force of Fanon's arguments is that the spoken words of colonisers do not remain within the confines of the public arena. Colonialisation, for Fanon is operationalised at both the material and the

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[70] See, for instance: Ghandi (1998), Brah (1996), Hall (1997b) and Chow (1993).

representational levels. Materially it carries out its project of economic exploitation and representationally it seeks to control the discursive image of those it exploits. The normalisation of these ways of thinking naturalises the domination of colonisers and hides the manner in which the colonised are remade as other. The representation of the coloniser's exploitation becomes part of the same normalised ways of meaning through which the colonised view themselves. The colonised comes to believe that the coloniser is the light to 'lighten the darkness', 'the loving mother who protects her child' and that the colonised becomes the blackness, the darkness, 'the very categorisation of negritude'. The central irony of the colonial condition is that the 'lie of the colonial condition' is so normalised that it becomes, albeit in changing ways, the words through which the colonised intellectual must fight his own domination. The real terror of colonisation is not the hold it has over the bodies of real men and women but the reconfiguration of their very psyche.[11]

Fanon's project maps out the silences and mobilities faced by men and woman who are the objects rather than the subjects of history. The stark relation he portrays emerges from within the vicissitudes of his own particular historical and socio-economic trajectory. What is most terrible about the situation he portrays is the reconfiguration of the imagination of both the coloniser and the colonised. Fanon's argument is that the coloniser so normalises the conditions of the colonisation process that the colonised come to work within those same narrational maps and think that this is indeed how-the-world-is. What is awful about this situation is that the colonised come to take for granted the inscription of their own subordination.

Said (1991) explores how this re-imagining of minds and bodies takes place. For Said, the Orient, like the Occident, with its lands and its peoples, exists. The concept 'Orient' however, is an idea created both 'in and for the West' with its own reality, history, traditions of thought, imagery and vocabulary. The West has made 'the Orient', given it its own imagery, traditions of thought and vocabulary and through these made the orient 'orientalised'. Created through power and dominion, this body of theory and practice has

[11] For a critical discussion of Fanon's work see, for example, Goldberg (1996), Young (1990) and

come to be part of the investment that the West has made to maintain positional superiority. It is a relation of power and superiority, which is maintained through the unlikeliest of sources: not just the documents of politics and trade, but also those of literature, travel and academia. To understand the Orient, therefore, is to examine these discourses of understanding but also to dismantle their logic.

Said's work is arguably flawed in so far as he leaves no outside point from which it is possible to stand aside from or to deconstruct orientalism. Even as Said himself suggests that he has been able to stand aside and differentiate the true from the truth, there seems to be no outside point from which he could consider the world as he has reconstructed it.[72] Nevertheless, Said's exploration of the ways that these mappings are made within the colonialist imagination of the colonised is essential to my project. The methodological framing being developed for this dissertation is concerned to disentangle what it means to explore and change the narrational maps that Said defines. The conception of 'whiteness' which I consider later in this chapter considers the possibility that the ways of making others against one's own image is central to the taken-for-granted conceptions of who belongs and who does not belong within contemporary Western societies.

In her seminal work 'Can the subaltern speak?' Gayatri Spivak (1995) explores the consequences of the psychological and social maps of the world used by colonisers and the colonised. To Spivak, the violence of the colonial project lies in what she terms 'epistemic violence'. In this condition of colonisation the social text of the other is so erased that they are in a profound way annihilated. The question becomes one of whether the subaltern, the person of marginalised social position, can speak at all. Spivak argues that it is not that the subaltern does not talk or make an insurgent effort. Rather the struggles of the subaltern are doomed to failure, as he or she remains trapped by the 'epistemic violences', by the violently appropriative colonising practices, deeply ingrained within the colonisers' words.

Chow (1993).

In Spivak's example the debasement of the colonised exists not only in ways that they have been remade by the coloniser but that these languages leave them with no subject position from which to speak. The text of the colonised becomes so rewritten that the colonised person literally cannot speak; everyone else speaks for him or her. The gendered subaltern becomes speechless. This point of absolute silence is debated in post-colonial writings. Spivak herself argues this condition is a notional one defined within the condition of subaltern itself. Were the subaltern to find a place from which to enunciate his or her position, Spivak iterates, then he or she would no longer be subaltern. In her other writings, Spivak is clear about the important as well as the limited ways that this notion of silence can be extended to discuss the position of gendered and raced persons in other contexts. She uses her own ambivalent and disjunctive position to exemplify that identities are positioned but in ways that are tied to contingent and changing contexts.[73]

The post-colonial theories that I explore, are concerned not only with the ways that identities are complicit with ways of meaning and practice as they struggle together in day-to-day worlds but also in the ways that these patterns of representation position identities within that same social world. They suggest that within processes of colonisation those colonised become made no more nor less than the representations made for them by colonisers. The consequences of this are several. First, the community of the coloniser becomes defined by the representation of that which does not belong, the colonised. Those who are defined as not-of-the-community become no more than stories that define their lack of belonging. Second, the colonised come to see themselves and the nature of their condition through the stories told about them by the colonisers. They are left with no ways of bringing about change save through the language that the colonisers have used to shape their world. The ultimate consequence of this post-colonial condition is that the colonised is left, not only with no words to speak but with no place from which to speak them. Thus the ultimate condition of post-colonialism is the absolute silencing of the colonised.

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[72] Young (1990) gives a most clear account of this debate.

[73] For an exploration of the Spivak's concept of subaltern find Spivak (1996), Landry and Maclean (1996), Papastergiadis (1998). For other critiques, see particularly, Young (1990).

The possibility of silence – of the subaltern so colonised that he has no place to speak, nor words to say, save those suggested by the coloniser – needs to be developed more adequately. The point is that the subaltern is not, strictly speaking, silent. He or she speaks all the time of the experiences and practices of day-to-day life and debates the ways these take place as institutional activity and socio-historic circumstance. What needs to be considered is that the taken-for-granted ways of understanding and being in the world, which are the site and subject of these conversations and negotiations, are made within already-positions of unequally empowered logics. The theoretical framework that I consider here is therefore concerned with three interrelated vantage points of theoretical reckoning, each of which has different implications for the ways which identities and their relationships with others can be considered. The first of these viewpoints, that of *narrational practice,* considers the social conditions of experiencing, changing persons as they deal with others in ways that *seem* individual and therefore unpredictable. Literatures of post-colonialism and cultural studies are concerned that these individual interactions are not arbitrary but patterned by and established within the socio-historic conditions in which they are part. The viewpoint provided by the *narrational field* considers the embodiment of subjects as they are experienced through and practised within contingent and interweaving patterns of meaning and practice. Difference is understood as patterned by the ways that subjects are positioned, if only contingently, as 'us' and 'not us'. The relations between identities take place in the contingent ways that relations between people made as 'us' or 'not us' can take place. The last of these vantage points, that of the *narrational map,* considers the person as a subject placed and called into the world through the 'totality' of taken-for-granted ways of knowing and being in the world. Difference is defined in taken-for-granted ways which position subjects as 'self' and 'other' and relations between identities are defined by the taken-for-granted ways that people are placed temporally and spatially in relation to others. Table 3 below sets out the three levels of analysis in relation to the thesis I have just been discussing: subjectivity, difference and relations between persons.

Table 3: Relations between persons

Methodological level	Methodological focus	Subjectivity	Difference	Relations between persons
Narrational practices (experience)	Considers individual practices and stories.	As an experiencing, changing person.	As a matter of dealing 'nicely' or 'badly' towards others.	As matters of individual interaction.
Narrational fields	Considers the often-disjunctive ways of meaning and practice related to a particular conceptual or practical domain. For example: multiculturalism, nation, race.	As patterned by the contingent and interweaving ways of meaning and practice in which the subject is both participant and defined.	As patterned by the way that subjects are positioned, if only contingently, as 'us' and 'not us'.	As patterned by the contingent ways that relations between people made 'us' or ' not us' can take place.
Narrational maps	Considers the interconnectedness of narrational fields that provide taken-for-granted ways of knowing and being in the world.	As placed, and called into the world through the 'totality' of taken-for-granted ways of knowing and being in the world.	As defined in taken-for-granted ways which position subjects as 'self' and 'other'.	As defined by the taken-for-granted ways that people are placed temporally and spatially in relation to others.

The post-colonial writings considered here examine the ways people are positioned by taken-for-granted ways of being in the world. They argue that the conception and practice of race and ethnic relations exists within the dualistic relation, as some people are able to make their world temporally and spatially in relation to others. This relation is one whose materiality is irretrievably linked to its representation. The focus of these arguments is not only the position of people made as coloniser and colonised, but the relation of these positions to the ways that people can speak and be heard, are spoken about and made silent. The matter of silence is not the inability to talk as such, but the inability to have a place from which one can enunciate one's own position. The consequences of this insight on the ways that these relations are embodied, is firmly tied to the taken-for-granted ways that people are therefore positioned as self and other.

Articulating relationships

The methodology I develop here begins with the premise that relations between persons are understood in relation to three particular vantage points: (1) the *ad hoc* and individuated nature of narrational practice; (2) the disjunctive and contingent patterning of concepts and practice of narrational fields; and (3) the ontological frames of the narrational maps to which these are both (and no matter how temporarily) tied. In the last section, I suggest that these relations are made within the confines of narrational maps, which are formulated by some and not by others. In this section, I consider the implications of this analysis on the ways that ethnic and race relations are spoken about in contemporary Western spaces. My discussion is crystallised within the quote from Toni Morrison's (1992) *Playing in the dark* that begins my dissertation. Morrison argues that at the base of Western identities is not a sense of whiteness but the encoding and embodiment of blackness. Her work illustrates how an African presence is overwhelmingly encoded and embodied within the day-to-day of contemporary American society. Here, Morrison explores the possibility broached within post-colonial and whiteness literatures that conceptions of selves in Western societies are made in relation to others whom-we-are-not. The other, in this case the African American person, becomes seen only in relation to the norm that defines a white American sense of self. As such he or she becomes defined as no more nor less than the stereotype that comes to represent his or her otherness. The crucial insight here is that it is not others but selves that are defined by this relation. The final part to this argument is that these conditions are made silent, spoken about in 'coded language'; with 'racial disingenuousness' and with a 'frailty of heart'. White people do not speak of themselves. Nor do they examine their relation to the African presence, which in a very real way defines them. They remain as hooks (1995) argues, 'unaware', even as these representations spell out the extent of their privileged relation to black people.

Recent literatures of whiteness[74] emphasise that it is not the representation of blackness but the conditions of its narration that form the centre of the analytic task. Contemporary

[74] See for instance: Dwyer (1997), Fine et al. (1997), Frankenberg (1993), Frankenberg (1997), Mac an Ghaill (1999), Roman (1997), Weis and Fine (1993).

Western conversation remains focused on ambivalent discussions about others (and in Australia as in America this is often to contemplate the unsettling presence of blackness). The significance of this dialogue is to trace out the limitations of the unexamined norm, which conceptualises non-blackness-whiteness. In an Australian context I am not talking predominantly about white and black but about a certain kind of white against otherness.[75] A central theme within my thesis examines whether and how the logics of this kind of 'whiteness' condition the ways that ethnic and race relations are embodied and enunciated within Melbourne schools.[76] There are several stages to my development of this concept. The first concerns Morrison's argument that in contemporary western societies concepts of selves are made through the conception of what we are not. This has been a crucial point within whiteness writings. As Rey Chow puts it:

> To the extent that it is our own limit that we encounter when we encounter another, all these intellectuals can do is not more than render the other as the negative of what they are and what they do. (Chow, 1993, p.34)

Chow's argument is that the gaze of the white self is in some way pornographic. The study of the other is both its obsession but also that which it can't quite look at. Robert Young (1990; 1995), in commenting on this suggestion, explains that: In racial stereotyping the colonial power produces the colonised as a fixed reality, which is at once an 'other' and yet entirely visible and knowable'. To define the other – to know the other – is not only to tell their story, it is to make the other as it is to be represented. It is to locate the other so that it can be appropriated and controlled. These claims 'to know' as I noted in the last section, are ones made within the ambivalent protocols of fantasy and desire, as the coloniser unable to find the other, represents him or her in a fluctuation between its consideration as one thing and its opposite. It is an impulse to control, which is disrupted, slipping, and incomplete. Nevertheless, it is in the first

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[75] Most recently there have been a number of studies that trace the nature of whiteness as a phenomenon of contemporary western society. The conception of otherness, as it is understood in contemporary societies (and discussions by intellectuals are often no exception) are understood through the conception of what we are not and what we do not do. The definition of white in Australia has changed markedly as Italians, Jews, and other peoples from Middle-Eastern and southern Mediterranean countries have variously been classed as Black, as Asian and as not-white. The concept of Asian, and therefore of not-white has been a particularly changing one, including those peoples who come from the Middle East, India, South-East Asia, China and what was eastern USSR.

[76] From now on I will use the term 'whiteness' without inverted commas.

instance mapped out as part of the orientalist project to locate and to know others. As Said puts it:

> Orientalism is not a mere political subject matter or field which is reflected passively by culture, scholarship or institution ... but also a whole series of 'interests' which by such means as scholarly discovery, philogical reconstruction, psychological analysis, landscape and sociological description, it not only creates but also maintains; it *is*, rather than expresses, a certain *will* or *intention* to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different (or alternative or novel) world; it is above all, a discourse ... [that] is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power ... Indeed, my real argument is that orientalism is and does not simply represent a considerable dimension of modern political-intellectual culture and as such has less to do with the Orient than it does with 'our' world. (Said, 1991, p.12)

Said's argument is that miscellaneous and unequally empowered individual and institutional practices and interests create and maintain what it is to be in 'our' world. The other, the orient, becomes the creation that exists as a way of formulating what is in essence our world made in comparison to their world. Said's second point is that the condition 'white' is in the first place unaware and invisible. It is within the power of those speaking from a position of whiteness to define the dimensions of the map that underpins the ways that day-to-day worlds in contemporary Western societies are understood. Within this mapping process whiteness takes on the appearance of normalcy. It comes to represent the universal condition of being and working within the world. 'Whiteness' comes to be seen as 'that what is'. That which 'it is not' becomes that which is not white. The privileges conferred by these mappings are equally taken for granted and therefore in some way invisible. Whiteness becomes understood as 'having no culture', about being accessible to everyone and as the condition of the normal. The 'taken-for-grantedness' of this whiteness condition leaves it in a sense undefined. Thus whiteness seems to be nothing, even as it is in a sense everything.[77] These metaphoric plays are not just conceptual but are in the first place corporeal as they are firmly embodied and enunciated in the conception of white. In Richard Dwyer's (1997) analysis narratives of white set out the normative conditions of what white people are, how white bodies are to be maintained, reproduce and interbreed.[78] They define the ways

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[77] Dwyer's (1997) book, *White*, provides a most considered response to ways that 'whiteness' has come to be understood and made by white people. Other useful literatures include: Cohen (1997), Fine et al. (1997), Frankenberg (1993), Frankenberg (1997), Mac an Ghaill (1999) and Weis and Fine (1993).

[78] Dwyer (1997) in particular, traces the ways that white has to take on particular meaning in contemporary worlds. White has become a conception, which has come to mean cleanliness, lightness, and translucence

that relationships can take place between white people and others. In a world that is material and not merely symbolic they define the nature of the physical places and spaces, which can be inhabited, how and by whom. They shape the spaces we can and can't inhabit, our physical landscapes, the schools we go to, the neighbourhoods in which we live, the friends we make, and the occupations we do.[79]

The point of theories of whiteness and post-colonialism is that they are not only about the embodiment of identities and their enunciation but also about the relation between these bodies and their practice. From the vantage point of narrational practice, embodiment appears to be something that is experienced individually. Its enunciation comes through a cacophony of differentiated voices each positioned within its own and changing position of time and space. From the vantage point of narrational fields embodiment is experienced through and practised within, and as spoken and textualised through, contingent and interweaving patterns of meaning and practice. As such the embodiment of individuals is experienced as negotiated, disjunctive and inconsistent. The viewpoint provided by the narrational map suggests that these patterns are understood in day-to-day existence in terms of the basic and taken-for-granted categories of human existence as they are spoken and named within the basic categories of knowing or being within the world. Embodiment, as it is understood from this viewpoint, is understood as relational but the terms of this relationship seem absolute, normal and taken-for-granted. In Table 4, I consider the conditions that underpin ethnic relations, as they exist as the embodiment and enunciation of persons within the lived formations of time and space.

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and is placed in relational opposition to blackness, darkness, opaqueness and dirtiness. Christian doctrine and motifs of being European interweave with these tropes that reconceptualize white as commensurate to Godliness, spirituality, purity, asexuality, rationality. They place it in absolute contrast to the demonic and primordial and to that which is overly abundant, emotional, and sensual.

[79] See, for instance, Cohen (1997), Dwyer (1997), Ellsworth (1997), Fine (1998), Frankenberg (1997), Roman (1997), Weis and Fine (1993) and in Australia see, for example, McLean (1998) and Hage (1998). There have also been a number of studies that focus on schools particularly. See, for instance, Sleeter and McLaren(1995).

Table 4: Basic conditions of relations between persons

Methodological level	Embodiment	Enunciation	Time/space relation
Narrational practices	As experienced individually.	As understood through a cacophony of voices.	As understood within the time and space of individual actions and experiences.
Narrational fields	As experienced through and practised within contingent and interweaving patterns of meaning and practice.	As spoken and textualised through contingent and interweaving patterns of meaning and practice.	As understood through historic trajectories of social and cultural formation which form the context and product of interweaving patterns of meaning.
Narrational maps	As understood in terms of the basic and taken-for-granted categories of human existence.	As it is to speak and to name or to be spoken and named within the basic categories of knowing or being within the world.	As it is understood in terms of the basic categories of human existence differing across different lived formations.

The theories of whiteness that I discuss here are concerned with the proposition that in contemporary Western societies the basic categories of human existence – namely time, space and subjectivity – are negotiated through narrational maps made by those who take for granted their power to define who they are not (and in consequence, who they are). Implied within these arguments is the proposition that the definition and placement of bodies in Western societies is made by and through those who narrate their representation through their position as white. The consequence of these maps is that those speaking as white have the power to enunciate the parameters that shadow their existence, even as these seem normal, and in consequence become invisible, unspoken and silent. Those others who silhouette the condition of whiteness are able to do no more than speak from the position made for them and therefore are made silent. The corollary of these arguments is that to dismantle these taken-for-granted mappings is to turn the spotlight away from its obsession with stories of those who are other than us and to consider instead the condition of whiteness. Morrison herself describes her project as:

> an effort to avert the critical gaze from the racial object to the racial subject; from the described and imagined to the describers and imaginers; from the serving to the served. (Morrison, 1992, p.90)

Articulating methodology

This chapter begins with my frustration that I could not adequately explain my research data. In particular, I could not explain the observation that ethnic and race relations were spoken about in Melbourne schools but that teachers, parents and I could speak easily about this only in particular ways and not in others. In this chapter, I set about developing a methodological frame that can explain these observations more adequately. This frame has three directions as they describe: the conception and practice of ethnic and race relations; the way they are spoken and not spoken about; and the ways these can change. Post-colonial and whiteness writings crucially argue that these three directions are profoundly related. They address the possibility that in contemporary Western contexts, discussions about race and ethnicity are mediated by two kinds of silence: the silence of the self who does not see itself and therefore doesn't speak; and the silence of the other, so textualized that he or she is left with no place from which to speak. Morrison's argument is that the taken-for-granted maps, which consider contemporary western selves through the notional presence of others, need to be made explicit and their words listened to in other ways. She suggests that the analysis of contemporary American literature should take place as three moves: the untangling of the ambivalent stereotypes which make up the narrations; the reversal of the gaze of these narrations so as to study the narrator self instead of others; and the reconsideration of other stories which our 'frail' hearts refuse. These steps suggest a logic, which begins to inform my analysis. In the fieldwork section, I piece together the stories teachers tell as they talk about ethnic and race relations. I then attempt to reverse the object of my study and consider the narrator of these stories. As a final step, I try to listen to what is said indirectly, what is said differently or not at all.

Nevertheless the notions, which underpin this methodological direction, need to be understood in their full complexity. The first part of Morrison's strategy considers a world mapped completely by some and not by others. If the map provided by those who are white is indeed absolute, it makes the task, which Morrison sets, in some way

impossible. The discussion of those who are white cannot take place. Although the borders of this condition are mapped out, their contents are so taken-for-granted that they are neither seen nor spoken. More particularly, it is impossible to hear those who speak from outside the map. If they speak from within the map they cannot be heard, they have been left with no epistemological position from which to speak. If they speak from the outside they are also not heard, as their words are untranslatable. Those listening from within the map have no place to listen to them. There is, in this way, no place outside of the map to speak and none from which to listen. In this black-and-white world, even if teachers and parents were to speak to me outside of the white discourse Morrison describes, I could not hear them. I would not even realise that they had spoken. Yet as Morrison's writing reminds me I nevertheless remain preoccupied by their presence.

Iain Chambers (1994) illustrates the two-pronged character of this dilemma in his evocative but ill-considered discussion of the ambivalent spaces that map the contemporary city:

> The figure of the city, as both a real and an imaginary place, apparently provides a ready map for reading, interpretation and comprehension. Yet the very idea of a map, with its implicit dependence upon the survey of stable terrain, fixed referents and measurement, seems to contradict the palpable flux and fluidity of metropolitan life and cosmopolitan movement, You often need a map to get around a city, its subway system, its streets. Maps are full of references and indications, but they are not peopled ... Beyond the edges of the map we enter the localities of the vibrant, everyday world and the disturbance of complexity. (Chamber, 1994, p.92)

Chamber's analogy is of a city divided by those of the map and those who remain unmapped. It imagines a community grasping for the comfort of the day-to-day world that is framed within their own imagination and haunted by the disorientating, vibrant unreachable presence of the unmapped on the outside. Chamber's metaphor suggests the existence of a mapped world available to some, and surrounded by the vibrant but silent unmapped world of others. The other people in Chamber's city, the people beyond the map are made completely by the map even as they live beyond it. They are literally, outside of the city, unseen and unheard. Yet, beyond Chamber's mapped world 'the vibrant everyday world' somehow continues in contradiction and regardless. Even as Chambers vividly describes the juncture between the narrational maps (white/not white) he fails to realise how his own ambivalent gaze remains fixed upon the vibrant and

disturbing others outside his map. The other lives in an intensely lived world which is both unspoken and yet absolutely inscribed in a fantastical world which sits on the outside of Chamber's city. The pornographic obsessiveness of this gaze is encapsulated in Young's (1990) question as he asks of Said how any form of knowledge – including Orientalism – can escape the terms of Orientalism's critique. The world of Chamber's city is both outside of his map, and is yet the site of his self-absorbed contemplation.

Elizabeth Ellsworth (1997) defines these power differentials as part of a double bind: white and other. Should those who are white be able to change themselves, speak about the condition of whiteness and to make it visible, that in turn becomes a dialogue formulated as white. The power of white is that it creates its own terms and conditions. Its privileges, its invisibility and its borders with others are created within its own terms. The questioning of those terms and conditions also take place within the ambit of the languages of whiteness. Thus the very dismantling of whiteness becomes in some way its reaffirmation and the very reason for its maintenance. Cynthia Levine-Rasky (2000) considers this dilemma as a matter of shifting the structures, mechanisms and processes that make social relations of whiteness meaningful. She argues that Ellsworth's problem is solved as the conceptual and material conditions of white are renegotiated. I am arguing that this renegotiation is an important but insufficient mediation of Ellsworth's concept. The ontological conditions that provide the underlying logic of these negotiations remain. The concepts and material domains of whiteness are reasserted as they continue to take place within the same logics that underpin the condition white in the first place. Further, even as those who are white are concerned to define that which is outside and other to them, their discussion does not dismantle the silences of whiteness, but merely reaffirms them.

Patty Lather (1991) suggests an important way to move forward from this dilemma. In her book, *Getting Smart,* Patti Lather sets up a frame that explores the conditions of whiteness but also disrupts those mappings. This problematising structure has several steps. The first traces the taken-for-granted stories that conceptualise others and problematises the binaries that underpin them. The second refocuses the research project away from the repetition of these stereotypes and locates it instead as a condition of the

maker of those maps. The third step transcends those binaries and listens to that which is beyond, and to that which belongs to neither of those terms. In this way, the task of the research becomes not so much to listen to the noises and silences of the argument that make others and selves but to consider how these conversations are disrupted and can be listened to in other ways.

Lather's suggestion brings to mind, the messy world of the in-between, which is often broached, in recent writings. It is a chaotic crossing of borders (Anzaldua, 1997 and Giroux, 1994), speaking from the cracks (Terry, 1995), finding a third space (Bhabha, 1994), contemplating an alternative diaspora (Clifford, 1997), and pasting between the breaks (McCarthy, 1998). It interrogates borderlands where Gloria Anzaldua suggests:

> Living on border and in margins, keeping intact one's shifting and multiple identity and integrity, is like trying to swim in a new element, an 'alien' element. There is an exhilaration in being a participant in the future evolution of humankind, in being 'worked' on ... And yes, the 'alien' environment has become familiar – never comfortable, not with society's clamour to uphold the old, to rejoin the flock, to go with the herd. No not comfortable but home. (Anzaldua, 1987, p.1)

The location of the in-between is an untidy one that is given no systematic status in the literature. This is a methodologically comfortable one for many writers because they quite rightly say, the vantage points of the conversation, the borders, which surround their ambit and the spaces between them, are ill defined and changing. Minh-ha (1999), argues that the space of the in-between is to open up a different space, with a different sound. It is to open a world, which both shares the language, and yet uses maps of its own. It is a 'soundless place of resonance', a noisy silence. People talk, but it is to see both sides of the matter, to say two things at the same time. For Anzaldua, living in the world of the in-between is one that deals with the inner life of the self, the struggle of the self as it faces adversity and violations of seemingly primordial shadow-positionings. She seeks to work in-between these spaces by switching the language codes that define those borders. She achieves that by moving between one language, then another and by developing a new language that is a mixture of these and which can speak about these silences.

Anzaldua's attempt to both speak out of silence, and yet move between and beyond these dualistic positions, underpins the methodological dilemma I am untangling here.

Her arguments are nevertheless limited in so far as they do not properly consider the very different narrational vantage points that have become conflated here. Anzaldua's discussion shifts vertically between different viewpoints of narration. She discusses her own attempts to cross national borders, to switch between different language codes and to work and think within different cultural worlds. She negotiates the fiercely contested domain in which the materiality and conception of this world which 'uphold[s] the old', and 'go[es] with the herd'. Most particularly, she views the almost indefinable taken-for-granted ways of knowing and being known in the world. The 'alien environment' becomes the familiar, the 'not comfortable but home'. At the same time, Anzaldua's description suggests a second and horizontal negotiation of narrations that works across practices, across fields and across maps. She herself speaks one language as well as another and still a new one between; traverses borders even as she keeps 'intact one's shifting and multiple identity and integrity'. Her ability to move constantly between environments is nevertheless mediated as she navigates ontological border crossings decentred both by alienation, uncomfortableness and humiliation but also by exhilaration.

Recent and post-colonial writings have been concerned with the way identities are able to move between, and speak within, a differently empowered world. This social world is explored as a dualistic relation in which some are empowered to define the conditions under which others are able to belong within the world. The power invested in this logic is found in the linked relation between the representation of identities and their materiality. At the same, these writings recognise that such dualistic conditions are over determined, disrupted and break down. In order to build a comprehensive methodological frame, what needs to be spelt out is the way that these different juxtapositions take place. Grossberg's (1997) seminal chapter, 'Identity and cultural studies: Is that all there is?' points to the two kinds of argument that I want to separate out here. His syllogistic conceptions of border crossing (fragmentation and difference) demonstrate the quite different ways recent writings have explored the horizontal junctures between narrational practices, between narrational fields and between narrational maps. Metaphors of 'borderlands', 'hybridity' and 'diaspora' have been used to analyse the existence of the subaltern caught between competing identities as they are

lived in in-between places and linked to particular histories and experiences of oppression. Grossberg's point is that that these writings ignore the fragmentary and conflictual nature of discourses of power, their heterogeneity and their material realities in so far as they generalise discussions of positionality from particular struggles of subalterns in particular historical periods and contexts. This other and vertical relation between vantage points explores ways that difference itself is a historically produced phenomenon and how positionings take place within, as Grossberg explains, particular structured terrains that have a particular spatial as well as a temporal logic.

The methodological frame I develop negotiates the relations between these three different vantage points (narrational practices, fields and maps) both in a vertical sense between practices and fields and maps and as a horizontal relation across these three notions. Grossberg's work helps to describe how social relations might look from each of these viewpoints and explores how the relations between them could be defined. Michelle Fine's, (1994, p15) notion of 'working the hyphen', which I discussed in the last chapter, examines the notion that I am developing here from three directions. Fine's first point is that research methodologies must work across the hyphen between the absolute and colonialising discourses which make others other, the struggling texts that disrupt that othering process and the experiences of self and others which emerge from within the politics of everyday life. The researcher herself is part of 'messy' negotiations between research questions as well of the conditions in which these contradictions are 'percolate[d]'. This insight broaches the vertical and linked spaces between the vantage points underpinning my methodological frame: the narrational map, the narrational field and the narrational practice. Fine's second notion of the hyphen explores a second and horizontal juncture across maps, and fields and practices. This considers the notion, often discussed in the literature, that conditions of whiteness are also linked with logics of other positionings, particularly those of class and gender. Fine's third direction, considers a second and different horizontal link whereby the shift between maps, between fields and between practices is disrupted and the othering process

'interrupt[ed]'. This is a process of rethinking 'how researchers have spoken 'of' and 'for' others while occluding ourselves and our own investments'.[80]

Cameron McCarthy's (1998)[81] work examines those different processes from a slightly different direction. His theory of resentment considers the horizontal and vertical negotiations that take place as individuals are called to their positions differently. He points out how the ideological appropriations of others, which enforce these structures, are constant sites of struggle and change. At the same time he untangles the decentred conditions of maps and fields where identities are (never quite) positioned by these negotiations, even as they are always changing and shifting. McCarthy posits the notion of 'resentment' (Nietzsche's *ressentiment*) as a way of explaining this contradiction. As part of a practice of identity displacement the social actor consolidates his own identity through the disavowal of the merits and existence of social others. This process of negotiating identity in relation to others is viewed in relation to a second and different vantage point where the position of other is normalised as particular ways of being within a society. McCarthy's notion 'resentment' is useful, even as it distorts Nietzsche's original use of the term. It simplifies the relation between discussions that take place within the material and conceptual domain of race and ethnicity and the taken-for-granted conceptions of otherness that are their site and subject. His mediation between the positionedness of identities and the fluidity of their practice describes the vertical and horizontal juncture between narrational practices, fields and maps. At the same time, it conflates the difference between the notion of maps and fields and practice being developed here.

Bhabha's (1994) analysis considers the second horizontal sense of the in-between that is clarified by the 'levels of narration' metaphor. At the level of narrational maps different dominant frames of temporality, spatiality and embodiment intersect one another. At the level of narrational fields different dominant frames such as nation, state, gender, race and class intersect (and often contradict) one another. These are the in-between spaces

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[80]This insight is crucial within post-colonial and cultural studies writings. The references listed here are just a small sample. They include: Brah (1996), Frankenberg (1997), Goldberg (1994), (1993), Hall (1992), Giroux and McLaren (1994), and Kalantzis (1990).

that Bhabha describes as ones of hybridity. They describe the construction of cultural authority within conditions of political antagonism or inequity whereby there:

> Opens up a space for translation: a place of hybridity, figuratively speaking, where the construction of a political object that is new, *neither the one nor the other*, properly alienates our political expectations and changes, as it must, the very forms of our recognition of the moment of politics. (Bhabha, 1994, p.25)

Bhabha is not proposing hybridity to mean the simple blending of cultures suggested by contemporary theories of integration and multiculturalism. Rather, he argues that attempts by colonial discourses to totally appropriate the other are always slipping, ceaselessly displaced and incomplete. Bhabha's argument is that the places of in-between are ones of ambivalence and instabilities of power. Hybrid strategies are strategies of resistance that open new spaces of negotiation. Ambivalences work within discourses of the coloniser, so that authority is undermined even as it is asserted. The 'mimic man' becomes a person like the coloniser but not quite. The native remains only a partial creation of the coloniser and the coloniser, seemingly unequivocal in his power, finds the native still there, fraught with menace. The coloniser's discourses, seemingly authoritative, reverse the very process of domination which they seek to replicate so that both coloniser and colonised remain locked into movements of destabilisation neither of them can contain. The outcome of this ambivalent relation is that the other becomes both the focus of the coloniser's obsession but also the locus of its disavowal, in an attempt at mastery which is always asserted but at the same time slipping and never complete so that:

> The demand of identification – that is, to be *for* an Other – entails the representation of the subject in the differentiating order of otherness. Identification, as we inferred from the preceding illustrations, is always the return of an image of identity that bears the mark of splitting in the Other place from which it comes. (Bhabha, 1994, p.45)

To discuss others, Bhabha argues, is to build a stereotypical fantasy of the other as a relation to self. It is to build an identity of difference, which is always in excess, is more than or less than, leaves 'no in-between'. The production of the stereotype as a representation of the other contains within its logic, its own demise. Its attempt at mastery is always slipping, displaced and incomplete as the other remains never quite known.

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[81] See also McCarthy and Dimitriades (1998; 2000).

The importance of Bhabha's insight as Giroux (2000) explains, is that power is produced and struggled over not only in terms of its domination but also in terms of its negation. The taken-for-granted maps which articulate the ways in which social worlds are understood in Western societies are ones of control, but they carry within them the space for their resistance. Normalising narrations are read against themselves, so that they are disrupted and no longer certain. Bhabha considers in effect the disruption of the narrational map across *fields* in tension. It traces the ambivalences that appear between the cracks, studies resistances, breaks down the binaries between solidarities of one field and those outside of it. In his extended analysis of Bhabha's work, Giroux (2000, p.137) untangles these hybrid spaces to differentiate between them vertically as well as horizontally. Describing these he identitifies these different levels as the theoretical and the performative. He defines the performative as the:

> 'ways of mis/understanding' how demanding social issues are 'framed/acknowledged/and erased' within dominant and resistant ideologies. The pedagogical as performative in this work does not merely provide a set of representations/texts that imparts knowledge to others; it also becomes a form of cultural production in which one's own identity is constantly being rewritten, but always with an attentiveness to how culture functions as both a site of production and a site of contestation over power. (Giroux, 2000, 137)

This reiteration of Bhabha's (1990, pp. 297 – 299) differentiation between the pedagogical (the process of identity constituted by historical sedimentation), and the performative (the loss of identity in the signifying process of cultural identification), traces out the relations between the different levels being examined here. Day-to-day events take place in 'double time' as people act out their day-to-day lives within and between the signs of the national culture and within the terms of the contestation between dominant and resistant and unequally empowered ideology. It is both a vertical relation and horizontal relation in a process of tension, of splitting between the totalising powers of the social and the more specific, contentious, unequal interests and identities of the population. Baucon's (1999) analysis shows how these two notions are profoundly related (performance unsettling pedagogy; pedagogy incorporating performance) as people work within their day-to-day. His study is of the ways performance, identity and Englishness make and remake each other within the idiosyncrasies of a particular cricket match. The particular action of the batsman and the response of the crowd set in motion the interactions of all that is involved within the rules of the game, the ways identities

can work within them and the ways this is changed in the particular incidence of the moment.

What Giroux's analysis does is provide a way of thinking about ethnic and race relations in both a vertical sense (between practices, fields and maps) and a horizontal sense. This considers both the disruption, and the negotiation of these discourses with each other at each of these levels. At the same time, Giroux's work (and more particularly the work of Bhabha which was so influential to its making) refuses the imposition of any such modelling. Hall's (1996a) conception of articulation described earlier in this chapter, is that:

> An effective suturing of the subject to a subject positioning requires, not only that the subject is 'hailed', but that the subject invests in the position, means that suturing has to be thought of an *articulation* rather than a one-sided process. (Hall, 1996a, p.6)

His argument is that notions of identity need to be understood from two different but linked positions: the different 'discourses and practices' people relate with as they negotiate their place within the day-to-day of societies; and the processes which produce those subjectivities, and which make us into subjects which can be spoken. His insight brings together in process the three social formations under consideration: the experiences and practices of people, the negotiations that surround the negotiative process of taking an identity and the normalised ways of being that identity. Atvah Brah's (1996) position with which I begin this analysis develops a similar concept. She defines 'diaspora space' as the locatedness of social explanation, but also as its positioning in simultaneous processes of multiple negotiations of identity and difference, as they operate in articulation across multiple and different relations of power. This position adds to the different vantage points I am exploring here: the experiences and practices of subjects; the disjunctive contingent conditions under which subjects negotiate the material and conceptual domain of the day-to-day world and the material attachment of subjects to the narrational map in which they are (no matter how temporarily positioned). At the same time, Brah et al (1999, p.4) negotiates the 'deconstruction of the very process whereby the collectivity is constituted and positioned in relation to other groups'. It is a crucial reminder that these levels are not things in themselves but different vantage points through which to view what I have called 'the

terrain of the imagination' whereby these three notions (individual practice, the material and conceptual domain, and ontological positioning) conceptualise a social world which is in complex relation, in process, and unequally empowered so that:

> One way to conceptualise responses to the complex interplay of changing processes of racialisation and wider socio-economic change is to view them as a set of narratives of self-production that are dispersed through a multiplicity of power relations ... By theoretically shifting from a focus on product to process both minority and majority ethnic groups can be seen to be actively involved in the making and remaking of cultural identities. An aspect of conceptualising ethnic identity formations is to be spatially and temporally sensitive to the complex politics of their location, culturally contextualising them within local institutional sites. (Brah et al, 1999, p.4)

Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter, I describe the difficulties I faced as I commenced my data analysis. I found it difficult to continue. The stories I collected seemed *ad hoc* and changing and spoke about some things and not others. Post-colonial and cultural studies writings provided a way to extend this research and to build an alternative methodological frame. I describe the everyday world as a terrain of 'imagination' conceptualised through an always-in-process construction of shared meaning and practice which can be analysed from three different vantage points: that of the individual experience and story; that of fields of meaning and practice related within a particular conceptual or practical domain; and that of the normalised ways of knowing or being in the world. These different points are related in that we as individuals both participate in and are the site of these constructions. These normalised maps are made through the dominance of some people, as they understand themselves through those people whom they are not. They are configured by two silences: the silence of those who draw the maps, whose ways of understanding and being are so normalised that they do not have to speak; and the silence of those who are so thoroughly mapped by the words of others that they are left with no position from which to be heard.

The realisation of these silences provides the central focus of my thesis analysis. Following from Morrison's suggestion my analysis takes place in a sequence of moves. First, the narrational maps that define the relationships within the schools need to be delineated. Second, the spotlight needs be turned on the speaker of those maps rather than on those others who define the contours of the maps, and third, those who have not

been heard and who appear to be defined as other, need to be listened to. I argue that the articulation of these noises and the silences which shadow them, need to be understood as they are in relation to the three vantage points considered within this thesis – those of narrational maps, fields and practice.

The substance of this thesis is the nature of relationships between people as they carry out their day-to-day lives in contemporary places such as schools. The analysis cannot stay at the level of the sutured spaces between narrational maps and narrational fields but must begin with the seemingly *ad hoc* world of narrational practices to which they are both tied. The taken-for-granted socio-cultural world which positions these experiences is important only as it is seen through the voices of the teachers and parents who speak with me about them. Though over a decade old, Dorothy Smith's (1987) manual, *The everyday world as problematic*, best distils this relation between structures and practices. She is concerned about finding a 'way of seeing from where we actually live, into the powers, processes and relations that organise and determine the everyday context of that seeing'. No longer one of mere portraiture, the task of the researcher is to look for the ordinary features, the order and disorder, contingencies and conditions, which underpin the everyday of what the world has come to be; and then of making that everyday world problematic. Smith's reminder is that the first condition of any such research must be to locate oneself within that existence in that:

> Locating the subject in one's everyday world means locating oneself in one's bodily and material existence. The everyday world is not an abstracted formal 'setting' transposed by the sociologist's conceptual work to an abstracted formal existence. It is an actual material setting, an actual local and particular place in the world. Its formal and generalised properties are generated as such by the social organisation and the material forms produced to accomplish its formal and generaliserable properties. (Smith, 1987, p.97)

In conclusion of this chapter I want to discuss these two essential relations which underpin this research project: my place in the research and the spaces and times in which the research takes place. The ways I listen to teachers and parents are underpinned by our common ways of understanding and being within the world. My journal entries trace the ways that I sometimes share and sometimes do not understand these ways of meaning and how these changed over the decade. The differences that I explore in my relations with teachers and parents reflect not only their very different relationship to

me, but also the ways that I understand them to take place. These are understandings, which are not arbitrary, but, as I have already argued, are articulated within the trajectories that define relationships between those who belong as 'us' and those who do not. Nevertheless, I find that the term 'white' does not clearly demarcate ways that relations between teachers, parents and myself are understood and take place. Lists of the ways that teachers and parents identify themselves as ethnic did little to explain how they were positioned against each other. The identification of people as ethnic or as white and not-white do not, in themselves, explain how these definitions change the ways that they are understood and live within the day-to-day activities of a school. The interweaving of these ethnic identifications with those of class and gender meant that these positionings became complex, so that people were placed on the inside even as they were replaced on the outside. Further, by 1998, the very clear ways that these differences seemed to be made, fell apart.

In this chapter, I set out the methodological understandings that frame this thesis. I argued that the unequally empowered relations which make up the 'terrain of the imagination' of the study can be examined from three different directions: individual experience and practice; the contingent conceptual and practical domain; and the normalised ways of knowing and being in the world. This analysis suggests a way that ethnic and race relations, as they are spoken and not spoken about, can be explored in their multi-layered complexity. In the next chapter, I use this frame to examine the way that ethnic and race relations are spoken about in a contemporary Australian context.

MAPPING SILENT NARRATIONS:

Articulating race and ethnic relations in a Melbourne school

1988 - 1998

Chapter 3
Race dealing: Multicultural moments: Speaking of race and ethnic relations in Australian times

> What sort of Australia will we be in the 21st century? ... The question can provoke alien-filled nightmares or inspire visions of a culturally diverse and colourblind nation.
>
> Walk down Victoria Street in Richmond, an inner-Melbourne suburb, and the future is an energy-filled maze of supermarkets, restaurants, jewellery stores and neon signs winking exhortations in Chinese and Vietnamese. Feel the force of people building a new life. Most of us do not suffer nightmares, nor are we inspired by visions. Our responses are a mixture of ordinary hopes, vague concerns and puzzling contradictions ...
>
> It is an astounding story. Since 1946, almost 4.5 millions migrants and refugees have settled in Australia. Today, about 40 percent of Australians were either born overseas or have parents who were born overseas. Hidden within our national story are millions of individual sagas of transformation, of people painfully and sometimes joyously remaking themselves. Along the way, the rest of us too have been remade. (Gawenda, 1988, p.8)

In 1988, Gawenda writes enthusiastically about the creation of 'a culturally diverse and colour-blind nation' and the 'astounding story', of the settlement of 4.5 million migrants and refugees within a rapidly changing country. It is an understated heroic saga underpinned by hardship and painful and sometimes joyous change as people each undergo their 'individual sagas of transformation'. This is the story of an 'energy-filled maze of supermarkets' and 'neon signs winking exhortations in Chinese and Vietnamese'. More than this it is a story about the 'most of us' who 'do not suffer nightmares' about the 'rest of us' who have 'been remade', and those people who are 'painfully and sometimes joyously remaking themselves'.

The building of a new and cosmopolitan nation and the making of its shared vision are not straightforward. In 1984, Melbourne University Professor, Geoffrey Blainey, iterated

concerns that the size and composition of Australia's migrant intake should be changed, and the number of Asian migrants in particular be reduced.[82] The then Opposition leader, John Howard rekindled this argument in August 1988, arguing that the level of Asian immigration 'is in the eyes of some of the community too great' and 'in the interests of social cohesion should be slowed down a little'.[83] In 1996, Australian politics were galvanised by the controversial election of Pauline Hanson and her 'One Nation Party' to the Queensland Parliament.[84] In her controversial maiden speech, Hanson contended that the provision of differentiated rules and services to 'minority groups' (and particularly migrant and Aboriginal groups) were discriminatory and should be abolished. She argued that in order 'to survive in peace and harmony, united and strong, we must have one people, one nation, one flag'.[85] The belatedness of the rebuttal of her statement by all sections of the Australian parliament in October 1996 is a reflection of the ambivalence felt by some sections of the community towards the shaping of these relationships. Prime Minister John Howard's comments made in 1996 that people should now be able to speak their minds, and his personal intervention in several of these debates, recharted the ways in which public discussions about an Australian identity could take place. His intervention in 2001 to stop refugee boats from entering Australian

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[82] The discussion of the so-called Blainey debate and the events and issues which emerged from it particularly in 1988 have been the focus of recent literatures as well as literatures written at the time. For instance both Ghassan Hage (1998) and Jon Stratton (1998) discuss these events in 1998. Discussions about these debates written at the time can be found in Castles et al. (1988), Collins (1988), Foster (1988). Blainey (1984) wrote his own commentary of this debate in a 1984 volume *All for Australia.*

[83] For a contemporary discussion of this quote see Collins (1988, p.3). For a more recent discussion, see Stratton (1998).

[84] The Hanson debate and the concurrent renegotiation of Indigenous issues in Australia meant a resurgence of texts related to ethnic relations in an Australian context. Jon Stratton's (1998) *Race Daze* and Ghassan Hage's (1998) *White national fantasies of white supremacy in multicultural society* discuss these as part of a more general analysis of the ways ethnic relations take place within a contemporary Australian context. Other books concentrate on specifics of these events. Anthologies such as Gray and Winters (1997) *The resurgence of racism: Howard, Hanson and the race debate*, Manne's (1998) *Two nations: the causes and effects of the rise of the One Nation Party in Australia* and Adam's (1997) *The retreat from tolerance* are expressly written to countermand statements made by former parliamentarian Pauline Hanson. References such as those by Butt and Eagleson (1998) and by Hall (1998) were published specifically to intervene in ways that the newly elected Howard Government had sidelined negotiations with Australia's Aboriginal community. A long list of books by Henry Reynolds, most particularly his book *This whispering in our hearts* (Reynolds, 1998) actually written in 1998 and David Hollinsworth's (1998) book *Race and racism in Australia* centre their study on the nature of racism but also on the specific issues pertinent in 1998. Robert Manne's (1998) *The way we live now: The controversies of the nineties* include several essays deeply concerned about both these issues.

[85] Hansard, July, 19, Australian House of Representatives, 1996).

waters takes these discussions into a new dimension.[86] Throughout these deliberations the discussion of race and ethnic relations were only reluctantly broached. Statements of support for policies and practices of multiculturalism marked government statements in this relation. In 1988, the Hawke Government considered the possibility of an agenda for multiculturalism in a text *Towards a national agenda for a multicultural Australia* (Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1988). In 1989 and amidst much fanfare the Hawke Government promulgated *The national agenda for a multicultural Australia* (Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1989). In 1999, the formulation of multicultural policy and practice was reconsidered in an issues paper, *Multicultural Australia: The way forward* (National Multicultural Advisory Council, 1997) and presented as a report, *Australian multiculturalism for a new century: Towards inclusiveness* (National Multicultural Advisory Council,1999).

The purpose of this chapter is to consider how ethnic and race relations are spoken and not spoken about in the broader context of contemporary Australian society, and to show how these have changed. The chapter has three parts. The first considers recent writings, which explore how these entities have been defined and changed over recent decades. The concept 'nation' has been considered a special and imagined idea, a kind of community to which some belong and others do not. Stratton (1998) and Hage (1998) argue that in contemporary Australia these kinds of notions have represented belonging in terms of a particular and changing form of white. Recent writings about globalisation, hybridity and transformation argue that conceptions of community and belonging have become increasingly complex. Globalising trends (technology, communication, trade, the production of goods, and people and the mass movements of people) not only change ways that people understand day-to-day experience and domains of policy and practice, but also the most taken-for-granted concepts (identity, time and space).[87]

In the second part of the chapter, I explore how these concepts have been spoken about in a contemporary Australian context. The task is not so much to trace the dramatic incidents and debates that dominate historical reviews of 1988 and 1998. Rather it is to

[86] For a recent account of these debates see Mares (2001).

consider the many different conversations people have as they discuss their experiences of ethnic relations, the fields of debate in which ethnic and raced relations are debated and negotiated, and the taken-for-granted maps which normalise these identities and the relations between them. It is not possible to trace all of these conversations, debates and ways of thinking. Instead I trace the several different fields of debate about these relations in two newspapers dated a decade apart. When I first examine these discussions from the vantage point of narrational fields, I find that ethnic relations are commonly discussed on each of those two days. However, these disparate scenes seem to have little in common with the discussions about ethnic or race relations which feature in government and academic debates or in Gawenda's examination of these relations at the beginning of this chapter. The analysis of these relations from the different vantage point of the narrational maps shifts the focus of analysis from the immediacy of these different debates to the examination of the way the identities can belong as one-of-us. This different analysis re-examines the relation between the different groupings which emerge from within Gawenda's article: 'those who do not suffer nightmares'; those who 'are building a new life'; and a third as yet unmentioned group who were there before the time of European settlement.

In the final section of this chapter, I consider propositions, that in contemporary Australia debates about race and ethnic relations have become reformulated as languages of multiculturalism. Recent writings consider the premise that multicultural debates remain underpinned by conditions of 'whiteness' that need to be made transparent, peeled back and considered otherwise. The examination of multicultural discussion from the different vantage points of narrational practices, fields and maps suggest that beneath the ironic relation between difference and sameness that underpins multicultural debate are different understandings that determine ways some belong and some do not belong within the school community. In the next chapters, I trace the ways this paradoxical relation is played out within the particular context of an Australian school. In this chapter, I consider the terrain of discussion about race and ethnic relations in Australia during the decade 1988 -1998.

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[87] See, in the first instance, Paolini (1997).

Articulating the national imagination

The terrain of imagined spaces that I contemplate in Chapter Two underpin recent literatures of race and nation. Benedict Anderson (1991) describes the nation as a 'particular kind' of imagined entity where the socio-cultural condition of contemporary communities is often not a matter of physical presence but one of conception. Richard White (1997) building on his earlier book *Inventing Australia* (White, 1981) considers the consequences of Anderson's ideas within an Australian context and reflects that:

> Australia exists pre-eminently as an idea. While it has a real existence as a geographical space within defined boundaries, and as a political entity, a nation state organised for the pursuit of political power, 'Australia' for the most part is something that we carry around in our heads. (White, 1997, p.13)

Australia, White argues, needs to be understood as a place with 'real' existence that we experience as a geographical space in which we are, and which contains people we actually know and relate to – but also as a cultural product emergent through the collective imaginations of citizens who may never meet. This argument Paul James (1982) suggests, is both useful and flawed as it conflates the relativity of everyone's imagination and implies that these notions are an invention found in the false conceptualisations of a particular and intellectual class. What is not considered is the relation between these everyday conceptions, the domain of these negotiated inventions and the normalised ways of being-within-the-world in which these are framed.

My analysis explores these imagined spaces, but with the following reservations. I have argued that the terrain of imagination is articulated between unequally empowered ways of understanding and being in the world, which can be viewed from three vantage points: as 'essential' ways of being in the world; as fields in ongoing relation with each other; and as individual experiences of persons who are sites and subjects of these narrations. These spaces have materiality as they form the conditions as well as the product of these struggles about meaning. This understanding has two consequences for the way Anderson's and consequentially White's contributions can be understood. In the first instance, I am not convinced that there are communities that can be understood as quintessentially real and others that cannot. Robert Young's (1990) critique of Said's differentiation between representation and the real is equally valid here. There does not

seem to be a point in which the real can be understood other than through the ways of meaning [illegible] ng provided. In this way communities generally should be understood as simultaneously conceptual and material. My second point is that these spaces of imagination are not to be understood as mere 'matters of words'. Rather, as I have argued, these terrains are profoundly implicated within the materialities and structures of social relations. The emphasis of this thesis is on the narration of these social relations.

The possibility that conceptions of nationhood are narrated through processes of ontological mapping is central to the literatures that I am discussing. They consider a terrain mapped by 'some' who have the power to consider how others relate within imagined communities. Phil Cohen (1993)[88] evocatively considers the possible conditions of 'home-space'. The hearth, safe within the centre of the home, Cohen reminds us, contemplates the most safe, private and comfortable of places. This nostalgic dream-place of childhood memories and settled old age forms the centre-piece of a primordial landscape of life and pictures, an Eden-like existence where everyone obeys the rules and knows their place. The object of these dreams Cohen (1993) points out, is not their warm, nostalgic comfort but the always prescient threat of the stranger:

> The elision between hearth and heath, inside and outside, native and nature, is produced through a succession of homely images, the fond memories of happy childhoods blurring into the nostalgic reminiscences of old age, an organic image of life and landscape now threatened by the alien presence. (Cohen, 1993, p.5)

Cohen's contention is that the much-wished-for safety of home-space centres contemporary notions of nation and community. Australian writings examine how similar notions are implicated within the ways definitions of belonging and not belonging within a nation take place.[89] Ghassan Hage's (1998) argument is that the creation of an Australian sense of communal identity is a 'white fantasy' in which those who are white seek to make and maintain their own particular relation between self and territory. What is at stake, he argues, is a sense of national space and the definition of identities who belong to these spaces. The privileged position between those identities

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[88] For other discussions of these ideas I consider the work of Balibar (1991) and in a slightly different vein Chambers (1996) and Papastergiadis (1998).
[89] See for example recent work by Hage (1998) and Stratton (1998; 2000).

and space is made against the definition of others. For Hage, the mapping of home-space pictures:

> agents imagining themselves to occupy a privileged position within national space such as they perceive themselves to be the enactors of the national will within the nation ... The hand that tears off the scarf is a hand that is orientated by an image of the kind of national space it wants to construct with the removal of this scarf. In the negative 'I don't want this scarf in my nation' communicated by the act of tearing, there is a positive statement: 'I want my nation to be 'like this'. (Hage, 1998, p.47)

Central to conceptions of Australian identity, Hage suggests, is the desire of 'agents imagining themselves to occupy a privileged position' to be home, to feel at home. To be in control of the nation is to be in control of who can and cannot be allowed to enter the home.[90] It is to construct oneself as a spatially empowered subject capable of controlling the nature of belonging and of living within one's territory. Hage argues that in Australia these maps are ones made by those deemed as white and made in relation to the 'not-quite-white woggy looking person' made on the outside.

The irony of home-spaces, Cohen suggests, is that its promise of safety is a never-reached fantasy shadowed by the threatening presence of strangers. The stranger Zygmunt Bauman (1997b, pp.10 – 11) suggests, 'shatters the rock on which the security of daily life rests', 'comes from afar', 'does not share the local assumptions'. It is 'the dirt that needs to be swept away'. It does 'not fit the cognitive, moral, or aesthetic map of these worlds'.[91] The presence of strangers reconceptualises the most basic of understandings about belonging, taste, class, taste, social order, sexuality. The presence of strangers places nostalgic imaginings of home-space out of control. The most basic of actions and conceptions no longer happen as expected. As discussed in the last chapter, Hall notes that, the alien, the stranger remains just outside of our gaze, ambivalent and not quite known. He or she disrupts the safe, taken-for-granted communal maps we draw.

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[90] It is interesting to note the ways in which metaphors of being at home centre in Hanson's maiden speech (Hansard, 1996).

[91] I am drawn in this instance to Bauman's (1990; 1997a; 1998) most evocative analysis of the process of change that underpins the globalisation process. However other writers have concerned themselves with similar themes. Chow (1998), for instance, writes of 'the fascist in our midst', Bhabha (1990) of the '*heimlich* pleasures of the hearth and the *unheimlich* terror of the space of race of the other', Balibar (1991), of the division between the 'genuinely' and the 'falsely' national' and as I discuss, Chambers

Australian writings trace the disruption of the everyday and normalised security of communal maps. Jon Stratton and Ien Ang (1998, p.135) argue that the Australian settler project to create a distinctive national identity is always doomed to failure because (and Homi Bhabha's quote begins their essay) of 'the impossible unity of nation as a symbolic force'. Defining Australianess and locating its others is both essential to the histories of Australian identity-formation but also constantly disrupted as the ambivalent presence of otherness decentres it. Ian McLean (1998, p.1), in a slightly different vein, considers the terrain of Australian imagination as divided by 'internal' and 'external' spaces; yet a hybrid zone of multiple translations in which an emergent Australian nation sits surrounded by oceans (both real and metaphoric) of untranslatability. It sits in an antipodes far separated from the European origins that centre this alterity. Australia, as McLean (1998, p.8) contemplates evocatively, 'constructs within its centre an absolute alterity' but 'in their stubborn antipodality, Australians preserve their origins as European'. Even as Australians consider white-controlled home-spaces, their dreams are disrupted by the ambivalent hybrid spaces between their attempted mappings and the mappings of strangers.

Recent Australian writings not only trace the disruption of the maps, fields and practices which pertain to discussions about ethnic and race relations but also consider their vertical and horizontal negotiation. Nikos Papastergiadis (2000) points out that the mapped relation of the nation and its others is disrupted by the condition of their hybridity and in the ways that they emerge from origins which are multiple, complex, contradictory and incomplete:

> Both philosophical frameworks ultimately imply a judgement between differences and expose limits to the ability to engage with the hybrid reality that enjoins both positions. The borderline between different cultures in the diasporic context is not necessarily clear-cut, and the tension is not just oppositional. In such cases, the necessary decisiveness of judgement that relativism glosses, and the prescriptive distantiation that holism maintains, would neither address the complexities of the interactions that occur, nor provide an adequate basis for cross-cultural judgement. (Papastergiadis, 2000, p.151)

Papastergiadis's argument reconsiders Hall's exploration of the hybrid spaces between narrational maps but also of the contingent disjunctive processes which make entities

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(1994) the 'ghost that shadows' every discourse.

both the site and subject of the narrational fields in which they are participant. His discussion of the struggles and turbulences of migration consider the fluidity of identities and the relations between them as these are fought within narrational domains of shifting, changing relations between different countries, languages and cultures. His argument breaks down the dualism, which is constructed as Australian ethnic relations become understood as simple matters of moving between different mapped positionings of white and not white.

The corollary of Papastergiadis' argument is that Australian ethnic relations are so disrupted by the disruptive ambivalent processes of hybridity and the struggles between ways of meaning, that matters of Australian white privilege disappear. In his recent text *Post-colonial Transformation* Bill Ashcroft (2001) separates out conflations between the hectic struggles viewed within the narrational domain and the disruption and negotiation of the taken-for-granted ways of meaning and being to which they are linked. His particular interest is to explore how colonised peoples have responded to the political and cultural dominance of Europe. His purpose is to examine the relation between the positions – coloniser and coloniser – and also to study how the fluid nature of cultural identity leads directly to the transformation of those strategies. He explores these relations as they are embedded and located as place, habitation and horizon, and also as they are represented and enunciated as language, history and allegory. This threefold consideration of place emphasises the material condition of space and time but also their transformative logic as they are viewed from each of the three levels considered by the methodological frame I am developing in this thesis. His careful analysis of a number of different theoretical frames such as Gotlieb's colonised spaces (and for that matter Cohen's home spaces, Deleuze and Guattari's metaphor of rhyzomic change and *Bourdieu's* concept 'habitus') develops further, how these different ways of understanding social relations might be examined. What is missing from this analysis is an exploration of how these quite different philosophic frames might fit together. Because of this, there seems no way of conceptualising how these different examinations of practice, social structure and ontological frames relate to one another, or even how they are consistent within themselves.

Ashcroft's (2001) final chapter explores the relation between these different conceptual notions, the ways they define location and representation and the ways these have been impacted upon by recent processes of globalisation. He points out that:

> The consumption of dominant forms of representation is nowhere more evident than in the pervasive and unselfconscious involvement of communities in global culture. The provisionality of inherited boundaries, the fluidity of the concept of 'home', which we find to be characteristic of post-colonial habitation, extends, in contemporary times, into a global system of cultural interactions. The strategies by which colonised communities have coped with, resisted and consumed the cultural capital presented to them by imperial culture are recapitulated on a global scale in local communities throughout the world. (Ashcroft, 2001, p.206)

The recent involvement of communities in 'global culture', changes the ways the most taken-for-granted of concepts – 'the provisionality of inherited boundaries' and 'the fluidity of the concept 'home'' – can be understood. As Arjun Appadurai (2000) points out, globalisation gives discussions and interactions, as they take place within the day-to-day, new order and intensity. Its central feature is not only changed ways of understanding economics, communications and technology but also their changing 'scapes' of imagination as central enlightenment conceptions (particularly identity, time and space) come to 'cannibalise' each other. Jan Naderveen Pieterse (2000) argues in a slightly different vein that globalisation must be considered conceptually and materially as a process of hybridisation in which the changing and paradoxical relation between the local and the global gives way to 'global melange'.

Paul James' (1999/2000) position is that these writings fail in so far as they neglect to explore these changing negotiations and disrupted conceptions of belonging as a relation to the structures and subjectivities of change to which they are linked. That is, they fail to separate out the different ways these social relations are understood from the three vantage points I have identified in this dissertation: the intricacies of day-to-day practice and experience (narrational practices); the negotiated terrain that defines the social and material domain of global change (narrational fields); and the taken-for-granted positions which mediate those negotiations (narrational maps). I am interested in the perception that in recent times, notions of everyday experiences, the negotiated and contingent conceptual and material terrains to which they are tied and the normalised

ways of knowing and being in the world appear changed.[92] In these writings even the solid, durable sense of time-space becomes threatened as people travel ever faster both virtually and in reality. The merely local of home-space becomes interwoven within the international and the global as the Internet, radios and television beam the world of the outside into our innermost home-spaces.[93]

In such multiple worlds the home-spaces of some men and women become ever more diverse as they find themselves coming and going in what seems everywhere. Others find their world shrink as it becomes even more difficult to move outside the location of the-place-they-are-now. In this post-modern world the solidity of what was and is seems to fall apart. Strangers 'gestate uncertainty', 'befog and eclipse the boundary lines which ought to be clearly seen' (Bauman, 1997b, p.17). Not only does the presence of the stranger haunt the safety of the known but also the borders between self and the other fall apart altogether. In this ever faster, ever-in-process world, the stranger is neither on the outside or the inside, is neither another nor ourself.

The point of these writings is that these strangers haunt us even as in recent times the most basic categories of human existence – time and space – change in the ways they are understood across different lived formations. In such a world, Hall (1992, pp.275-277) suggests that conceptions of identity themselves have changed. His categorisation has three tiers. The 'enlightenment' subject considers the human person as essentially formed, fully centred, unified and reasonable. The 'sociological' subject is autonomous

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[92] The changes brought about by processes of globalisation have been well discussed in recent literatures. I am drawn once again to the work of Bauman (1990; 1997b; 1998) and his redolent narration of the tense interweaving of confused boundaries and reasserted positionality that underpins those changes. However, my analysis considers a large number of other texts. These include writings by Featherstone (1995) and Jameson (1998) who discuss the ways cultures of commodification and capitalism are interwoven within a world undergoing rapid changes in communication, technology and finance. Appadurai (1996) reminds me that these changes are not only ones of materiality but of concept; that they are ones of imagination. Virilio (1993) suggests that globalised times and space conflate even as they become differently considerate. Haraway (1991) suggests that the borders between identities and machines become confused and more recently that concepts of ourselves as genetically and biologically individual are disrupted. Haraway (2000). Giddens (1990; 1999) and Beck (2000) consider the nature of these tensions of ones of risk as the nature of control becomes deferred from the present to the future. Chow (1993), Clifford (1997), Papastergiadis (1998; 2000) consider the nature of these changes on the ways identities move and are still, change and cannot change, and the relational spaces between them.

[93] For a discussion of the relation between this imposition of the outside into the centre of our very homes and the enunciation and embodiment of relations between others and ourselves see McCarthy (1998).

and self-sufficient and at the same time mediated in his or her actions by the cultures and structures of the world that he/she inhabits. Most recently, Hall suggests, the 'modern conception' of identity as an essential condition has become 'post-modern'. Here identity appears as forever transformed within the morae of historical-social context; a 'moveable feast' which is in process, contingent and at odds with itself. The conception of the 'self' is no longer visualised as consistent and unitary but rather appears as contradictory, disjointed and shifting.

Articulating the imagination of race and ethnic relations

The national debates examined within this chapter are concerned with the negotiations individuals make as they belong within one place and another, and the strategies they use to negotiate the conditions of that belonging for themselves and others. These discussions are made within the normalised notions that define who does-not-belong, which emerge from conceptions of what it is to be 'one-of-us'. The logic of these debates is defined within the terms and conditions that make up the definition of the most essential of notions, identity, time and space. Most recently and in a more globalised age, the most taken-for-granted of the logics, which underpin these relations, seems to come apart. In this section, I explore how race and ethnic relations have been spoken about in the day-to-day of a contemporary Australian context. It is not possible to discuss all of these conversations here. Instead, and on the day that I start to write this chapter, I pick up the daily newspaper. *The Australian*, a Murdoch publication, is one of three major news publications in Melbourne. It espouses reasonably conservative social and economic philosophies, aims at a more educated audience than its more tabloid stablemate, *The Herald Sun,* and has nation-wide circulation. I do not find articles that speak directly about these relations. Nevertheless, in even a precursory reading of this one-day's newspaper; I find a multiplicity of articles which trace a miscellany of debates about ethnic relations. They reflect struggles to decide who can (and cannot) claim ownership of Australian territory; who can (and cannot) enter and stay in Australia and under what conditions; who can use (or abuse) Australian resources and should be allowed to use them in future; whose behaviour is acceptable and those whose behaviour is to be tolerated; and whose history should be told and whose history should not be told.

Curious I explore *The Australian* newspaper printed ten years earlier and find similar issues. Questions about who we are, who can belong and how, flood the pages of just this earlier one day's newspaper. This section does not attempt to explore all the ways that ethnic relations were discussed and understood in those two different years. It does however provide a series of motifs through which to read the negotiated conceptual and material fields of the discussion, and to explore the taken-for-granted concepts of identity and belonging, that link these debates.

Race dealing – 1988

In 1988, policies of multiculturalism seemed ascendant. Gawenda's statement which begins this section was only one example of the enthusiastic support some writers gave to the prospect of a culturally pluralist Australia. A series of policy statements and support documents put out by the federal government and by some state governments were similarly effusive.[94] It is surprising then that not one article in this one day's paper refer in any way to multiculturalism. Nor are there discussions about issues commonly related to ethnic relations or issues to do with racism, prejudice or discrimination. Nevertheless, I find six articles in the newspaper which debate ways that people can belong or not belong as Australian.[95] The first of these articles found on page twenty-five of this 1989 newspaper touches on the relation between British and Australian identity. Labelled 'We are not amused', the article ponders that 'it is no secret that Queen Elizabeth II has nothing in common with her First Minister Margaret Thatcher'.

> Thatcher has clearly persuaded herself that she has personal super-status, almost to the point of matching the royal family itself. ('We are not amused', *The Australian Magazine*, April 29-30, 1989, p.35)

The relation between British and Australian nationality took on particular importance in 1988. Only three months before the publication of the above mentioned newspaper, *The Sun* newspaper records that Australia celebrated the bicentenary of British settlement of

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[94] The National Agenda statement of 1989 was the culmination of several statements and studies of multiculturalism. The Jupp Report (1986) supported these policies even as it expressed concern that they were not being put into action. The Fitzgerald Report (1988) published in 1988, found the politics of multiculturalism problematic and argued that support for Australian culture and institutions should be made paramount.

[95] See Appendix Three.

Australia. Between a picture of 'Prince Charles in a slouch hat' and a flotilla of sailing ships entering Sydney harbour the article contends that it is:

> *An honour to be an Australian: What a day.*
> There was pomp and ceremony and the moving majesty of the first fleet re-enactment as they entered Sydney Harbour There were simple pleasures too as ordinary people across the nation expressed their feelings about being Australian. (*The Sun*, January 27, 1988, p.1)

The narrational field of the discussion is the settlement of Australia and the relation between that historic memory and Australian identity. The article negotiates how British ancestry and history premise the ways people belong as Australian. Under the slogan 'living together', the event was the precursor to a series of activities to portray the British as well as non-British origins of Australia's settler communities. The picture of Prince Charles, the first fleet pageantry and the pride of 'ordinary people' to be Australian capture the relation between Britishness, the British settlement story and concepts of Australianess. Juxtaposed against the 'ordinary people' who 'expressed their feelings about being Australian' are those people who are not ordinary, not part-of-us and who do not properly share in the British Australian story. In the same article, Australians of non-British origin celebrated Bicentennial day in a number of different ways. Indigenous leaders labelled Bicentennial day 'a day of shame'.[96]

The second article found in the book review section of the 1989, *The Australian* newspaper discusses the relation between Englishness and Australianess. The article explores the relation between what it means to be one of us: this time in terms of language. Headed 'The inexhaustible joys of English' the news-item is concerned with the way Australian words have found their way into the English Dictionary. The writer reminisces that:

> The Oxford dictionary is both the ultimate guide to the meanings and usages of English words and the supreme portrayal of English as it has developed over the past thousand years. ('The inexhaustible joys of English' *The Australian Weekend*, April 29-30, 1989, p.12)

The article notes the length of time that English language has taken to develop and the importance of the Oxford Dictionary as a repository, 'the ultimate guide', to portray its

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[96] Stratton (1998) comments in his important 1998 commentary *Race Daze* that this was a turning point in the way that the relation between multiculturalism and Australia's British roots were understood.

correct usage.[97] The link between English language, its correct usage and meaning and Australian national identity becomes clear as the article continues:

> The OED above all else provides a detailed picture of the common picture of the common core of the language ... it is ...the headquarters of English, the place where the language is deposited and kept for the use of all. At the same time, the modern and regional variants of English aren't simply dialects feeding into the common pool along that one channel ... Australian English has contributed its own scientific words...It has brought its own wealth of foreign words, since we have to regard Aboriginal words as foreign not to Australia but to English when it first met them. ('The inexhaustible joys of English', *The Australian Weekend*, April 29-30, 1989, p.12)

In this article, the English dictionary is a kind of a 'headquarters' a 'common' picture, of a 'common core' kept for the use of all. It takes for granted the universal importance of English as it is made in the dictionary. At the same time its underlying logic is that these languages are a disrupted and changing concern. The article's focus is a new and composite form of language, Australian English, and its place in formalising new words not originally part of a British English dictionary. Of particular interest are new words often of Aboriginal Australian origin. These Indigenous Australian words, the article contends, are 'foreign' yet no longer foreign to us; are not quite Australian but quintessentially Australian at the same time. Australian language is importantly English, but is nevertheless something hybrid and changing. New words are made that are neither really English nor something else.

The ambivalent relation between Australian and British identity and the silent place of Australia's Indigenous people underpins this third newspaper article. Under the heading 'A pioneer feared by crazed cameleers' a middle-aged man is pictured sitting on a veranda reading. His seat overlooks a rather foreign-looking countryside of palm trees and open spaces. The not quite rightness of the man's position in the picture is reflected in the ambivalence of his story:

> A journal kept by one of Australia's pioneer explorers at the turn of the century graphically details the revenge killings of Aborigines, the shooting of a crazed Afghan cameleer and desperation as starving and thirsty explorers searched in vain for gold in the Gibson desert ... Using the journal, the student ... wish[es] to retrace some of the

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[97] Alastair Pennycook (1994, 1998) notes the linked relation between the place of the English dictionary and the cultural politics of the English language to projects of colonialism. The particular importance of his insight to Australian ethnic relations is that the English language is crucial to formulations of Australian national identity. The importance placed on English language programs within multicultural policy development is just one example of this. See, for example: Kalantzis (1989) and Lo Bianco (2000).

> steps of the explorer ... and to apologise to the Aborigines for his behaviour. ('A pioneer feared by crazed cameleers', *The Australian Weekend*, April 29-30, 1989, p.5)

Once again this story maps conceptions of who we are as Australian identities as we come to terms with in relation to a British settler history, and an Australian Indigenous presence. This time the relation is discussed as a relation to the land itself. The historic and heroic tale is of the British Australian pioneer who settled Australia despite enormous odds and the disruptive presence of Indigenous peoples who in defiance of their threatened annihilation remain disturbingly present. Australia's history is described as one of 'revenge killings' and 'crazed Afghan cameleers' but also of 'starving and thirsty explorers'. It is an ambivalent story in which the protagonist both wants to 'retrace ... the steps' of his past but also to 'apologise' for it.[98]

The relation between who we are and how we belong as Australians within the land, and an Indigenous presence, centres the debate in the next two articles. The first is headed 'Aborigines to vote on land council split':

> A plebiscite of traditional Aborigines in south-east Arnhem Land was authorised by the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs M. Hand yesterday to gauge support for rebels who want to split from the powerful Northern Land Council (NLC). But the poll of about 1600 Aborigines will not go ahead until the boundaries of the 28,000sq km area are determined by an independent anthropologist – a process that could take months ... It is understood that the Department of Aboriginal Affairs has drawn up a short list of four candidates who have gained the necessary experience for working for the Northern Territory Land Commissioner. ('Aborigines to vote on land council split', *The Australian Weekend*, April 29-30, 1989, p.10)

The narrational field of the article describes a long running debate about the implementation of Aboriginal self-management. By 1988, the Fraser Government's (1975-1983) proposals for Aboriginal self-management and the Hawke Government's (1983-1996) proposals to approve Aboriginal rights had been, for the most part, circumscribed by a politics of backlash from the states, mining interests and elements of public opinion.[99] Moreover, policies of protection for Aborigines (and their underlying

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[98] See, for example: Markus (1994), Lippmann (1996), Reynolds (19[illegible]), Pettman (1992). Such readings speak of histories of slaughter, shifting to those of more subtle forms of exclusion (and annihilation). Such practices (the integration of blacks and whites by 'pepper potting', housing blacks next to whites in country towns, the removal of children, particularly those with some white antecedents, the issuing of exemption tickets for Indigenous peoples living outside of legislative control) continued until the late 1950s and in some forms still continue today.

[99] See particularly Hollinsworth (1998) and Lippmann (1996).

premise that Indigenous peoples would die out, could not look properly after themselves and needed specific policies to look after them) had been in place in some states since the late 1830s. The debate explores the ways Australian Aborigines can be allowed to own land. The logic of this debate is informed by the terms and conditions that define Australianess and the place of the indigenous person. Here we find the conception that we, our Governments and our academics, know Indigenous peoples better than they do themselves and that we can define the borders of their identities (as they existed both conceptually and materially) with an expertise which Aboriginal peoples can not command.

The Indigenous presence becomes the ambivalent relation that is both representative of who-we-are and what-we-might-become and yet is childlike, in need of our help, stealing from us. Those of Irish descent played a different and important part in the history of Australian political decision-making and in the formation of an Australian identity.[100] The particular domain is the film *Da* which the paper suggests 'contains much that will appeal to any Australian viewer of recent Irish descent'. Entitled the 'Pleasing touch of the Irish' the article gushes that:

> We are treated to numerous picture postcard shots of Dalkey, which to anyone who has their roots in Ireland is one of the most beautiful little towns in the world. If green is your favourite colour you will love this film. ('The pleasing touch of the Irish', *The Australian Weekend - Arts*, April 29-30, 1989, p.11)

The ambiguous identification of the Irish-Australian person is mapped by the change of pronoun 'we' and 'you'. The article is for Australians of Irish descent. 'We' share with the film-maker the beauty of the shots of Dalkey. Nevertheless, we do not quite share this identity in the same way. Not all of us have our roots in Ireland or have green as our favourite colour.

The white-not-quite-white presence of Irish in Australia, the English-not-quite-Englishness of the Australian dialect, the indigene who is the object of our benevolence and our contempt, suggests both the making and the disruption of those maps of an

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[100] Despite the enormous impact of the Irish migration in the ways that Australian politics was played out, the effect of an Irish presence on the development of Australian ethnic relations is not always discussed.

Australian identity. In 1988, these maps are most clearly silhouetted by the non-Australian who lives on the outside. The particular domain of this article is contained within its title 'Act snares foreign owners'. The debate refers to rules promulgated in 1987 that altered ways non-Australian citizens could own Australian land. As this writer explains:

> On October 1987, the Treasurer, Mr Keating, announced new rules by press release...The rules apply retrospectively to the date of the announcement yet are wider than first indicated. Theoretically foreigners who have acquired an interest in Australian land since October 30, 1987 and who have not complied with the new Act, will be subject to the severe penalties provided for non-compliance. ('Act snares foreign owners', *The Australian Weekend*, April 29-30, 1989, p.48)

In this last article, differentiations are clearly made between those who belong and those who do not belong as Australian. Foreigners are not Australian citizens and clearly live on the outside of what is Australian (both materially and metaphorically). It is a designation with clear consequences. Those on the outside cannot own land and can be subjected to 'the severe penalties provided for non-compliance'.

When I read the newspaper articles in a single day's paper in 1989, I find few if any articles which talk about the concepts with which I am most concerned: race, ethnicity, nation, multiculturalism. Nevertheless I find that these conceptions provide the crucial logics of the discussion within many of these articles. The articles cover several and seemingly unrelated fields of discussion: political events in England, the Oxford dictionary, Australia's settlement history, the negotiation of Aboriginal land rights, the distribution of an Irish documentary, the sale of land to non-Australians. These seemingly miscellaneous debates normalise conceptions of who is and who is not part of the community in unproblematic ways. The stories describe an essentially British-Australian identity made through its relation with an Indigenous other inside, and the foreign other outside, the state. Beneath the narrational domain, which negotiates those who can and cannot own land in Australia, is the other on the outside, who definitely is not one-of-us. In 1989, the conditions of the entities, which make up the debate, seem easily defined. People are Irish and Australian, Indigenous and Australian, British or Australian. These essentially different kinds of identities are nevertheless ambivalent

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An example of one of the few texts that does so is Collins (1988).

and contradictory. The British pioneer, the descendent of the first fleet, who so marks who we are, is uncomfortable in his new land, and unsure about his relation with the Indigenous people who came before. The Aboriginal Australian is central to the formation of Australian language and to the conception of who-we-are. Nevertheless, the indigenous person is a disturbing presence who is in need of looking after and in competition for our resources. The Irish Australian is both representative of our general sense of nostalgia but not-quite-one-of-us.

Race dealing – 1999

In 1999, I pick up the daily paper a second time. Once again I find few if any discussions that speak directly about race and ethnic relations. Nevertheless, I find at least eight articles profoundly concerned with the terms and conditions that define race and ethnic relations. The ways that an Australian Indigenous presence is negotiated in relation to an Australian identity is an important site of a selection of three quite different debates out of these articles. The narrational fields of these debates describe the politics of land and resource distribution and the way in which Aboriginal Australians can own land. Now however, the battle is fought, not only within the politics of the fight between entities but also within the politics of its representation.[101] We are told on page ten of this one day's newspaper that:

> The National Gallery of Australia's prized collection of 200 Aboriginal hollow log coffins will travel overseas for the first time next month to feature in a European tour of contemporary Australian Indigenous art. The artworks, known as the Aboriginal memorial, were commissioned for the bicentenary in 1988 and represent a war cemetery commemorating the Indigenous Australians who died defending their land against white settlers. ('Cemetery art reflects living culture', *The Australian*, Friday, April 30, 1999, p.10')

This article retells the pioneering story told a decade before and commemorates the Indigenous Australians who were killed as a result of that settlement process. In doing so it disrupts the heroic saga of the 1988 bicentennial celebrations of Australian nationess that provided the original funding for the program. It reinterprets histories of European incursions into Aboriginal lands and remembers Aboriginal ownership of and defence of those territories. This re-membering of history[102] is of particular interest when they are

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[101] Hall's (1996c) discussion of this relation can be found in the introduction to this thesis.
[102] See particularly Holland (1996).

noted against Prime Minister Howard's unwillingness on page one to 'bow to opposition demands to include a reference to prior Aboriginal "custodianship" of Australia' in a proposed changed Australian constitution.[103] His reticence follows his already strong criticism of recent and more liberal interpretations of Aboriginal land-rights and interpretations of indigenous histories. [104] Howard's redefinition of Indigenous Australians as 'custodians' defines Australian Indigenous peoples as people in waiting, ancient predecessors to a new nation that now looks after the land. These are interpretations which articulate with comments by Federal Senator Ross Lightfoot that:

> ATSIC provided a loan of $2.2 million and a grant of $50,000 to the corporation, which was buying into the business in a scheme to provide employment for up to 50 Aboriginal people. News of the collapse brought an "astounded" response from West Australian senator Ross Lightfoot, who told ABC radio that he was "staggered that so much money could be lost so quickly". "ATSIC, in terms of commercial dealings , is incompetent ... and they should not be allowed to handle taxpayers funds by themselves", Senator Lightfoot said (ATSIC pressed to explain $2.7m flop. ('Preamble a war of word', *The Australian*, Friday, April 20, 1999, p.1)

Ross Lightfoot's comments, so debated in 1999, resemble the government comments made in 1989. They suggest that ATSIC (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission), the roof body for Australia's indigenous peoples should no longer be allowed to control their own funds. They rearticulate Australia's indigenous peoples as non-technical, not quite in possession of the land and incompetent. [105] By 1998, however, debates about the ways of representing Australia's Indigenous peoples have also become crucial. The narrational maps linked to these seemingly quite disparate domains of discussion (possession of land, control over funding, rights to self government) mark out the relation between an Indigenous presence and conceptions of Australian identity.

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[103] 'Preamble a war of word', *The Australian*, Friday, April 30, 1999, p.1.

[104] For reference to the changed debates to which Howard was reacting see Butt (1998), Manne (1998), Attwood (1996), Read (1997), as well as books by Reynolds (1982; 1998).

[105] See for example: Hall (1998), Hollinsworth, (1998), Lippmann, (1996), Manne (1998), Markus (2001), Pettman, (1992). These events interwove with several major events ongoing at this time: several important reports which delved sympathetically into indigenous issues – *Bringing them home: The national inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families (1997); The deaths in custody report;* a series of landmark court cases into land distribution – the Mabo (1992) and Wik (1996) High Court decisions; the Native Title Act (1993) and the Government's response to these in 1998; and the achievement and subsequent failure of the *Australian Reconciliation Convention* – particularly Howard's response to this on 26-28 May 1997. These interrelate with what Brett (1997) in a recent analysis of Australian racial politics explores as grievance and resentment as petit bourgeois ideologies, intent on the moral failings of individuals suggest that 'I have done all I can, but forces of people beyond me are undermining my efforts, depleting my savings, robbing me of what is rightfully mine' (Brett, 1997, p.10).

Now however, the representation of these relations also becomes part of the domain of debate.

The reflexivity, which marks the complex politics of difference and its representation when speaking of indigenous issues, is not present in other debates. Nevertheless, these debated domains of debate continue to be underpinned by understandings of who-we-are and who-we-are-not. In the day's cartoon, 'big business' asks a diminutive Prime Minister Howard, "Ah John ... There you are. Why do I get the feeling you don't like our views on immigration?"[106] In 1999, John Howard's Government severely cut the size of Australia's immigration program; particularly the size of the component that would have reunited recently arrived (and possibly South-East Asian) families. The domain of this history is the continuation of a saga in which Australian business' demands for cheap labour and a viable consumer base influenced Australian population policies.[107] Encoded in this story, but not specifically mentioned, is the place that non-white migration generally has had in Australia's immigration history.[108] The size of this immigration and the unspoken implication that it was the Asian component of this immigration, which most needed cutting underpins both the 'Blainey' and the 'Hanson' Debates.[109] Linked to the domain, of who can and cannot arrive in Australia, then is a second story which defines who is Australian and who is not and how one can come to be that identity.

The silent discussion of who is the right kind of migrant is found in the next newspaper article that I find in this day's paper. Under the heading 'Migrant family wins the "lottery"' the paper describes migration as a 'lifelong dream' undertaken by a young couple who are white, British, heterosexual, married with children and self-supporting:

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[106] Nicholson, *The Australian*, Friday, April 30, 1999, p.14,.
[107] See, for example: Castles et al. (1998).
[108] See for instance: Yarwood (1968), Webb and Enstice (1998), Markus (1994), Hollinsworth (1998). The competitiveness of cheap 'coolie' labour and presence of large numbers of efficient and mostly male Chinese miners on the gold fields during the mid nineteenth century, were made rationales for vicious pogroms and fantastic propaganda. The federation of Australian states saw the promulgation of systematised legislation to maintain Australian whiteness and to keep, particularly those Asians, out. It was a white Australia policy that was not finally dismantled legislatively, until the installation of the Whitlam Government in 1972 and the subsequent acceptance of large numbers of Asian refugees by the incoming Fraser Government. See for example Markus (1994) and Hollinsworth (1998).

> For English couple Louise and Michael Grayson, emigrating to Australia had been a lifelong dream. The couple and their 17 month daughter, Lorna, were greeted at Perth airport yesterday by relatives, who had made the journey nine years before and were now sponsoring the young family's new life. ('Migrant family wins the 'lottery'', *The Australian*, April 30, 1999, p.2)

In 1988, conceptions of Britishness were crucial to conceptions of Australian national identity. In 1998, these discussions about migration appeared to be more general and stories about Britain were not included in this day's paper. Attempts during the first half of the century to bring only British migrants to Australia, gradually changed to allow migrants from other countries to be included. Nevertheless, it is interesting that despite the way that migration to Australia had changed over the decade 1988-1999 the picture here should be of a British couple.[110] In 1998, migration patterns had changed even as conceptions of Britishness continued to dominate the ways that an Australian newspaper discussed ethnic relations. The conception of this relation is nevertheless changed. The English couple are just one of many young families who came to Australia to start a new life. Despite the fact that the representation of these migrants is privileged they are nevertheless not yet Australian and one-of-us.

The ambivalence that underpins the immigration debate is made clear as the newspaper editorial debates the ways that 'Yearly quotas stifle debate on migration'. The writer posits that:

> One in four Australians was born overseas. So it is curious that most politicians are reluctant to enter wholeheartedly into the immigration debate. True, some research has indicated that recent migrants themselves are among the most critical of suggestions that Australia lift its migrant intake. This may reflect an irrational fear that the benefits of living in Australia might be reduced if more people were allowed in, but the view should not predominate in discussion of the benefits of migration ... Australia has been built on migration. It is now one of the most polyglot countries in the world. We need to be far more accepting of migrations' real benefits for our country. ('Yearly quotas stifle debate on migration', *The Australian*, April 30, 1999, p.14)

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[109] See Stratton (1998).

[110] The history of immigration to Australia is well documented. As the concept of acceptable migrant changed, policies for dealing with new migrants also changed. Histories of Australian migration trace the ways that migrants were shown to be almost like Us – almost like British Australians. Pictures of new migrants emphasised their fairness, their almost Britishness and their pioneering spirit. Later conceptualisations emphasised the ways that these new Australians, even if different, could be enabled to assimilate, or at least integrate with a quintessentially Australian norm. See for example Castles et al. (1988), Hollinsworth (1998) and Markus (2001).

The article pleads with the Australian Prime Minister to allow more migrants to Australia and suggests that these migrations should not be discriminate on the basis of national and racial origins. However, even as the article considers migrants, both past and present as part of the Australian community, we find such migrants to be not quite Australian enough, part of a 'most polyglot' community, who more than other real Australians have succumbed and should not have succumbed to fears about influxes of other 'others'. This relationship between an Australian nation and that, which is not quite Australian, is signified within ambivalences of identification and desire and politics of resentment. Even as he or she is something deeply desired,[111] as an overwhelming necessity, it is the migrant who is understood as someone irrational, someone not accepting of the real benefits other more real Australians understand migration will bring. The point of the conversation is no longer the foreigner who exists only on the outside and who can be absolutely excluded. Instead the foreigner is not a foreigner, but one of us, even as in the very act of saying so he or she is made one of them again. In 1999, the foreigner who was so comfortably on the outside in 1989, moves between being on the inside and the outside.

The last of the articles in this day's paper demonstrates the ambivalence that underpins these observations. In this story our community interweaves within hazardous, intersecting worlds where others are omnipresent, out of this world and yet dedicated and committed in ways that 'we' are not. Here 'Victorian police fear international terrorist Osama Bin Laden is recruiting Melbourne Muslims to fight in a holy war'.[112],[113] The 'other', is understood as completely beyond the borders of sensible behaviour. The absolute ambivalence of the shadowy, evil and committed other has a presence, which is both part and not part of our own. In an increasingly globalised world, resentment and fear seem to feed and emerge from the innermost sanctums of our very homes.[114] Nation

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[111] See Rizvi's (1996), most pertinent discussion of the ambivalence which underpins the ways that Australians understand Asian migration and their relationship with Asia generally.
[112] 'Terrorists "recruiting for holy war"', *The Australian*, April 30, 1999, p.3.
[113] In September 2001 events in New York gave the substance of these reports terrifying reality. The horror of these events did not change the point of this discussion, which considers the myth like quality that these stories came to have as they become imagined throughout globalised world space. In fact the Hollywood type nature of much of the coverage of these events in many ways adds new dimensions to my argument.
[114] See, McCarthy (1998).

and race, and the discourse of inter-ethnic relations are no longer something merely local but become part of complex interweaving between the local and the global as the international spans the local terrain. The comfortable 'natural' relation between culture and geographical and social territories, nation and state, ethnicity and culture becomes disrupted, provisional, deterritorialised, phantasmagoric. It is in such a bizarre and frightening world, groups of sinister others wage terrifying wars against all of us.[115]

In an examination of even one day's paper I find sites that negotiate the ways that identities are constituted within an Australian context. These sites discuss the ways that the Australian nation has attempted to understand and deal with a number of practical and conceptual concerns: ways to control land and resources, ways to discuss the history of these changes, ways to define what the nation is and who belongs and does not belong to it, and ways to protect the nation from dangers within and outside of itself. The newspaper articles collected in 1989 map conceptions of an Australian-British identity made through its relation on the inside with the Indigenous persons who had proceeded them, and on the outside, against the essentially other person beyond its borders. In 1999, the conception of what Australian is, seems less clear. Those on the inside seem equally in need of 'protection' even as they fight back and remain out of control. Those on the outside seem both to disappear on the inside even as they continue to be remade as different. Those who seem so safely on the outside now seem to merge dangerously on the inside and the outside. The boundary between those who belong and those who do not seems to break down, even as it continues to be maintained. In the next sections I explore these observations in relation to the ways that ethnic relations are spoken about.

The articulation of multiculturalism

To look at ethnic relations in the ways that I have done in the first half of this chapter is to look at them against the grain. The newspaper articles I discussed were concerned about relationships between ethnic groups. However, for the most part these articles did not discuss these struggles. Rather they were about a miscellany of other subjects. The

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[115] See, for example: Rizvi and Walsh (1998), Appadurai (1996), and Giddens (1990).

list, almost endless, includes: a fight between an English minister and a British Queen, a review about the Oxford English Dictionary, the discussion of an Irish film, an ancient journal found in a grandson's home, the misappropriation of funds by particular Aboriginal groups, new legislation preventing the sale of land to foreigners, the reduction of migration programs, threatened Islamic terrorism and so on. These disparate scenes seem to have little in common with discussions about ethnic or race relations or with Gawenda's discussion of these relations that begins this chapter. Yet they are profoundly related to ways that an Australian nation defines itself in relation to others (the other inside who came before and the other outside, who is now tentatively on the inside). In this section I want to explore how these relations are spoken about.

Recent literatures suggest that policies and practices of multiculturalism have become the vehicle by which those who are 'White' seek to maintain the elements of their privilege.[116] Stratton (1998), for instance, suggests that conceptions of ethnic relations in Australia (he defines these as being those of race and nation) can only be understood alongside those of policies and practices of multiculturalism. In a second text written with Ien Ang (1998) Stratton traces ways that multiculturalism and its related discourses underpin both day-to-day discussion and the top-downedness of official policy. Conversations about ethnic relations come to be relocated within the wording of multicultural ideas and programs and policies. As Michael Singh (1998) convincingly argues, multiculturalism becomes a relanguaging of the conditions of whiteness:

> Code words are used to give selective and exclusory meaning to notions such as national identity, national spirit, citizenship and social political values in order to discuss and justify efforts to marginalise Australians of Asian, indigenous and some other migrant backgrounds. (Singh, 1998, p.13)

The argument is that the relation between others and Australian identities is set out in languages of multiculturalism and that these languages provide the ways that those who understand themselves as Australians map out safe home-spaces and block-out the ambivalent strangeness of others. Sneja Gunew (1994) adds here that multiculturalism provides the language and the ways of thinking which frame national imaginings,

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[116] See for example: Stratton (1998), Stratton and Ang (1998), Gunew (1994). For similar arguments made outside Australia see for instance: Mac an Ghaill (1999), Giroux (1994), Goldberg (1995), Grossberg (1992), Hall (1996c), McLaren (1995) and Rattansi (1992).

proscribe, practice and maintain relationships between margin and centre as they are textualised within an Australian context. They conceptualise ways that ethnicity, race and nation become recontextualised so that others become no more than 'the motley collection of outsiders' that shadow the ways in which Australians understand themselves.

The relationship between the conceptualisation of others and white fantasies of community is encoded as multiculturalism. These languages of multiculturalism become so central to the ways ethnic relations become understood that discussions about ethnic relations can barely take place in other terms. I am wary of suggesting that multiculturalism was in any way singular, or that it is the only way that ethnic relations are discussed in recent Australian times. As this chapter will show multiculturalism was defined quite differently in 1988 from what it was in 1998 and was always a contested, changing, concept never properly put in place.[117] Furthermore, theorists document other ways that ethnic relationships have been discussed besides multiculturalism. Hage (1998), for instance, defines several different kinds of thinking about nation and ethnic relations (those of 'Evil White Nationalists' 'Good White Nationalists', 'White National Zoology'), which he posits, underpin contemporary Australian discussions about ethnic relations. Nevertheless, it is interesting that at the end of each of the two years I am researching (1988 and 1998) governments put out new policies of multiculturalism in order, as they explain, to 'manage' ethnic relations.

[117] There were several texts produced in 1988 which discussed this. See for instance work by Foster and Stockley (1988), Foster (1988), Arber (1988; 1993b), Collins (1988) and Jayasuriya (1990). Texts which discussed this in 1998 include those by Stratton (1998) and Hage (1998).

Multicultural codings – 1988

In 1989, in the midst of much emotion and media attention, then Prime Minister Hawke released the *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia.*

> The *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia* was launched by the Prime Minister Mr. Bob Hawke, at Darling Harbour, Sydney on 26 July 1989. The launch took place before about 700 invited guests ... For Australia it was an historic occasion and for a great many people in the audience, it was a very moving experience. That feeling is reflected in the personal comments appearing in this booklet. (*Highlights of the launch: National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia*, July 26, 1989, Darling Harbour, Sydney, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1989), p.2)

It was the outcome of a year of national contemplation, festivity and (re)direction. It followed the bicentennial celebration of British settlement in Australia and the culmination of 'over two years of consultation, research and development' to plan Australia's future and multicultural identity. Set against this celebration of Anglo-Australian remembrances and emergent nationhood, the *Agenda* states as its purpose the need to develop policies and practices 'to establish a truly multicultural agenda':

> In which all Australians, irrespective of background, are able to participate fully in national life; in which community resources are fairly available to all; and in which the skills and abilities of all Australians can be harnessed without barriers of discrimination and prejudice. (*Highlights of the launch: National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia*, Darling harbour, Sydney, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1989, p.2)

The utopian vision contained within these 1988 discussions reflects the excitement that underpinned fields of multicultural discussion, even as it shows how this conceptual and material domain is one of negotiation and struggle. Multiculturalism, the *Agenda* explains, has both a descriptive and a normative purpose. It describes an ethnic and cultural diversity that already is part of contemporary Australia. It invites three particular dimensions of Government response: the preservation 'within carefully defined limits' of cultural identity; the imperative of social justice for all Australians regardless of race, ethnicity, culture, gender or place of birth; and the effective maintenance, development and utilisation of the skills and talents of all Australians as a prerequisite for economic efficiency. These basic principles have particular and carefully defined limits: an overriding and unifying commitment to Australia; acceptance of the basic structures and

principles of Australian society and the acceptance of the rights of others to freedom of expression.

The discussion paper *Towards a National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia* (Affairs, 1988) that predates this agenda makes similar claims that Australia has always been multicultural and that ideologies advocating monoculturalism and Anglo-Australianism are something of the past. Australia's 'ethnic mix' is described as something always changing, 'a fact of life' and something against which Australians can no longer 'turn back the clock'. It is the achievement of a 'fact', which in the eyes of the report, is in itself enormous.

The real achievement of multiculturalism, the discussion paper maintains, is the management of this diversity. Let there be no mistake, the discussion paper announces:

> Our achievement has been enormous. Australia has absorbed a huge number of people from a wide range of countries. They have brought different cultures. They practise different religions. A considerable number – some one in eight Australians today – speak a language other than English at home. Yet their integration into Australian society has been achieved with remarkably little social disruption. (*Towards a National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia*, Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs, 1988, p.2)

Earlier strategies of mono-culturalism, of assimilation and then integration, did not manage diversity properly. They encouraged unnatural conformities, and were costly to both Australian society and to individuals. The outcomes of such policies were devastating: people denied identity and self-esteem, wedges driven between children and their parents, creativity stunted. Worse still communities were turned inwards, ethnic separatism perpetuated and a category of second-class, not-quite-Australian Australians created. Multiculturalism, the discussion paper argues, provides the historically enlightened response to such darkened ways of understanding society. It is the vision which is bringing about a new, exciting and vibrant society where variety of origins does not threaten social cohesion, separate and alienated groups are not formed and a new united nation (which 'more than any other time in history' is distinctively Australian) can come to fruition.

Two other reports, in particular, delineated the guidelines and principles that might underpin a diverse Australian future. The Jupp Report, *Don't settle for less (1986)* commissioned by the Hawke Government, was 'to advise on the Federal Government's role in assisting overseas-born residents to achieve their equitable participation in Australian society'.[118] Jupp (1986) argues that the structural inequalities linked with race and ethnicities need to be 'confronted not eulogised if diversity is to be accepted and understood as a natural feature of a common society'. The Fitzgerald Inquiry, *Immigration: A commitment to Australia: The report of the committee to advise on Australia's immigration politics,* argues differently that the central focus for multicultural policymaking must be on a crucially 'Australian identity'.[119] The document, suggests that multiculturalism is 'something for immigrants and ethnic groups only'. It expresses alarm that citizens are not required to make a sufficient commitment to Australian institutions and identity. It argues for a return to things identifiably 'Australian and for the maintenance of social cohesion'.

Victorian educational policy statements make similar claims to those made by Federal governments. The most important of these, the 1986 Policy document 'Education in, and for, a multicultural Victoria' argues that:

> Education in, and for, a multicultural society is built on two basic principles: it accepts that past and present diversity is a significant influence on Australia's development, and it demonstrates a commitment to fostering linguistic and cultural diversity within a cohesive society, A multicultural society is built on shared values including acknowledgment of the democratic process as the means of resolving conflict and acknowledgment of English as the major language of communication between all Australians. At the same time, such a society accepts that there are many different expressions of similar needs and values. (Ministry of Education, 1986, p.6)

Multiculturalism in this 1988 document explores conceptual and practical ways to maintain a balance between a united and single culture and the acknowledgement, even celebration of difference. Education has particular importance for multicultural policy and practice in that it 'improves and values the out-of-school experiences, life-chances and options of all students' (Ministry of Education, 1986, p.6). Practically multiculturalism has several strands: multicultural perspectives across the curriculum,

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[118] See Jupp (1986).
[119] See Fitzgerald (1988).

Languages other than English (LOTE), English as a second Language (ESL), parental involvement, access and equity and cultural retention.

In 1998, multicultural documents consider how notions of English language, culture and structural change can be defined and manifested as Australia becomes diverse. In doing so it builds a dualism between those who are already us and the others allowed to become part of Australian society. Beneath conversations about best ways of dealing with diversity are other and mapped conceptions which deal with notions of who we are and who we are not. These discuss a 'shared' and united community but beg questions about who is sharing and how we are to be united. Other ways of discussing these relations are discussed only with difficulty. The discussion of racism, for instance, takes place only rarely and in the most vague of terms. Documents allude to racism, as a matter of misunderstanding, and misinformation. Its amelioration is a matter of teaching better and more 'critical' thinking and about implementing multicultural programs themselves. Victorian Government documents explain that:

> There is much prejudice, misunderstanding and misinformation to be overcome. Schools and communities have a vital role to play in equipping students to think critically and to better participate in this multicultural society. (Ministry of Education, 1986, p.6)

In 1988, the possibility of racism is discussed only peripherally as prejudice, misunderstanding, and misinformation. Better policies and practices of multiculturalism, better information provision and more adequate practices of critical thinking would bring about its amelioration.[120]

Multicultural codings – 1998

Ten years later, multicultural policies and practices are still discussed but with different inflexions. After descriptions of a favourable launch a 1997 discussion paper carries this somewhat contradictory statement:

> Some media reaction to the issues paper suggests that its context and purpose might not have been clearly understood. As its name indicates, the paper is meant to canvass a wide range of issues, not to reach final conclusions. It is not the report the Council is required to produce for the Government, but an essential step in the process of developing that report. It is an intentionally brief document written in layman's

[120] For a critique of this approach to multicultural education see, for instance, Rizvi (1995) and Rattansi (1992).

> language so that it can be easily understood by experts and the general public alike. (Press release accompanying the release of *Multicultural Australia: the way forward*, Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, National Multicultural Advisory Council, December 1997)

In 1998, Government documents portray multiculturalism as a more contentious vision. The field of this debate suggests ambivalence not present in 1988 policy statements. Multiculturalism is now understood as potentially divisive and as supported by intellectuals but not necessarily by ordinary Australians.[21] Far from being an important factor for maintaining social cohesion it is now understood as a potentially destabilising force. Quintessentially Australian notions of cohesion, harmony and fair-go are understood as existent despite, rather than through, multiculturalism. Multiculturalism itself is portrayed as threatening, something to 'be uneasy about' and as suggesting a preference for unacceptable separateness and divisiveness. Diversity now threatened 'traditional' Australian values and more particularly, altered the manner in which these can be decided. The changed conception of these matters as private rather than public concerns and the move to shift resources and market decisions away from governments meant that the structural changes advocated within multicultural statements had become increasingly controversial.

In 1999, the National Multicultural Advisory Council (1999) put out its final report. It stated its vision for:

> a united and harmonious Australia, built on the foundations of our democracy, and developing its continually evolving nationhood by recognising, embracing, valuing and investing its heritage and cultural diversity. (National Multicultural Advisory Council, 1999, p.4)

The principles of multicultural policy now had four tiers, which are in parallel but also juxtaposed to those described a decade earlier. These upheld the 'civic duty' of all Australians to support the basic structures and principles of Australian society; the right, subject to the law, for all Australians to 'cultural respect' for their culture beliefs; 'social equity' in the way all Australians are treated by and have the opportunity to contribute to

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[21] The discussion paper notes that opinion polls undertaken in Australia reflect mixed reactions towards multiculturalism and that although a majority of Australians continue to agree that policies of multiculturalism should be adopted by successive Australian Governments, up to 40 percent of Australians disagree.

Australian social, political and economic life; and the maximisation of the 'productive diversity' of all Australians for the benefit of all Australians.

Unlike Federal Government discussion papers published contemporaneously the 1997 Victorian policy document *Multicultural policy for Victorian schools* reconstructs multicultural policy as being one that:

> Promotes respect by all cultures for all cultures, one that allows Australians the freedom to maintain and celebrate their languages and cultures within a socially cohesive framework of shared values, including respect for democratic processes and institutions, the rule of law and acknowledgment that English is the nation's common language. It respects the rights of people to form or join groups and to have targeted services provided as they are needed. It does not accept the sort of cultural separatism that confines minori es to ethno-specific structures. (Education, Victoria, 1997, p.8)

Despite changes in ways that multiculturalism is understood and implemented in schools in 1998, multiculturalism in Victorian Government documents continues to be about ways that difference (cultural difference and the provision of separate delivery structures) can be brought about whilst maintaining commonly agreed upon and 'cohesive' and 'shared' values. The 1997 document retains notions contained in earlier documents but in a changed form. Notions of culture no longer pertain to essential difference but are understood as contingent and dynamic. The accommodation of difference, understood in 1988 as being about accommodating 'unity in diversity' (Zubrzycki, 1979) is now seen as being about straddling divides between a number of dualisms: structural/cultural, public/private, welfare/performance-based economies. The right to form or join groups and to access dedicated services is placed in relation with strictures to prevent 'the sort of cultural separatism that confines minorities to ethno-specific structures'. The guidelines for practice in the 1998 document continue to support programs that encourage: 'proficiency in English', 'competency in a language or languages other than English' and 'in-depth knowledge and awareness of their own and other cultures'. Now however, multicultural policy statements contain new proficiencies: 'skills and understandings to interact competently in intercultural settings'; 'an awareness of the reality of the global village and national independence in areas of trade, finance, labour, politics and communications'; and 'the development of international understanding and cooperation'.

The possibility of racism is mentioned only briefly in these documents. Its eradication remains a matter of good education and the implementation of proper multicultural policy. The document argues:

> Schools play a very important role in the development of attitudes, values and critical thinking, The role of education in the implementation of a multicultural policy is to ensure that racism and prejudice do not develop to hinder individual's participation and that all students are assisted to develop the understandings and skills that will enable them to achieve their full potential and to participate effectively and successfully in a multicultural society. (Education, Victoria, 1997, p.8)

Fighting racism, this document now suggests is about ensuring that students are not hindered from achieving their full potential by prejudice and misunderstanding. It is a discussion that takes place euphemistically. A curriculum document for combating racism written by the Victorian Government suggests that care be taken 'where units with negative titles such as 'racism' or 'stereotyping' are used', as if even speaking about racism would bring it into existence (Education, Victoria, 1997, p.6). The task force set up in 1994 to discuss the possibility of an 'anti-racism', and then a 'counter-racism' policy statement for schools was dismantled at least three times. A statement was only finally released seven years later under the thoroughly culturalised title: 'Guidelines for managing cultural and linguistic diversity for schools'.[122] A website 'www.racismnoway.com.au' produced in New South Wales but backed by the Victorian Education system (DE&T) shows a similar conflation between attempts to introduce anti-racism legislation and the languages which have underpinned multiculturalism. The web site unequivocally states the need to fight racism. Nevertheless, it argues that:

> Understanding and valuing cultural diversity are the keys to countering racisms. All individuals must feel free to explore the uniqueness of their culture and identity while developing understandings of the cultural diversity that exist in the world around them. (http://racismnoway.comau/library/understanding/index-The.html, p.1)

Once again, the key to better ethnic relations comes from better education. Now however, good educational practice is not so much to counter misunderstanding. Understanding and valuing diversity itself is the key to better ethnic relations.

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[122] 'The Community Relations and Education Management Committee', Directorate of School Education (1994 – June 1996). This task force was set up by the DSE to inform and oversee research into inter-communal activities both in schools and in the community at large. This committee was disbanded in June 1996. As a member of the original 'anti-racism' task force I was party to the original discussions about this policy. Subsequent meetings with Government consultants have provided me with some insight into the changing ways these policies have been contended and initiated.

Multicultural moments

This dissertation is concerned with ethnic and race relations as they are spoken about within a contemporary Australian society. I have argued that the discussion of ethnic relations takes place within the mapped and normalised narrations in which some control the boundaries of their identities and their territorial spaces through the definition and placement of others. I suggest that these conversations take place as multiculturalism and that other discussions are in some way silenced. Discussions about others and therefore about self filled even one day's newspaper. At the same time, government and public debates took place as multiculturalism. Attempts to carry on these policy debates as a discussion of racism were not broached and in some cases expressly forbidden.

In the two years that I describe, Australian multiculturalism was a contested, changing, fiercely problematic notion. In 1988, Foster (1988)[123] explored the ways that multicultural policy and practices changed from the 'needs-based' programs of the welfare-orientated Whitlam Labor government to the 'systems management approach' of the Fraser Liberal government. The consensual, yet pragmatic style of the Hawke government led, by 1988, to the introduction of an approach described by Foster and Stockley (1990) as corporatism where big business, unions and government made decisions for all. The particular stress on cohesiveness meant a corresponding pressure to reduce programs and practices that might advocate difference, even as support for ethnic difference remained an essential concern for a socially concerned Labor Government. Despite their good intentions Foster argues, the three documents critical in those years (the *Fitzgerald* (1988) and *Jupp* (1986) *Reports* and the multicultural agenda statement (Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1989) had quite different orientations towards multiculturalism. The *Jupp report* was concerned to place structural change ahead of what was termed as the eulogisation of expressive cultural

[123] Foster (1988) suggested a typology in which multicultural goals had a range of underlying orientations defined as: *assimilative and universal* – which assumed a shared value system and made no particular attempt to identity and respond to a cultural experience of immigrants; *assimilative and ethnic targeted* – which assumed common needs but provide some facilitating services such as interpreters and multilingual information; *pluralist* – which considered the development of generalist institutions which specifically respond to the needs of individuals in culturally relevant terms and *ethnic* – a service which is solely geared towards one ethnic group. For other discussions about ways multiculturalism was defined at that time see for instance Castles et al.(1988), Jayasuriya (1990), Rizvi (1985; 1986) and Rizvi and Kemmis (1987).

difference. [124] The *Fitzgerald report* was concerned that neither cultural nor structural differences should be allowed to establish themselves and that the preservation of Australian institutions and identity should be paramount.[125] In Foster's (1988) terms the multicultural agenda, despite its enamour with the 'fact of life' of Australia's 'ethnic mix', is basically an assimilative and ethnic targeted document, whereas the Jupp report advocates a more pluralist approach, and the Fitzgerald report advocates a return to assimilation and universalism.

The description and analysis of the conceptual and practical fields of the multicultural debate, alongside a paucity of research into the normalised maps which frame and are framed by them, continue to underpin many of the academic writings published in more recently. Papers by Kalantzis and Cope (2000) and Castles (1997) continue to be concerned about the failure of Australian Governments to properly institute what they call a 'pluralist' approach. The Howard government's concern for 'civic duty, cultural respect, social equity and productive diversity' signals the implementation of the 'superficial kind of multiculturalism' which 'at a surface level recognises, even honours the variability of life worlds but deep down' re-establishes conditions of assimilation. Even as these 1997-99 documents continue to advocate multicultural notions, they express perturbation about the effects of diversity for maintaining social cohesion and the maintenance of 'the rule of law'. At the same time they debate the ways that social justice policies should be implemented, and the ways that cultural difference can be understood in relation to conceptions of 'individual freedoms' and 'fair-go'.[126] Their work considers the relation

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[124] For a discussion of the debate that took place at the time in that greater stress should be placed on structural rather than cultural change see for instance: Castles et al. (1988), Jayasuriya (1990), Rizvi (1985; 1986) Rizvi and Kemmis (1987) as well as others such as Foster and Stockley (1988).

[125] Ibid.

[126] Although there have been some excellent discussions of Australian multiculturalism by recent theorists, the focus of these literatures has been to consider ways these changes have been categorised. In a 1997 paper *Multicultural citizenship: a response to the dilemma of globalisation and national identity* Stephen Castles (Castles, 1997) suggests three models which have underpinned ways countries manage diverse populations: *differential exclusion* where immigrants are incorporated only into certain areas of society; *assimilation* where migrants are expected to give up their distinctive linguistic, cultural or social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority population; and a *pluralist model* which is may be characterised by the acceptance of immigrant populations as ethnic communities that remain distinguishable from the majority population with regard to language, culture and social organisation over several generations. Kalantzis and Cope (2000, p.123) set up a similar model which defines ways education systems might be understood as multicultural: *Education as exclusion* contemplates the possibility that 'life' world experiences are so different that students become excluded from educational processes; *education as assimilation* requires making one's

between demands to maintain cultural difference and the push to attain structural change. This approach continues the debate about how ethnic groups can maintain cultural attributes other than those of an Anglo-Australian society and yet not become excluded from Australian institutions.

Recent academic writings delineate several directions, which underpin these contingent and often disjunctive, fields of multicultural debate. The first of these consider the relation between the definitions of multiculturalism and different conceptions of liberal thought. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) define differences between three kinds of multiculturalism; conservative multiculturalism/monoculturalism (the belief in the superiority of Western white and patriarchal culture and, by extension, demands that these cultures should remain central); liberal multiculturalism (the belief that individuals from diverse race, class and gender groups share a natural equality and a common humanity, so that all people should be able to and can compete equally for resources in a capitalist economy); and pluralist multiculturalism (a subset of liberal pluralism whereby a focus on difference suggests that human diversity should be celebrated, even as all groups should be provided with equal opportunity).[127] The Howard Liberal governments (National Multicultural Advisory Council, 1999, p.9) reconstruction of the Hawke Labor government's *Multicultural Agenda* (Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1989) is a powerful example of this.

A second notion underlying conceptions of multiculturalism is the changed meaning of culture itself. Nira Yuval-Davis (1997) points out that notions of culture have commonly come to mean several things: 'a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development'; 'the works and practices of intellectual and artistic ability'; and 'a particular way of life' of a people, period or group. Multiculturalism both conflates these meanings and interweaves them with notions of nation and difference. Conceptions of multiculturalism change as anthropological definitions of culture as unchanging, given

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lifeworld over to that of the institutions in order to succeed; *education as superficial multiculturalism* suggests that students' lifeworlds are understood at a surface level, but not at the level of real structural and institutional change and *education as pluralism* means that 'you don't have to be the same to have similar opportunities: not identical opportunities', that the 'culture of the dominant groups or institutional structures such as education is itself transformed'.

[127] See also McLaren (1995) for a similar model.

and essential give way to a Neo-Marxist logic that defines culture as produced and reproduced within institutional practice. Most recently, more integrated and changing notions of culture as changing, fragmented and superficial have been tied to the kind of post-colonial perspective taken up within this thesis. These change ways the notion 'culture' within the term multi- culture is understood and acted upon.[128],[129] By 1998, many Australian theorists considered culture quite otherwise in ways, which showed it to be contested, changing, negotiated and fragmenting and as articulated with conceptions of nation.[130] Stratton's (1998) work *Race Daze* explores ways that changes in multicultural practices over a decade not only reflect a changed relation with liberal discourse but also changed ways of understanding national identity and its relationship to culture.

These altered conceptions of culture and its relation with notions of economism have become central to recent literatures.[131] Jameson (1998) argues that globalisation begins as a communicational concept, but that its consequence has been that of alternately masking and transmitting cultural or economic meaning. This reconceptualisation of the economic is found not only in the expansion of economic activity from the local and national to the global and the international but in the massive bureaucratisation of everyday life that has accompanied this. Relationships within and between nation states have become increasingly vulnerable as the organisation of labour, finance and technology is re-organised and recontextualised. Traditional cultures have given way to new waves of cultural universalisms, as consumer and culture industries take root and 'McDonaldise' (Featherstone, pp.7-8) normalised notions of working, but also of understanding and being, throughout the globe. They underpin what Appadurai (1996) describes as the absolute re-imagining of the local and the global

Most particularly, the renegotiation of multicultural policy and practice in recent times is underpinned by the reconceptualisation of identity itself. Frankenberg (1993, p.14)

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[128] See Goldberg's (1995) excellent analysis of these trends.
[129] For examples of an anthropological view see: academic writings by Bullivant (1981)and political writing by Grassby (1973); for a sociology of knowledge perspective see Martin (1978) and Galbally (1978); and for a neo-marxist view Rizvi (1986). For writings using a post-colonial perspective see Rizvi and Walsh (1998), Stratton (1998), Stratton and Ang (1998) and Hage (1998).
[130] See Rizvi and Walsh (1998), Stratton (1998), Stratton and Ang (1998) and Hage (1998).
[131] See Appadurai (1996), Featherstone (1995), Taylor et al (1997) and Jameson (1998).

defines multiculturalism as underpinned by three different moments of identity-making: two of alterity, (that of 'essentialism' and that of 'race cognisance') and one of universalism (or as Frankenberg terms it 'colour-blindness'). Her point is that these moments of multiculturalism occur within conditions of whiteness. Her work illustrates how the most taken-for-granted places and spaces are raced within the day-to-day of contemporary societies and explores how languages of multiculturalism maintain this condition. In particular, recent conceptions of colour-blindness contain a crucial irony: as the person who is seen by 'us' as being just like us, never the less returns to be seen as different. Thus, even as those of who are 'us' consider that colour, non-whiteness, 'woggy'-ness' (Hage, 1998, p.11) doesn't matter, it returns to matter, as it remains caught within the essential power and race differences to which these understandings are tied within contemporary societies.

Gunew (1994) analysis untangles the vertical and the horizontal spaces in between the maps and fields of the discussion more carefully. Her argument is that multiculturalism provides the language to mark out the boundaries which separate nation from that which is not nation. More than that however, Gunew argues, multiculturalism provides the limit, which distinguishes between that which is intrinsic and that which is extrinsic to us. The violence of framing sets the conditions of these possibilities:

> The rationale for this procedure is precisely the underlying logic of classic deconstruction, which posits that the elements excluded in the analytical process are the conditions of its possibilities. Thus the exclusions or marginalisations of certain writings in fact frame the conditions of those *other* writings, which are included or endorsed by the analytical process. 'Framings always sustains and contains that which, by itself collapses forthwith. (Gunew, 1994, p.28)

By providing the frame, Gunew argues, multicultural conception and practice reconceptualizes the borders between 'usness' and 'themness', margin and centre, within the Australian imagination. In this case Australian writings, define the conditions of other writings and in doing so defines the self. However, it is a formulation of self that is paradoxical and in process. It reflects the power of the 'coloniser' but also the disruption of his or her power so that 'it collapses forthwith'. In his much-quoted chapter 'Cultures in-between', Bhabha (1990) argues that an example of the irony contained within this relation is the conflation between *diversity* (areas of experience and practice marked and separated as different) and *difference* (practices of signification which are both reflective

and constitutive of prevailing economic and political relations and which mark out people as different). In Australia, it is a sleight of hand where national identity is envisaged as constituted by universal, atomistic, self-possessed, equally empowered individuals differentiated only by the privately made choice to maintain experiences and practices marked as different. At the same time, groups are positioned, both conceptually and practically, as being primordially, essentially and inalienably different.

Conclusion

In the first part of this chapter, I explored writings that describe how race and ethnic relations are spoken about in contemporary Australian as well as western societies. In the second section of this chapter, I explored ways that ethnic relations are understood and spoken about within an Australian context. Even within an examination of the day's newspaper, I found described sites of struggle that conceptualise relationships between others and selves as definitions of ethnicity, race and nation. I argued that such subtexts to denote one group as something other, form the core of the ways that ethnic relationships are understood and practised. In the third section of the chapter, I discussed policies and practices of multiculturalism and the essential ironies contained within them as they both consider what is not us, and yet consider their universality and their sameness. These two conversations, the one about multiculturalism, the other about relations between ethnic and race groups, seem almost separate. The discussion of these relations takes place indirectly and by proxy through the miscellany of debates that define ways individuals and groups can belong within the Australian community. It is important to realise the different trajectory that Australian multiculturalism has taken to that taken in either Britain or the United States. Australian multiculturalism is part of a top-down political strategy, a centrepiece of official government policy, implemented by those in power precisely to advance the inclusion of ethnic minorities within Australian culture. As such, Australian multiculturalism is a crucial concept through which the national imagination is made manifest. It is not just a new policy for dealing with immigrants but is, in effect, a new national cultural policy. It is, I have argued within

this chapter, a way of imagining nation which is practised and argued not only as it is understood officially, but also unofficially.[132]

Furthermore, discussions about Australian multiculturalism have ignored crucial debates, which took place in Britain and the United States that considered the difference between anti-racism and multicultural policies. These took place in Australia only in codings of culturalism. Australian theorists in the 1980s and early 1990s debated the ways that culturalist multiculturalism ignored the need for structuralist change, but they avoided any discussion about ways Australian society might indeed be racially divided. Definitions of multiculturalism specifically excluded discussion of the two major sites of Australian national identity: discussions about migration and discussions about indigenous peoples. Other interventions by government into Australian race relations were similarly evasive. The *Racial Hatred Act* (Australia, 1995) defines racism in terms of only the most basic human rights making the act of 'distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference' of any person based on 'race, colour, descent, national or ethnic origin' unlawful. More recent attempts to extend this legislation has had only minimal success federally and within the state of Victoria, in spite of the introduction of legislation against racial vilification in some states. More often, discussions about episodes of racism are avoided altogether or spoken about only as being conceptions to be ameliorated through the conceptions and practices of more knowledgeable and more tolerant culturalism.

In the last chapter, I considered the possibility that the discussion of race and ethnic relations in contemporary Western societies was underpinned by conditions of whiteness. I suggested that the privilege of whiteness was embedded in the ability of some to name those who are 'white' and to define themselves in relation to those considered 'not-white'. The end-point of this power was the possibility of two silences: the silence of the 'white' person who does not speak about himself or herself, even as he or she names themself against the other; and the silence of the other, the not-white, who is left with no position from which to speak. The underlying condition of this position was that those who are white could set out the conditions of the ways they defined

[132] See Stratton and Ang (1998).

others, and the relation between those others and themselves. In this chapter, I explored the way ethnic and race relations are spoken about in an Australian context. I argued that the discussion of race and ethnic relations is often avoided in public discussion even as the terms and conditions of these relations underpin the logic of the debate. I suggested that languages of multiculturalism provided a way to discuss these relations even as it allowed conversations about racism to be avoided and ignored. In the next chapters I examine the ways these conversations take place within a particular Melbourne school.

MAPPING SILENT NARRATIONS:

Speaking of Race and ethnic relations in a Melbourne school

1988 - 1998

Chapter 4
(Re) Telling history: Analysing narrational fields

> At the end of my patient reconstruction, I had before me a kind of lesser library made up of fragments, quotations, unfinished sentences, amputated stumps of books. The more I reread this list the more I am convinced it is the result of chance and it contains no message. But then the incomplete pages have accompanied me through all the life that has been left to me to live since then: I have often consulted them like an oracle, and I have almost had the impression that what I have written on these pages, which you will now read, unknown reader is only a canto, a figured hymn, an immense acrostic that says and repeats nothing but what those fragments have suggested to me, nor do I know whether thus far I have been speaking of them, or they have spoken through my mouth. But whatever the two possibilities may be correct, the more I repeat to myself the story that has emerged from them, the less I manage to understand whether in it there is a design that goes beyond the natural sequence of the events and the times that connect them. And it is a hard thing for this old monk, on the threshold of death, not to know whether the letter he had written contains some hidden meaning, or more than one, one many, or none at all. (Eco, 1983, pp. 500-501)

In his medieval detective story, *The name of the rose,* Umberto Eco explores differences and junctures between medieval, modern and post-modern philosophic traditions as they explain everyday and quite taken-for-granted notions. In the segment just cited, Eco's monk detective reconstructs the burnt remnants of pages retrieved from the ruins of a monastery library and the history that emerges from them. In a moment of dramatic irony, Eco's protagonist explores the possible histories that might be patterned from these fragments and their possible relation to a design which goes beyond the sequence of events, and gives them connection, form and meaning.

The crucial focus of my analysis of ethnic and race relations has been the conversations that I collected from teachers and parents within a particular Melbourne state secondary

school in the years 1988 and 1998. The analysis of these conversations provides focus for the next three chapters within the thesis. The first of these chapters, (Chapter Four), '(Re) Telling history: Analysing narrational fields', examines the observations that first gave substance to my thesis argument. When I come to speak to teachers and parents about race and ethnic relations in their school, I find that they speak a lot about demographic change, and about the usefulness of multicultural policies and practices as a way to deal with those changes. Conversations about racism are often avoided and strongly contested. Nevertheless, I find that I have collected fragments of material that suggest that racism does happen within the school. The second of these chapters, '(Chapter Five) '(Un) making maps: Overturning narrations', examines the categories, conditions and logics defined by these conversations, as they are concerned with conceptions of race and ethnic difference. The third of these chapters, (Chapter Six) 'Speaking of us: Between disrupted narrations,' relates to the examination of the self who utters these narrations and traces the dimensions of its prescience, but also its disruption.

The methodology chapters of my dissertation describe my research journey as I try to understand these miscellaneous and individual stories, the histories patterned from them and the logics of being within the world of which they are part. I argue that these ways of speaking about the world are understood in relation within a terrain of imagination as I view them from three different vantage points: that of *narrational practice* which considers individual experiences and stories, that of *narrational fields* which explores the interconnectedness of individual practices as contingent and often disjunctive ways of meaning related to a particular conceptual or practical domain and that of *narrational maps* which consider the interconnectedness of narrational fields as they make up the normalised ways of knowing and being in the world. The articulation of these methodological levels acknowledges the linked relation between practice, historical and political context and the normalised ways of being in the world. Moreover, it describes the process of their 'enunciation'. The act of narration or 'relating' is understood from these same three levels: *story telling* describes what people do with each other as they try in their day-to-day lives and relatively unreflexively of their practical consciousness to explain themselves to themselves; *historical patterning* describes what people do as

they negotiate the contingent and disjunctive stories they tell as a relation with socio-historical circumstance when they talk about a particular conceptual or practical domain; and *mapping* describes what people do as they make their stories from the already understood and taken-for-granted ways of knowing and being in the world which frame and are framed by these stories and historical patterns as they appear as beyond time and beyond space.

The next chapters describe what I do as I retell these stories, describe these historic patternings and trace out the taken-for-granted ways of knowing and being in the world which frame and are framed by these stories. This is by no means a simple process. As I have already argued, I do this as someone framed by these same terrains. Moreover, even as I reconsider their framing, I am part of their negotiation. A third order of analysis describes my observations as I explore the data from the different vantage point of the narrational map. From this viewpoint, I investigate the ontological framings, which provide the taken-for-granted ways of knowing and being which frame conversations about race and ethnic relations. A crucial focus of my analysis is to re-examine the conversations about multiculturalism that have become so taken-for-granted and to consider the logic that underpins these conversations.

A primary purpose of this chapter is to describe these conversations in all their detailed pervasiveness. Like Eco's protagonist, my analysis begins with the incomplete and fragmented tales that I collect over a decade. The several dozen tapes I gather contain myriad stories: the new principal and her exciting plans as she starts within a new school; the teacher as he debates the most appropriate curriculum for a school which seems increasingly diverse; the parent and her plans for her child. These fragmented, debated, changing stories explore the spaces of schools as they become dangerous and safe, the voyages of community members as they move between one place and another, the shifts between identities as teachers and parents understand themselves to be one entity or another, and the haunting, barely contemplated tales that consider the relation between belonging within a community and remaining another. Following from Strauss' (1987) suggestion, I work through these fragmented tales to record and code their patterns, and to ground my assumptions back within the field of the research. Like Eco's

protagonist I piece together a history from these fragmented tales, uncertain how and whether they are a product of a design that goes beyond the stories I collect.

My purpose in this chapter then, is to retell these histories but also, and following from suggestions by Toni Morrison (1992) and Patti Lather (1991), to consider these historic patterns problematically, break them up and to disrupt their pervasive logic. It was some time before I was able to look past the terrain of these narrational fields and to consider their relation with the normalised logics of being and understanding that frame them. This chapter describes the beginning stages of my analysis and the patterns I first see as I place my materials together. The observations I describe have three directions. The first direction, 'Same place: Changing times' describes a school community buffeted by social, economic and global change and faced with seemingly enormous demographic change. The second 'Dealing with change' explores the policies and practices teachers and parents put in place to deal with those changes. The third 'Experiencing it' traces the way teachers and parents suggest that community relationships take place within the school partly as a consequence of those practices. For a long time, my research focus rest on the description and analysis of these concerns and programs. Nevertheless, I am concerned by fragmented conversations I have collected which suggest that these relations are more complex. In the final part of the chapter 'Disruptive fragments', I examine these other stories.

There are three orders to this analysis. The first retells the stories teachers and parents tell me. The second describes the historic patternings that make up the conceptual and material domains – demographic change, multiculturalism and race and ethnic relations - in each of the two years of the study.[133] The third order of the analysis explores how the juncture between the patterning of these histories and the normalised maps of identity and belonging to which they are related. This form of analysis explores the relation between conversations about demographic change and ways to deal with it and the

[133] My description centres on particular quotes chosen because they illustrate patterns within the data or illustrate words, phrases or ideas which were repeated so often that they could not be ignored. The task at this stage of the analysis is to piece together the information that teachers and parents tell me.

normalised understandings about who is changing and dealt with assumed within these conversations. In this chapter, I trace out the observations I make in schools, the patterns I piece together from these relations and the logic that is derived from them. In the next chapters, I explore the terms and conditions of those logics more closely.

Same place, changing times.

The present chapter begins its description from the vantage point of *narrational fields* as I piece together the stories that teachers and parents tell me about race and ethnic relations in 1988 and in 1998. It is a set of historic patterns which I describe from three directions: the first describes a school community beset by economic, administrative and global change and transformed by immigration patterns; the second describes the policies and practices instigated to deal with this; and the third describes the very good relations which take place between ethnic and raced groups within the school (often because of these policies). In this section, I look at the first of these three parts – the story of a school in the throes of immense demographic change.

Changing demographics – 1988

In 1988, most parents and teachers consider that Southgate is 'a traditional school' where things change little. Teachers have often been at the school for very long periods. Commitment to notions of communal ownership and shared decision-making mean the formation of large committees and complex and often unwieldy processes to allow each school member to have their say. Nevertheless, things are changing.[134] The huge increases in education funding set in place by the Whitlam government (1972-75) have been reduced and important funding programs such as the Disadvantaged Schools Funding and the Participation and Equity Program dismantled. Teachers, particularly, are concerned as essential programs are increasingly hard fought for or cut out altogether. School curricula also change and schools with smaller enrolments forced to amalgamate, or even worse, to close.

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134 See Marginson (1997) and Taylor et al. (1997) which describe the history of these changes a decade later. See also references by Rizvi and Kemmis (1987) and Foster (1988) for materials that describe these changes as they take place at the time and relate them particularly to the politics of multiculturalism.

Most particularly, teachers and parents feel overwhelmed by demographic change. [135] When I first come to the school in 1988 Stephen Barrows produces the statistics that define these changes:

> Looking at it by year levels the number of Greeks in junior levels is very low. The number of Greeks in senior levels is higher. It's just that the migrants that came here 20 years ago are moving through the school. The new migrants are a different racial group, so the Greeks have declined. The Italians, which I haven't even got listed here any more because they're down to 17, have also virtually disappeared. They're the migrants of the 60s. The blue one here, the Vietnamese, you can see have rocketed up to 167. I think it is this year and they're by far our largest racial group. But there's a stats difficulty here. The Chinese Vietnamese have been classified as Vietnamese this year and I think last year they were classified as Chinese. Chinese numbers appear to have dropped from 100 to ... so the Vietnamese increase might not be as great as it seems – but certainly Vietnamese is an area that is increasing. Chinese to the best of my knowledge would be about stable ... The European migrants continue to be a very small group. I think we've got 19 Turks; we've got 24 of all varieties of Yugoslavs. We've got 11 Poles; there's a small group but significant; they remain about level.
> Q. And the Spanish?
> A. The Spanish are rising rapidly. The last few months in particular most of the people coming have been Spanish. The ones you notice are the ones that arrive and move on pretty quickly (they) tend to be the Spanish people ... That's last year's broad language groups shows 45 percent were Asian, 36 percent European, 5 percent central west Asian and 14 percent English. In fact the Asian group has increased and now is just under 50 percent. Not shown here is a significant group coming from Cook Islands, Timor Islands in the South Pacific that would make up a few percent of the school now. (Barrows, 1988, ll. 103 – 148)

Following Government recommendation these statistics show the number of students present at the school by country of origin and language spoken in the home. In 1988 the number of students identified as Greek had fallen. The number of Italian students had become too small to be counted and has virtually disappeared. Student populations from Vietnam and other South East Asian countries had risen markedly. A number of European students remained as small groups: 19 Turks, 24 Yugoslavs and 11 Poles. The school had numbers of students of Spanish origin as well as from the Cook Islands and Timor.

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[135] For a description of the impact of these changes on Australian schools see, for example: Foster (1988), Cahill (1984), Arber (1993b). Since the end of World War II Australia had sought large numbers of migrants as a means to either 'populate or perish'. The Whitlam Labor Government only finally introduced official policies for non-discriminatory immigration policy into Australia in 1972. Both the Fraser Liberal Government of 1975 – 1983 and the Hawke/Keating Labor Government's of 1983 – 1996 continued to encourage a significant, and unprecedented increase in the number of non-British migrants allowed to enter the country. A large number of these immigrants had come to live in particular areas of Melbourne and Sydney so that by the time I carried out my pilot study of Melbourne schools there were very few metropolitan schools that had not become increasingly cosmopolitan. The proximity of a migrant hostel near Southgate, particularly, meant that large numbers of recently arrived migrants had entered the school.

There are several points to note about this quote. Statistics are about counting the numbers of 'migrant' and 'racial groups' in the school. They describe numbers of what appear as essentially different groups. Stephen Barrows describes the 'stats difficulty'(ies) which underly this process. In 1988, students counted as Chinese in earlier statistics are recounted as Vietnamese. Students counted as Spanish are actually from South America. Turkish students are listed here as European but Government statistics often continue to list them as Asian.[136] Descriptions of these figures convey trepidation and wonderment, at the immensity of these changes. Greeks and then Vietnamese are a different 'racial group'; Italians have 'virtually disappeared'; and the numbers of Vietnamese have 'rocketed up'. The Spanish are 'the ones you notice', are 'rising rapidly' and 'move on pretty quickly'. These statistics measure the number of new, different and other racial and migrant groups who suddenly arrive at the school. Europeans are 'a very small group'. The listing, Anglo-Australian students, encodes as 14 percent those students who speak 'English' as their first language at home.

The significance of these changes to members of the school is more clearly put in this next quote. Tom Paterson reminisces that:

> I think when you've been in an area as you said – I come down here because of the rural atmosphere. There was tea tree. It was a beautiful underlay ... It was like an English scene. We'd go for a walk on a Sunday afternoon down a lane. It's a lane opposite just like an English lane. There was foxes. There was snakes. We had snakes in our back garden. We had foxes come and take our fowls. It was like a real country atmosphere. It was country down here ... You know all this sort of went on but it was great it was a lovely atmosphere. Now it's all gone to what it was.
> Q. So the population must have changed a lot too?
> A. It's just unbelievable ... I would say its, how many years would it be it's going back, I would say the last fifteen years ... It started from that point on. We've been here for thirty-one years. I would say half the time it started to change then. I think when the Signpost hostel opened. When that opened that sort of created a lot of sorts of people living in this area. Probably the first place they come to in Australia. And then they looked around and I think you will find, you know, Southgate area particularly. It's amazing. Particularly when all the Asians come, they thought this is all right and they all started to buy a house or live around the area. And gradually its even got bigger and bigger and now down in Southgate the actual population .... (Paterson, 1998, ll. 12 – 53)

In 1988, Mr Paterson, parent and council member, remembers an Eden, an English scene, a country aspect, a rural atmosphere, beautiful, idyllic. There were snakes and

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[136] See Goldberg's (1997) exploration of the use of demographic statistics in an American context. See Singh (1998a) for a discussion of the way these debates took place in Australia.

foxes in the garden, but they barely affected the lovely atmosphere, the sense of neighbourhood. It was a paradise, Paterson reminisces mournfully, which is gone, 'all gone to what it was'. Change came as something 'amazing', came with the opening of the Enterprise migrant hostel. Change came when 'all the Asians came', when 'they thought this is alright' and 'started to buy a house or live around the area'. Since change came it's 'got even bigger and bigger'.

The first historic patterning I describe in 1988 is of a school caught within the vicissitudes of rapid change. There is a feeling amongst teachers and parents that change, particularly demographic change is enormously significant, that it signals the arrival of people who are quite other and that since 'all the Asians came' things would never be the same again. My conversations with parents and teachers are preoccupied by these expressions of shock; the sense of upheaval and confusion; the intimation that things are happening too fast and that there is no turning back. The view of my data from the different vantage point of narrational maps provides a third order to this analysis. The first paragraph described here explores earlier and Edenesque times when 'it was an English scene', and 'it was a lovely atmosphere'. The second paragraph describes the changed situation when 'it' started and when it changed. The discussion of how it changed is closely linked a notional 'us' and 'our' spaces as they were before 'it' began. The first paragraph is concerned with a nostalgic hearthland similar to that described in Phil Cohen's (1993) writing where 'we'd go for a walk on a Sunday afternoon down a lane', 'like an English lane'. The second is concerned with the manner that this Eden has changed when 'they' came, when 'all the Asians came'.

Changing demographics – 1998

In 1998, schools are reeling under the impact of the organisational, technological, curricular and social changes that were begun a decade before.[19] New policy documents such as the 1992 document, *Schools of the future,* discuss ways schools are to incorporate and run as businesses. Schools are given global budgets and expected to live within their means. Funding arrangements continue to frame ways teachers can run

[19] For a discussion of these changes as they affected schools in 1998 see, for instance, Marginson (1997) and Taylor et al. (1997).

programs. Now they become a crucial component underpinning the decision-making process itself. Far from being a community affair, administration and the delegation of responsibility are matters of accountability and finance. Philosophic underpinnings – a marketised and globalised world, commodification, entrepreneurship, fiscal responsibility, educational utility – are now entrenched. To survive financially, schools need to sell themselves as a product bought not only in Australia but overseas as well.

Although the numbers of international students within the school are small, the different needs of these students and their changed requirements alter ways teachers understand their work and their relationships with parents and students. Technologies have also changed. Worlds of communication, ways of travelling, pedagogy and production seem to have suddenly taken giant leaps forward. Teachers and students struggle with computer technologies. Parents seek to provide their children with computers, the Victorian Government promises to place all teachers 'on line' and classrooms are provided with computers and word processing facilities. Besides this Southgate has in place particular and forward thinking projects which use these technologies; school-based web pages and internet connections with sister schools overseas being two examples of this.

Finally, the changes to school curriculum and pedagogy – the Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE), the Curriculum and Standards Framework (CSF) documents – which had been announced in 1988, are by now firmly in place.[138] Although many teachers and parents are excited by these changes others feel that educational levels are undermined by these new pedagogic measures. Further, many are concerned by the lack of priority given to English grammar and spelling, and the introduction of a process approach to teaching writing. The move to teach other, less traditional academic subjects such as drama, physical education and health sciences, and the increased emphasis on Vocational Education Training (VET), are controversial issues within the school.

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[138] See Marginson (1997).

Teachers and parent continue to be concerned about demographic change. Now immigration patterns have changed, as Stephen Barrows explains:

> A. An increase, in numbers, I would guess. Actually that there has been an increase in the numbers being born in Australia or their parents were born in Australia ...
> Q. Second generation. What about the kinds of places that they were coming from?
> A. Well that's, pretty much, a big reflection of the changes to the immigration ... For a while there, we had very large numbers of Chinese and Vietnamese and those groups are, quickly, declining in number. We're getting more African, Islander and a small amount of refugees. That's all. The Asian, Vietnamese, Chinese group are, definitely, in decline.
> Q. Yes. Because they're going to Green Hills or because they're moving out of the area?
> A. That's hard to know, probably, because there's not so many coming into the area, because they were the last ones to leave the migrant hostel. That's been the big change and nowadays, migrants go wherever they can have a sponsor. So they're more ... I guess if you looked at migration over the years and see that the ... of these migrants is less than it used to be.
> So Southgate's really just reflecting the demography of immigration. I don't know the current, largest groups of migrants ... Looking at Southgate, you would assume a larger number from Africa and the Pacific Island groups. (Barrows, 1998, ll. 1 – 21)

In 1998, the classifications for ethnic groups that define difference remain similar to those used in 1988 and focus on country of origin and language spoken in the home. There are no longer 'large numbers' of Chinese and Vietnamese, their numbers are 'definitely in decline'. The number of students born in Australia, or whose parents had been born in Australia, has increased. Now the school is receiving larger numbers of students from the Pacific Islands and from Africa. The condition described by these statistics is in some way changed. First, the groups measured by these figures are no longer necessarily made absolutely different by race or by migration. In 1998, these classifications seem more slippery as students are born inside and outside of Australia. Second, teachers and parents use more measured terms to describe these figures. There are no longer 'large numbers' of Chinese and Vietnamese; their numbers are 'in decline'. The 'largest groups' are from Africa and the Pacific Islands. Descriptors used a decade ago – they 'rocketed up', 'came out of the blue', 'are rising rapidly' – now take on more controlled proportions as 'we had very large numbers', 'we're getting more'.

The altered manner in which demographic change is discussed in 1998 is illustrated by this second quote from Bill Kelly. He explains that:

> Generally. It's one of the hard things, I think always to ... When you're in the school, even if it's twenty years it, just doesn't seem like twenty years and because the change doesn't happen too much as a rapid change. It's a gradual change over periods of time ... One of the things that we used to have and don't have any more is, the number of new

> arrivals, kids that were straight from, as in, they'd come in as refugees and more or less come into the classroom that, usually, were fairly skilled and perhaps, a little bit older. Now we seem to have a lot more kids of an Asian background. They were either, born in Australia, worked their way through the Australian system. It seems to me how that, perhaps, that ambition that those kids had had earlier on has been diluted. (Kelly, 1988, ll 1–26)

For Kelly, the concept of change no longer seems problematic. Nothing much seems to have happened over the last twenty years. 'Change doesn't happen too much as a rapid change'. Now change is 'gradual'. What has changed remains the presence of others within a community. The negotiation of this logic has changed however. In 1988, teachers wondered how they could cope with the number of newly arrived students coming into the classroom. Now Kelly remembers these students as unusually skilled and hardworking and is dismayed at ways that these qualities have become 'diluted'. Further, he is no longer bewildered by these changes. In 1988, 'change came' when 'the Asians came'. Now, Kelly, is nonchalant about these changed demographic patterns. 'We used to have' 'the number of new arrivals' he tells me. 'Now we seem to have a lot more kids of an Asian background'. These different groups no longer change community spaces in uncontrolled ways. Now these students work within the spaces controlled in some way by Kelly. 'They' came here and now 'we have ... kids of an Asian background', and 'they ... (have) worked their way through the Australian system' he tells me. Gillian Mulhauser explores this more controlled notion of change in this second comment:

> We used to get, like 30 would come in at the beginning of every term, if not more and there'd be people on waiting lists and we'd be, they'd be going through the language centre and we'd be pushing them through trying to get them into the school, so the school had heaps and heaps of new arrivals. The language centre had the new arrivals and a lot of the students were older too. There were a lot more refugees ... and older ones. You know ones that had missed out on education completely. When I came in 1989 the Salvadorans were just coming so there were heaps of those here, later on the Chinese from the Tiananmen Square incident ... I think for a time we didn't get a lot of Cambodians but then they allowed them to, so we got a whole lot of Cambodians ... coming in and, I suppose a lot of family reunions. Now we've got the full-fee-paying students and I don't know what's actually happening in the language centre but now we seem to, at the moment, I think we've got eighteen full fee paying students in the College as a whole so the emphasis is moving away from the new arrivals, refugees, to full fee paying students now we've got a lot of Cook Islanders and we've got .... (Mulhauser, 1998, ll. 123 – 137)

By 1998, Australian immigration patterns had begun to change (see Chapter Three). My conversations at the school reflect these changes. Moreover, the demographic categories used to describe these changes became harder to define. The kind of Asian student has

changed from the middle-class and educated students who arrived fifteen years earlier. The school receives numbers of students whose less demanded skills have left them as long-term residents of refugee camps. Numbers of students arrive from other countries, particularly from Africa and the Cook Islands. Finally, the school is beginning to receive numbers of 'full-fee-paying students' and who enter the school with specific and quite different educational goals and future plans to stay in Australia. In 1988, whole communal settings changed when 'they' came. Now Mulhauser controls these changes as they relate to her teaching work. She is one of those who 'used to get', who are 'pushing them through', who got 'a whole lot'. 'They' are now the ones to whom things happen; the ones who are 'on waiting lists' and who are 'going through the language centre'. Concepts of 'having' and of 'pushing through' reflect a noton of control not present in the 1988 discussion. Nevertheless, a sense of incredulity, remains at the numbers of 'them' entering the school. There are 'more' of them, 'a lot' of them, 'heaps and heaps' in fact, entering the school.

In 1998, teachers and parents described to me how the demography of the school has changed over the preceding decade. Government statistics in both these years measure the extent of the population shifts involved. In 1988, these changes seemed almost too difficult to cope with. In 1998, these changes appeared more benign. The composure evinced by teachers and parents was precarious. Demographic change seemed both less problematic and a central source of concern. The measured relation provided by statistics allowed the respondents to define ethnic and raced groups in seemingly unproblematic ways. The view of these statistics from the different vantage point of the narrational map shows that these concepts (demographic change and the notions used to define it) need to be problematised. These terms enforce a dualism between the measurer and the measured.[139] Those being measured are those others who have came into our community. By 1998, the identities being measured seem fragmented and changing. In 1988, they measured irretrievable change ushered in by the sudden arrival of immense numbers of different groups of students. In 1998, these changes seemed commonplace.

[139] Goldberg (1997) traces the problematic and inconsistent ways these measures have been used to measure groups in America. Singh (1998a) notes the presence of similar logics within statistics used in Australia.

The concept of demographic change is also fraught. Demographic change was frightening in 1988. In 1998, teachers and parents were less concerned about these changes. Nevertheless, they continued to explore ways to deal with them. In the next section, I explore the logic of these negotiations.

Dealing with change

The second historic pattern I examine describes the multicultural policies and practices put in place to deal with these demographic changes. The study of multiculturalism has a particular place in this study. Notions of multiculturalism were the inspiration for my initial study in 1988 and monopolise my discussions with teachers and parents in both years of my field research.[140] Multicultural ways of thinking were profoundly implicated in the way that ethnic and race relations were spoken about in Australia.[141] I chose Southgate Secondary College as the site for my research, because it rightly remains an important example of best practice of multicultural policy and programs.[142] Nevertheless, my initial observations support findings within 1988 literatures, which suggest that multicultural policy and practice is a changing, fiercely negotiated policy, strongly contested in its intention and inconsistent in its implementation.[143] A focus for this thesis is my increasing frustration that I could not explain the controversial, and paradoxical manner in which these policies and practices were implemented.[144]

In fact, in both 1988 and 1998, teachers and parents argued that government policies were irrelevant and of little assistance to their work within the school. In 1988, multiculturalism was something 'accepted by the Government but nothing much is done about it', something Sandra has once written a university paper about but which 'wouldn't mean much to us, because they wouldn't be able to tell us much about that sort of thing'. It was 'something of practice rather than theory'; 'something concrete rather than abstract'; 'a hidden curriculum' with little relevance to the general life of the school. In 1998, Southgate Secondary College has developed its own official statement

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[140] See Chapter One.
[141] See Chapter Three.
[142] See Chapter One.
[143] See Chapter Three, see particularly, Cahill (1984) and Foster (1988).
[144] See, particularly, Chapter Two.

of multicultural policy and practice but parents and teachers are not necessarily concerned by these documents. 'I know that it was updated last year but I didn't see it until it went to council', Gillian explains 'I think it's basically in the filing cabinet'. 'It's not something that's at the forefront of people's thinking'. 'Varvara will kill me', Bernard tells me, because 'there probably is a policy'. 'Basically it's in the filing cabinet'. It's not something that's 'referred to and considered when you are making decisions'. Multiculturalism is about being 'aware of the cultural background of these kids', about 'the importance of role models', 'about getting teachers here who speak another language, who can understand the children and their parents and about changing the leadership team profile'. It's about having Chinese, Cambodians and Malaysians in the student population and on the staff. What is different in 1998 is that 'we've got a lot of knowledge here that we just assume everybody else knows too' and that 'we're really surprised when people don't know it and don't take it into account'.

The policies and practices put in place at Southgate Secondary College in both 1988 and 1998 are different from those suggested by governments. Nevertheless, the programs put in place to deal with the changed demographics within the school are somewhat similar and include the following programs: Language other than English (LOTE), English as a Second Language (ESL), Access and Equity, and multicultural perspectives across the curriculum. In 1988, teachers and parents formulate principles for good practice at a time when ethnic demographics seem markedly changed. In 1998 school community members feel more confident that they provide a good model for other schools exhibiting similar demographic patterns. In the second section of this chapter, I explore these multicultural debates from the very different vantage points of narrational practices, fields and maps. In particular, I describe the patterns I make as I conceptualise the material and conceptual domain that is discussed with me as multicultural policies and practices. I consider these patterns as they relate to four of these kinds of narratives: the discussion of multicultural weeks and days; English as a Second Language (ESL) Programming; Languages other than English (LOTE) Programs; and in 1998, policies

and practices which interrogate the relation between multiculturalism and globalisation.[145]

Ethnic Dealing – 1988

Multicultural weeks – 1988

> It depends on what people really want at this stage. I think it is good to see that we have a lot of new staff on the Multicultural Committee, although I would like to see parents, other than the Communication Aides, who are working for the same school, on those things too. It takes time to do all that. I think there are plenty more things to be done, but everyone has got a different approach to things. I think there are plenty, more things to be done. When there were divisions between people and people knew very little about each other, they got to know each other. Even if it was to do food, dancing, crafts. (Winters, 1988, p.17-18)

In 1988, programs of multicultural weeks and days have a central place within the multicultural curriculum of Southgate Secondary College. A large multicultural committee organises annual events around particular themes. Dancing groups are invited; parents and the cooking department help make food; and artists, academics and parents talk about ethnic arts and crafts and cultures. As time goes on, multicultural weeks become re-instituted as International and Australian weeks and then days. During the Australian week teachers make damper and introduce Australian artists, Aboriginal weapons, and bush dances.

Despite their success Amanda Winters speaks about the ambivalent support given to these days. These days and weeks are large-scale and well-co-ordinated events and a source of great pride to the school. A multicultural committee of 20 members is collected together. The Greek co-ordinator, the Indian science technician, and various communication aides provide hours of their time and provide culturally authentic material and activities. By 1988, teachers and parents are tired and doubtful whether they can continue to run these activities. Moreover, some teachers feel that these days

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[145] These selected case studies are not meant to produce a complete description and analysis of ways multiculturalism took place within a school. Even were such picture making possible, this would not serve my purpose. Nor does it suggest that these policies were necessarily the most important, or the most innovative. The school's bilingual program, which I do not discuss here, was both innovative and broad reaching and provides an important example of forward thinking in ways language teaching can take place in schools. Rather my purpose is to understand these multicultural practices, which took up so much time within conversations with teachers and parents and to trace out the understandings, and materialities that underpinned them.

are 'a bit of a sham', 'a bit hollow', 'a bit like playing lip-service'. Multiculturalism, Carl Davies suggests, should be about allowing 'kids to be exposed to different cultures' and allowing school communities greater familiarity with the school and these should be central, rather than one-off aspects of the school curriculum.

The study of the narrational fields, which discuss multiculturalism from the vantage point of the narrational maps, explores these comments from a second direction. Amanda is proud because multicultural days do 'what people really want.' The notion of 'people' changes throughout the passage. 'Already we have a lot of new staff on the multicultural committee'. Parents need to be brought in to help, because 'everyone has a different approach to things'. The concept of 'everyone' is not quite the same as the people, who are working together as a committee. 'Everyone' applies to the many different people within the school. The 'people' at the end of the paragraph cited above are a different people. They are the people in the school who are different from us, have divisions between them and who know 'very little about each other'. The rationale for multicultural weeks, Amanda explains is defined by the 'plenty more things to be done' 'when there were divisions between people'. It is, so many respondents explain, about 'breaking down the barriers, 'being friends with them and bringing them together'. The narrational maps to which these narrational fields are tied, illustrates this second logic. Teachers and parents are fearful that the others who have entered the school might remain divided both from each other and from the school community as a whole. Multicultural weeks are necessary to make other people more aware of each other and of the community. It also allows members of the community to view them and understand them.

Teaching English – 1988

> Students from New Start ... cannot, yet, go to Branxton, because it's full. A few weeks ago, we got thirty-eight students here. They had no English and we had to make a course, for them. I put twenty-two of them into a course of thirty periods of their own. We had extra teachers. One was revolving and one was having a baby. They were not ESL teachers.
>
> I have spent most of the year just working it out. A few ESL teachers take them for a period here and there. Had them doing History, Geography, Home Eco, Sport, etc. Probably next term will go in They are, really marking time. The teachers taking them have no ESL experience. (Houston, 1988, pp 12-13)

The major programming accomplishment of the school in 1988 is the English program for new arrivals. With the re-opening of the New Start migrant hostel, the number of new arrivals rises steadily. In 1988, the number of students at Southgate waiting to get into the six-months intensive-English program provided for by government language policy doubles to 65 putting the enrolment of the school up to 843 pupils. Submissions have been made to the ministry to fund the school as a language centre. Meanwhile, the school has hired four extended-emergency teachers to teach newly arrived students until they can be accommodated in an official English language-centre nearby.

In 1988, teachers and parents felt they must work to enable students who lack the most essential linguistic and often socio-cultural skills to access their school system. Their debates about these programs deal with concepts of social justice, the mainstreaming of government services and the professional mien of ESL teachers. Susan Siddons, the English co-ordinator, advocates that 'ESL kids' 'be mainstreamed as much as possible and English and ESL be brought closer together'. However, this cannot be done until they 'have some kind of capability'. Barry Houston, the Coordinator of the English as a Second Language (ESL) program, re-iterates that students might learn better if they mixed more with local students and got a better understanding of spoken English. He is concerned that programs that withdraw students from mainstream classes, leave some students buried within 'black-holes' and separate them from the school community 'for the rest of their school life'.

The trepidation contained in Houstons's comments cited in the passage above, underpins the dilemma described by most parents and teachers in 1988. 'We got thirty-eight students'. 'They had no English'. 'We had to make a course for them'. The problem is contained in the dualism them and we, in the challenge – they came – what do we do. The rest of the paragraph describes Barry's attempt to resolve this quandary, to regain control as he 'spent most of the rest of the year just working it out'. His deliberations explore ways he can work with them: how the relationship with them should be negotiated by these services; and with what consequences.

Teaching languages other than English – 1988

> We discussed a number of times at the curriculum committee ... There was a far degree of opposition to it ... In the first place because it was decided that we could be opening a bit of a Pandora's box. Once you decide to introduce something like Chinese you might have to introduce all the other Indo-Chinese languages. But it would be difficult to assess the kids because they have come into the program with different backgrounds. There are three different styles of speaking and writing Chinese ... Would there be anybody capable of taking it over? Would other subjects lose out because there was a new subject being introduced? So there were some definite problems. But the opposition became quite entrenched and I think in Mary's eyes and in the eyes of a couple of other people on the committee it almost bordered on racism. I don't know whether it actually is or was or not, but it struck us as odd that there should be such trenchant opposition to this particular subject when there was a crying need for it in the school – 40 or 50 percent of the kids in our school. (Davies, 1988, p.1)

In 1988, the implementation of languages into the school is a hugely political process. Until recently the school provided Italian, French, German and Latin language teaching. Greek was introduced in 1975 on the suggestion of Mr Kalidis, a Greek teacher on the staff. Mr Greg, the principal at the time, is supportive. Greek language teaching is introduced at all levels of the school. By 1988, Mr Kalidis, is about to retire. Now there are four or five other teachers who can teach Greek and Greek language classes are well entrenched at every level of the school.

After discussions with parents, Mary Wu, a Chinese-speaking teacher at the school introduced Chinese language as a middle-school elective for both beginner and non-beginner level students. Attempts to get funding for the program and to extend this teaching into the important senior years of the school meets with resistance. For Helen Brown and Susan Siddons, such language debates are only the beginning of 'a problem'. They fear that the school is about to 'have a whole plethora of languages'. This is not only a problem of immediate practicalities, 'something else is going to have to go' but as Brown argues something subversive, divisive and unfair. Besides this, they argue, language learning is a private concern and not something, which should be paid for by government at public schools. Moreover, Siddons and Brown argue, students should be 'learning to survive in our society and to get through our education system', not learning other languages. Parents, on the other hand, are 'pretty disappointed' that more languages are not provided at the school. They send their children to language schools, often at great expense to themselves.

Debates about languages other than English provision are fiercely contested. They negotiate seemingly disparate concerns: the provision of public rather than private services; the practicalities of implementing school curricula for small numbers of students, the difficulty of accessing different cultural and linguistic systems.[146] From the vantage point of narrational maps, these debates take on a different and paradoxical logic. In the introductory quote to this section, Carl Davies watches the debate between Mary Wu and other school members. Although he is sympathetic to Wu's suggestion to introduce other languages into the school, he slips easily between different conceptions of who 'we' are and as such who belongs and who does not. Although his initial discussion includes Wu as 'we discussed a number of times' he nevertheless believes that 'we could be opening a bit of a Pandora's box' were we to expand the number of languages taught at the school. 'We' is now someone different from Mary. Rather 'we' infers membership of a community who can objectively decide whether or not other languages should be implemented. From this vantage point Davies muses at the way Wu's overtures might be understood within the school. Davies remains unsure whether these difficulties are matters of race politics. His support for Wu at the end of his quote, as the effect of the debate 'struck us' suggests that the subject is not for us but is being introduced only for those '40-50 percent of the kids in our school'.

At the end of 1988, teachers particularly, but also parents speak to me about programs and policies of multiculturalism. These policies are broadly reflective of the Government's approach. Teachers and parents argue about public and private responsibility for educational provision, social justice concerns and the professional demands made on teachers. Most particularly they are concerned about how they can best work with large numbers of students with very different linguistic and socio-cultural skills. Teachers and parents debate curriculum measures to enable students who have recently arrived into their community to access essential language skills, to learn about each other and to maintain their language.

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[146] This last debate in particular was crucial within academic discussion at the time. Martin's (1978) insight that multiculturalism include structural as well as cultural change became debated in a more limited, but equally fervent way as the difference between offering students with 'instrumental' rather than 'expressive' learning tools. See particularly Bullivant (1981) but also for example: Kalantzis and Cope (1984) and Foster and Stockley (1988). Smolicz' (1979) pertinent reminder that these two notions were

A third order of analysis suggests that these programs are underpinned by other logics, and examines the ways teachers and parents deal with the arrival of students coming from outside of their community. These debates differentiate between those who are one-of-them and those who are one-of-us. They negotiate the ways that are best to work with them. Multicultural days are concerned with breaking down the barriers between them, and helping them to learn about us and each other, ESL classes are about coping with large numbers of students who cannot access our system and preventing them from forming separate groups and LOTE about how and whether to allow students to preserve their language and culture, without 'opening a Pandora's box' to their demands.

Ethnic dealing – 1998

Multicultural days – 1998

> Pacific Island Concert where they organised the kids ... it was a fundraising concert ... the kids practised and Nga Rim rehearsed and did all the stuff, did all the organisation, and we had a fantastic Pacific Island Concert where they raised lots and lots of money for the trip. And I also notice that Saturdays or Sundays or whenever they would have a community meeting, and I went along to the community meeting as well, where everybody would talk about the trip and what the arrangements were going to be and talked about the difficulties. And I just really noticed the difference in, I mean there is a cultural difference, and a language difference too because I've noticed, to a degree, too how they prefer to speak in Cook Island Maori. And the whole meeting was usually Cook Island Maori and someone would, you know, tell me what was going on. (Mulhauser, 1998, ll. 297- 401)

By 1998, multicultural weeks have become multicultural days and their conceptualisation and implementation are fundamentally changed. Activities put on the school are now far more professional. Concerts are held at Monash University rather than at the school, attract many more people, are 'by invitation or you buy tickets', and are funded by the 'multicultural program'. Food days, where 'the different backgrounds sells their food', are now run by the various LOTE departments rather than by multicultural committees and aides. A Pacific Islander concert has been organised by the Pacific Islanders with the specific purpose of fund-raising to send students on a trip to the Cook Islands.

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not necessarily mutually exclusive and might be useful was not widely considered.

These other ways of implementing a multicultural curriculum reflect changed school practice. Schools are now made to be self-funding, and decision-making is more accountable and more centralised.[147] At the same time, these discussions about multicultural days reflect the very different control some community members feel that they have over these days. In the quote cited above, Gillian Mulhauser discusses a multicultural concert, which 'they organised'; so 'they' could raise lots of money for a trip for them. Even as Mulhauser is excited by the prospect of these days she is nevertheless not part of the organising committee and visits it as a guest. She cannot overcome the 'language' and the 'cultural' difference' at the meeting without someone telling her 'what was going on'. Several teachers remark upon this changed control of these curricula, often in more negative terms. Stephen Barrows is concerned that these days have become about gaining access to resources rather than about showing and sharing cultures, customs and ideas. Sally Williams iterates that the ownership she felt for multicultural programs in 1988 is no longer there. Multicultural days, she explains, used to be 'by a whole committee', by 'everybody'. Now, they were something organised by an increasingly 'ginormous' LOTE department and by 'particular cultural groups'. The principle behind multicultural days has been changed. It is no longer about breaking down the barriers between them and us. Instead they have become their days. Maria Huitendez speaks about how much she enjoys the days as they are now. Her ownership of the days is reflected in her discussion of the concert that 'we have" as:

> The children participate in the concert we have ... They do it at Monash and ... there, if you're doing something special, where you are from, your traditional dance or your dress, they have traditional music. You show what sort of background, you're from. (Huitendez, 1998, ll. 472 – 476)

Teaching English – 1998

> You see I've got a student who doesn't understand and he works hard, but language problems, you see this is not apparent. They just go back, go back, go back and go back, even if they get through that, he'll be dead in Year 12. Or the next exam will knock him off completely. He can't even read the things properly. That is sad, that is sad, because it is very hard for the person to catch up, unless the person has the knowledge, themselves, that look I've got something missing, I'd better start from zero. (Lee, 1998, ll. 376 – 394)

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[147] See the discussion earlier in the chapter and work by, for example, Marginson (1997) and Taylor et al. (1997)

By 1998, a language centre has been set up at the school, to provide students with intensive training in English for six months before they enter the school. Older students who have knowledge and educational skills easily transferable into English are offered a pre-VCE course. Students in younger classes continue to be withdrawn from English classes, so they can participate in more intensive 'English as a Second Language' programs.

Despite the successful nature of these programs their funding remains precarious. Of the programs introduced over and above English class teaching in 1988, only the conversation practices organised with University student volunteers continue to run. Between intermittent opening and closings of the nearby migrant-hostel, and marked changes to Australia's immigrant policies, the histories and needs of student participants within English as a Second Language (ESL) programs fluctuate. The recent arrival of fourteen fee-paying students who have come to Australia specifically to be eligible to attend Australian tertiary institutions is the most important of these changes.

In 1998, teachers feel more in control as they implement supportive programming particularly in ESL. In the quote cited above Peter Lee worries about one of his students who is having difficulties. The student's language problems are difficult to define. They are 'not apparent'. Nevertheless, they prevent him from understanding and make it difficult for him 'to catch up'. The difficulties faced by the student no longer impact on the school in quite the same way. It is up to the student to 'work[s] hard' and to say, 'look I've got something missing, I'd better start from ground zero'. The relation is described as evidence of a lack in one particular student. At the same time the problem is generalised as a reflection of what they need to do. The 'person' who needs to catch up is one of them as 'they just go back, go back and go back'.

Learning languages other than English – 1998

> When I came here, in 1988, there was one unit of Chinese being run by Mary. That ... went from Years 7-12 and then Vietnamese and Cambodian. They were just asked for by the community, so as we saw them, we put them into place. Then the Ministry asked me to put in the Spanish language for this area, because of the Spanish-speaking people in, a lot of them were working in the ... area at the time ... So we've introduced that one. We, actually, got primary schools to go in with us, that Spanish language program, so

> they came in with us. We got Grasston South, Grassvale West, Now recently, last year, we were looking at South[illegible] Primary School to join us. They didn't go in with it to start with. Then ... people a[illegible]ed us for Japanese, because it was a business language, so we introduced that one. Then there was German, which was introduced because of the Bosnian kids who came and they have an understanding of German, a lot of people left that conflict area. Let's say that's what it was. (Kokinakis, 1998, p.122- 142)

When Varvara Kokinakis took up her post as Principal of Southgate towards the end of 1988, 'Language Other Than English' programs (LOTE) become more properly consolidated in the school curriculum. By 1998, ten languages are taught from years 7 to 10 at the school: European languages – Spanish, Modern Greek, Italian, French and German; Arabic; and Asian languages – Japanese, Cambodian, Chinese and Vietnamese.

For Mrs Kokinakis, language learning is a crucial focus for multicultural practice. In a school that contains a diversity of cultures, language teaching is a crucial way of providing for the political and cultural aspirations of community groups. The 'translation' of these aspirations into school programming is central to her administrative effort. It is a way of carrying out government policy initiatives, the achievement of community aims and a way of providing access to an increasing complex and globalized world. Kokinakis's intervention within the multicultural program of the school and the LOTE program, particularly, is of huge significance. These programs become an important vehicle to demonstrate the importance language teaching has for individual students and for the community generally. Nevertheless, these programs remain contested within the school. Barry Houston argues that 'Language Other Than English' learning cannot replace the need for good programs in English. Students, Houston argues, need more help in English and cannot waste time learning other languages. Danny Miller is similarly concerned that such language teaching might cause divisions between different language and cultural groups within the school. He fears that dividing students into language blocks could have problematic consequences. 'I think it is dangerous. I think it is dangerous, this separation, Bernard Pieterse tells me. 'I think that works against the interests of the school'.

The fear evinced by teachers and parents in regard to LOTE teaching reflects their concern that the relation between other groups and themselves might become out of control. This notion of difference and lack of control should not necessarily be

considered as negative. In the quote above Kokinakis is in control. The community, asked for the programs to be put in place, but she is in absolute control over their implementation. The community, however, is not us. 'We put them into place' because 'they were just asked for by the community'. 'We saw them' and 'we've introduced that one'. Nor is the dualism between they and we straightforward here. Other schools in the area are not enthusiastic about joining in the program. Similarly, the clients of her programs are not necessarily only one of them. 'People asked us for Japanese', she tells me. 'People' here refers to people generally within the community. Houston, Miller and Pieterse, on the other hand, are concerned. They fear that LOTE allows for the formation of separate and other groups that remain out of their control. It is a notion of control that takes a different form when these men speak of the relation between multiculturalism and globalisation.

Globalisation

> I could spin you out, even further, in terms of. We were the first Australian school to go to the Cook Islands at Easter Time. We've come back, from there, having set up a few things and now we're, actually, organising to be ... We're going to host a 'virtual domain' for the Cook Island School, Aarurua College, so that we'll, actually, have all their files and stuff on our file server. They'll access that, they will be able to upload what they want, on to their part of it and then ... so ... we'll walk over to the 'Virtual Domain' and they'll want it and so they don't have to have all the expensive file server and stuff over there, it's all here (Miller 1998 p.3).
> Trying to find a balance in ... the images, so that there are African, there are Vietnamese, there are Cambodian, there are ... Anglos, Europeans, here as well. We're just trying to say, "Well, look at us, because we're diverse." The shots are, that's what I was doing this morning, with that photographer, for a promotion of our 35 years. (Miller, 1998, p.4)

In 1998, information technology provides a new and exciting 'virtual domain, something that will spin me out' A web page has been set up at both the secondary school and at the language centre. Virtual communication has been set up with a series of sister schools. Most teachers have internet and email access. These are not just changes in technologies; they are changes in whole worlds as the school experiments not only with 'new tools' such as 'video and audio conferencing' but with whole 'other dimensions'. Southgate is on the 'cutting edge of technology', and is using it in ways unimagined by people at most other schools. 'The boundaries of the school are being redesigned', Bernard Pieterse explains. The 'fence that surrounds the school' 'has shifted' and no longer defines when 'you are out of bounds'.

The excitement of globalisation is not only virtual but material. The school organises relationships with sister schools in at least seven different countries. Students, as well as parents and teachers visit a variety of countries as part of their in-school experiences. The school has links with sister schools in Shanghai, Paris, Osaka and the Pacific islands. School programs obtain grants, which allow students to communicate with and often to visit countries outside of Australia. The Art Faculty has applied for a grant to do some work in Asian art, the school applied for grant to buy books and CDs about Asia and the language departments got grants of over $40,000 dollars to take excursions to China, Italy, Spain and Greece. The year before a group of students and their parents visited their home in the Cook Islands, taking several of their teachers with them. Most recently these two types of travel, the virtual and the real, came together as the school provided access and expertise for communities in the Cook Islands to use the internet.

From the different vantage point of the narrational map these multicultural fields have a different focus. Teachers particularly are excited at the new ways that globalising technologies allow them to integrate multicultural policies into the school. Students and their teachers not only read about other cultures but can visit them both materially and virtually. These services are a way of helping other groups. Now however, the other group is over there. 'They can have it', Danny Miller gushes earlier in the interview. 'We can have it over there'. 'They'll access that'. 'They'll want it'. It's all here'. The changed relation between them and us is more than material. In the virtual world Danny can showcase the school as multicultural, as containing others, in ways which are absolutely under his control. The images of the Vietnamese, Cambodians, Anglos and Europeans are easily made as part of them and one of us with the simple click of the mouse. It's a way of saying 'look at us, because we are diverse'. Difference is both prescient and reduced to nothing, a complexity of images of difference to be fused together at Millers particular wim.

In this section of my analysis I describe policies and practices of multiculturalism implemented in the school in 1988 and in 1998. It is notable that multicultural weeks, widely supported in 1988, are both more successful and more controversial in 1998. English as a Second Language programs (ESL) continue to provide students with

essential linguistic and cultural skills to access school institutional structures. Even so, its funding remains precarious in both years. By 1998, the size and diversity of the Languages other than English (LOTE) programs have become an important model of best practice in this field. Nevertheless, the implementation of these programs has become more controversial than ever within the school. Finally, in 1998 the introduction of new and globalising technologies of communication and travel provide new means for multicultural policy provision.

It is important to emphasise the pervasiveness of these debates. Nevertheless, the exploration of these historical patterns from the different vantage point of the narrational maps suggests that my data can be studied in other ways. In 1988, teachers and parents feel out of control as large numbers of different groups suddenly enter their school. In 1998, teachers and parents feel more in control as they have the policies and practices to deal with these changed demographics. These multicultural measures are controversial, negotiated and changing. Like demographic statistics, they become a site of struggle through which discussions about identity and difference and the relations between them can take place. Concepts, particularly those of culture, language and globalisation allow school community members and myself to discuss how these relationships might happen and yet never mention their relation to debates about race and ethnicity. Instead the notions – different languages, different cultures – allow discussions about race and ethnic difference, their relation and their control, to take place without actually saying that these are the topics being discussed.[148] By 1998 discussions about globalisation provided new and other ways of understanding raced and ethnic identities, the relationships between them and the ways that they can be dealt with. Discussions about multicultural policies and practices provided particular sites from which debates about ethnic and race relations could take place without mentioning those notions. In 1988,

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[148] There have been only a few recent texts that explore race and ethnic relations in Australian schools. Writings by Kalantzis et al. (1990; 1989), Lo Bianco (2000) have as their focus language curriculum as do Singh (1987; 1998), Luke (1997), Luke and Luke (2000), Luke and Carrinngton (2000). Rizvi (1986; 1995) Rizvi and Kemmis (1987) Rizvi and Walsh (1998) and Gunew (1994) discuss the influence of race and ethnicity on curriculum generally. There has been far more material written in the United States and Britain, Recent texts include writings by Mahalingam and McCarthy (2000), Cornbleth (2000), Sleeter and McLaren(1995), in relation to multicultural education and work by Stromquist and Monkman (2000) and Burbules and Torres (2000) in relation to globalisation. A most interesting text is Willinsky's (1998) *Learning to divide the world: Education at Empires end.*

multicultural weeks provided a way that the barriers between different groups could be broken down and community members could get to know them better. In 1998, multicultural days were useful but of concern as many community members felt they had lost control over ways these days were run. English as a Second Language courses in both years, provided ways of providing new arrivals to the community access to skills which would allow them to communicate within the community. Languages other than English courses were both exciting and increasingly worrying in so far as they provided skills and advantages to other groups rather than to members of the community. Finally, encroaching globalisation was exciting and frightening as it allowed community members to access and control diversity and difference in ways which had not been possible in other years.

Experiencing it

The final historic patterning I describe examines the ways community relationships are spoken about as a consequence of these changed demographics. When I ask how ethnic relations take place in the school every one of my respondents emphasises that ethnic relations at the school are good. Further they stress that there is no racism at the school, in part because of the programs and policies of multiculturalism they have put in place. Racism is not a word that is often used within these discussions and when it is used its meaning is strongly contested. Chapter One of this thesis describes how difficult it was to even begin these discussions. In 1988, I asked questions about ethnic relations only in the most general of terms. I would ask 'how students got along' or whether ethnic relations were good at the school. I only asked teachers and parents who identified themselves as other than Anglo-Australian whether they faced racism at the school. In doing so I was already making decisions about how teachers belonged within the school. In 1998, I do ask all respondents questions about racism but am not always able to ask questions about this directly. My questions are therefore often similar to those I had asked in 1988. Despite the paucity of my questioning, I find my conversations with teachers and parents explore a nebulous and almost unmentionable 'it'. These conversations are profoundly concerned about the terms, conditions and the consequences of the relation that is established between those of the community and those others within it.

Discussing ethnic relations – 1988

> But the only sort of racial comments we've ever had was we went to this school camp and we came back and the train stopped at Warrigal and a girl got on and she shoved her bag in the face of one of the students and I got really upset and I said, "Do you mind?" "Move on." "Get away from these students" and the other kids sort of sobbing a bit and they said, "We wish we were back at Southgate. Everyone accepts us there we're just normal."
> Q. So there racism came from someone outside the school?
> A. That's the only time I'd ever heard it. When we'd go with our kids because our badminton and volleyball are really great and I've got sucked in to doing table tennis a couple of times ... The kids absolutely go like this when they hear ... but we never hear anything and the kids don't seem to feel it. They don't sense it at all which is good.
> Q. But you sense it from outside. (Williams, 1988, ll. 598 – 612)

In 1988, teachers and parents are almost unanimously agreed that ethnic relationships are good at the school. Racism is something that they 'haven't noticed', something about which they 'haven't had any problems' as they 'get along together wonderfully'. There has been, as Amanda Winters points out, racism in the past, and racist acts perpetuated by others outside the school, but at this time most tell me, 'they get along wonderfully' there's 'no problem'. There are good and bad Australians', Tom Paterson says. 'They are nice people. It's really nice walking around and speaking to them', Sally Williams tells me. 'I have taught them. I have found out how nice they are – at least most of them', Bill Kelly explains. 'I don't have any prejudice', Kelly tells me. 'Racial comments' don't happen at the school, Williams reiterates.

Nevertheless, I note that community members are included differently. In the quote cited above Williams broaches the concept of 'racial comments'. These are dialogues that emerge from the outside. Conceptions of inside and outside, belonging and not belonging change throughout the discussion. At the beginning of my discussion with Williams the community includes both Williams and her students – as 'we' travel back together from school camp. She differentiates her school from those outside the school who do not know how to behave with her students. The condition 'we' changes as the passage continues. These students are the students who belong to the school community. They are 'our' students and there is no racism at the school. In a sense Williams owns these students and ensures that nothing happens to them. Her words are an acknowledgement that some are other and do not belong. Yet even as Williams (and I) reaffirms her position with her students, the actual relation is barely stated. 'The kids'

'don't sense it at all' Sally Williams says. 'But you sense *it* from outside', I reply. The definition of what it is is not stated. It is the unmentionable thing that doesn't happen, that the kids 'don't feel' but which nevertheless can be seen and sensed. It is the racism which she has only witnessed once but which she nevertheless notes from the outside.

A second and common theme expressed by parents and teachers in 1988 is their concern that students might remain separate from each other or dislike each other. 'I hear comments about Asian ghettos and so forth' and I 'dislike it intensely' when students have brought parental prejudices out with them. There are 'so many different nationalities', 'different varieties', their 'own groups', 'different groups' and 'other groups', different varieties of ethnic children it is surprising that there are not more problems between them. The first mixing of people came when the Asians and the South Americans were forced to together, in class and many of them found that very difficult, because they didn't like each other' Amanda Winters explains. 'Kids don't mix', there is, very little mixing in the lower levels, but in Year 12 it is very good and they mix in a very nice way,' Barry tells me. 'I don't think that human beings are tolerant'. 'I think that there is always going to be non-acceptance', Susan Siddones argues. I can understand that sometimes 'there is a significant amount of prejudice' Carl Davies iterates, 'on account of the way these people live'. The 'Italian boy associating with the Greek or the Australian girl', the 'differently racially mixed' boy friends and girl friends are sources of immense speculation. Amanda Winters, for instance, expresses her surprise that so many students of different groups are friends. The presence of Asian and white couples is to her almost inexplicable:

> I think there is a lot of work to be done on this still. I am sure that there are old prejudices to some extent that people have come and become friends where you wouldn't have thought it possible and of course I don't know how you would interpret this but you do see the Asian boys walking round the school with their white girlfriends and I am not quite sure what that means but there is a lot of that at the moment. (Winters, 1988 p.16)

An unmentionable fascination with miscegenation centres Amanda Winter's discussion. The others, those 'people' who 'have come' are problematic in their relations with each other and with the community. The task of making sure that these relations work out falls however on Winter's shoulders. The consequences of the task are unpredictable, almost unthinkable. The nature of the relation itself is both horrible and fascinating, even

as it remains unmentionable. The work is still 'to be done on this', she tells me. 'I don't know how you would interpret this'; 'there is a lot of that at the moment'. The meaning of 'this' or 'that' remains almost unspoken. It crosses sexual and raced conceptions, which are ancient 'prejudices' but are also deeply held, taken-for-granted and she is 'not quite sure what that means'.

Discussing ethnic relations – 1998

> Things you read about in other schools, seems to be ... It doesn't happen within the school. It's lovely to come to this school It's got the most wonderful atmosphere, really, like, I can't remember. It's ten years ago, this famous comment, that came from one kid that's gone around, about what they did in the holidays and, why they seemed to be glad to get to school and they said. "Well, holidays are boring, because all we do is stay around Southgate and stay around home." "Why don't you go out and go to, go into the city?" And they say, "Well, in Southgate no one calls us names." So, they're very happy to be in Southgate, but it's boring, because there's not the diversity and stuff they want. To get diversity, they've got to go out, Even though they're born in Australia they get called names. It's safer, easier or it's pleasant to hang around in Southgate and not get called names. When they venture out, they have to put up with abuse. (Kelly, 1998, ll. 332 – 423)

In 1998, as in 1988, teachers and parents are agreed that 'they've had enough of' talking about 'it' and that discussions about racism are not relevant at the school. Teachers and parents iterate that there are 'no racial intolerances', 'no problems if they have to interact', 'you don't have that in classes here', 'there is really nothing there'. Still teachers and parents express unease about possible conflict in ways that they did not in 1988. 'Occasional conflicts occur' Stephen Barrows says to me, 'but they are based on particular incidents. You couldn't put it down to general racial intolerance'. 'I don't think that that's because the other kids are ostracising them', Bill Kelly explains. 'They just don't interact', 'they don't mix', they are not antagonistic towards each other, 'there's nothing overt'. Things happen between students all the time, and are normal interactions between teenagers. Most particularly, teachers and parents argue that diversity itself is the reason why ethnic relations at the school are good. Southgate is understood by teachers particularly as 'somewhere safe', 'comfortable', more 'relaxed', 'because everyone's different'. The reason kids like being here is 'because they've got so many people who are in the same position'.

In the quote cited above, Kelly reiterates the conception that Southgate is different from most other places. The school has 'the most wonderful atmosphere'. It is different from elsewhere in that students don't get called names, 'it's pleasant' and 'it's safer, easier'. Students are 'very happy' to be here but it is 'boring'. Yet, elsewhere is frightening. When students 'venture out' they have to 'put up with abuse'. The actuality of the relation of what is out there is not quite mentioned. It's the 'things you read about in other schools' and don't happen here. 'It doesn't happen within the school'. What is interesting in Kelly's discussion is that that the scariness on the outside is the very diversity that has made the school safer on the inside. They, the students, remain within the school where they feel safe in their difference, both critiqued and too frightened to mix with others on the outside.

In a third order of analysis, the taken-for-granted concepts that underpin the word diversity itself become the focus of analysis. Diversity is spoken about as something that belongs to them: 'it's safer, easier or it's pleasant' for them. It is the exciting thing which stops the outside from being boring and which makes the school the comfortable place it is. There is a second conception of what difference means but these things are almost unsayable. Those are the other things, which happen to them but which do not happen at this school. Outside the school, they get called names and are abused. They are glad to get back to the school where they are at home. These are the almost, not quite mentionable things that don't 'happen', the 'things' you 'read about in other schools'. 'It' is something that happens elsewhere so that it's safe and more pleasant at the school. A third logic is traced here. Despite the perception that the school is a safe place, with a wonderful atmosphere the differentiations between others and selves remain. The school is exciting because of its diversity, safe because the underlying differences implied by diversity are comfortably dealt with. Diversity is both implicated in the 'wonderful atmosphere' but also problematic and potentially dangerous both for the students who put up with abuse if they 'venture out' and to the school where 'the things you read about in other schools, seems to be ... it doesn't happen'.

Disruptive fragments

Following from theories of naturalistic inquiry and grounded theory I have pieced together the miscellany of stories I collect from teachers and parents within the school. It is a set of historic patternings from which I describe three directions. The first direction explores the way a school community speaks about demographic change. The second describes the methods used by the school to deal with these changed demographics and considers the debates that underpinned their contention and implementation. The final section notes the very good community relationships that have developed within the school. Nevertheless, these stories continue to be haunted by the almost unsayable relation between selves and others.

At the edge of these narrations I collect other fragments of material, which do not appear to fit within the historic patterning I have cobbled together. In these conversations respondents agree that there is no racism in the school but are nevertheless concerned that it happens. In 1988, if and when it happens, is a matter of good people or bad people making good or bad things happen. In 1998, what 'it' is and when it happens seems far more confusing. I tell just some of these fragmented stories here.[149]

Murmuring about it – 1988

Aruna – 1988

> A. Here, they are very nice, but actually the school has improved a lot. There is good and bad actually. In the beginning school is very good. When I started here in '73 I felt that school is just like my home. I used to enjoy working. I can do anything for this school. Then after a couple of years there are new people coming in. This changed a little bit you know. And they showed a little bit of feelings, which hurt me a little bit. But I ignored somehow you know. Then I feel fed up. Why should I do things, you know, all this time I thought it is my home. Then I just do what I should and ignore other things ... They had a different way of talking, a different way of treating. It hurt me ... I hold a lot of things in my heart. Now things have changed. I can openly talk but then I couldn't. I suffered a lot actually. I suffered and my children suffered and my husband suffered for all those things, which I couldn't express to anybody. Somehow I talked and things got better ... People started to treat me nice afterwards. I think the answer is that you be nice no matter what. You be nice to them and one day they realise. I think that

[149] In fact as the subtitle 'disruptive fragments' implies I did not find many of these stories. Even so I cannot tell all of these fragmented tales here. I retell four of them as a way to show how these stories were told by individuals with quite different experiences and to demonstrate the way these stories changed over the decade.

really worked actually ... the people who treated me badly. Somehow things changed which is nice actually ... So now I am happy. People are very good and very friendly now. (Sandra, 1988, ll. 268 – 282)

Throughout her story Aruna Sandra is concerned that 'there is good and bad actually'. In 1998, she tells me that 'here they are very nice', 'the school has improved a lot'. Sandra cannot take niceness for granted'. In the beginning school is very good'. At times 'they showed a little bit of feelings which hurt me a little bit'. 'They had a different way of talking, a different way of treating, it hurt me'. At other times 'People started to treat me nice afterwards'. Certainly, 'People are very good and very friendly now'. Moreover, she is better able to take control in the relation, 'Now things have changed', now 'I can openly talk but then I couldn't'.

Sandra describes a relation where there is always the potential that people may or may not treat her badly. There are nice people and people who are not nice, good people and bad people, people who treat one well, and people who make things difficult and treat one badly. 'People are very good and very friendly now'. Her defence is to be nice to everyone regardless as to how they treat her. Despite, her analysis of her condition, the relation itself remains unnamed. 'Things' have changed, she tells me. 'Somehow things changed which is nice actually'.

Linda – 1988

Q How have you found it at this school ... ?
A. Well I would say that everywhere you will find nice people and rude people everywhere, as long as you can take it and manage and face it. If you take it as serious matter then you will upset yourself very much but if you take it, that is like people everywhere and take it...You will think that there are more important things to do ...Oh you wouldn't believe, some others say, some people perhaps because they were born here. Luckily they have no experience about how to become a foreign person and they don't know, the foreign person how they feel in a different country. They have to accept such a lot of different cultural things and you know, to fight for it too and I can say that sometimes they even look down at us. But the first few years I was really depressed about that but now once you get used to it then you think, you think about why we have to look down ourselves. I mean if you look down yourself, no-one else can put you up ... So I sometimes said to myself, I don't put down myself, I'm proud of myself ... I mean I don't belong to a particular teachers group but I don't mind, but I don't care much about that. As long as you have got your own group of people who understand and the people who like you – You can rely on them ...You know sometimes they use you as a slave – a servant. (Chan, 1988, ll. 412 – 429)

Linda Chan, a communication aide, is used to the idea that she is seen as different within the school. It is difficult as some people 'have no experience about how to become a foreign person and they don't know ... how they feel in a different country'. You have to 'accept such a lot of different cultural things' and 'fight for it too'. You 'don't mind' that you 'don't belong to a particular teachers group' as long as 'you have your own group of people who understand and the people who like you'. What Chan finds difficult are the people who do not like her. Like Sandra, she worries about whether people are 'nice' or 'rude'. These other people say things. They use you like 'a slave – a servant'. Chan tries not to let these things upset her because 'If you take is as serious matter then you will upset yourself very much'. Instead she insists on reasserting control. 'As long as you can take it and manage and face it' she tells me, they cannot put her down. 'I don't put down myself' she tells us. 'I am proud of myself'. Once again the nature of the relation itself, 'the thing that happens, remains unspecified as 'it' – something that you can or can't take, you can fight, get depressed about or you can get used to. 'Everywhere – you will find nice people and rude people – everywhere', Chan tells me. 'As long as you can take it and manage and face it'.

Peter – 1988

> I think this year, one student said ... Look Mr Lee are you picking on me, implying that I'm a racist or something. I said I'm not picking on you. I pick on any student that'[illegible] it of uniform. He tried to complain but they know that I have been fairly just. The [illegible] is that you have to be seen to be fair to all groups. Because one thing I notice in this sort of school is that you can't be unfair because you got that racial problem straight away – and being non-Anglo-Saxon myself is another. Just because I'm Asian it's believed I can work better. That's absolutely wrong. In fact I am perceived more by every group to see how I go.
> Q. Why do you think that is?
> A. Because firstly are you favouring them or the Asians will think that gee you might be favouring the whites more than you do us. I don't think I get an easier time because I'm Asian. I get an equally difficult time, but the things ... I've got one philosophy and that's it. I think because I can manage that I can be seen to be just and all the groups give me equal respect ... I think it goes, for either, the colleagues looks upon you as such because they are different and so far they can see that
> Q. So you're always representative.
> A. I don't like to be seen as such. There are a lot of things to be done. Things to be done by somebody.
> Q. Have you got time perhaps to tell me a bit what ... ?
> A. As a colleague.
> Q. As being representative Asian?
> A. I don't see it as that. That's the first thing. If you think about that I'll say it's a wrong concept. There is one staff member that said, "You're year 11 co-ordinator because there are a lot of Asians here" ... Yes that is a very nasty thing to say – not talking about ability but skin colour – I object to that. I did not mention that to her. I was so shocked

> Q. Because I mean that implies that you would've never done it otherwise.
> A. But again though I know everyone knows it is ability. Regardless of what everyone says, whether they've been fair. I think you are judged on your performance, not on what comes before, regardless of what else is the performance, which everyone can see, not what is in the interviews, so I'm not worried about it. I know where I stand. That's not a very nice thing to say but in the person's mind, I think the person is being sincere, but the person I don't respect that much. Lets put it this way. In any profession you still have a normal distribution of people – the good, the bad, the darn right lazy and the hopeless. (Lee, 1988, ll. 280 – 309)

Peter Lee is a successful teacher within the school. He has it in his power to behave in different ways towards his students. Nevertheless, he finds this ability already complicated, as his behaviour is not judged in the same way as that of other teachers. He is not quite one of 'them'. He cannot but describe himself as 'non Anglo-Saxon'. The choice for him is favouring them – 'favouring the Whites', or favouring 'Asians', 'favouring them or the Asians'. The frustration for Lee is that he feels that everyone should be the same. However, he is constantly made to feel as if he is somehow different and does not properly belong within the community. The repercussions of this are unpredictable: his students complain that he sides against them because he is Asian; teachers suggest that he is promoted because of his Asian background and not because of his actual merit. Yet, when I suggested that he was being made to feil as a 'representative Asian' he iterates that it is not that: 'it' is a 'wrong concept'. Even as Lee argues that race is immaterial, that all people are the same and should be judged on their merits, he finds himself made something other. His final comment also speaks of people as good and bad. However, unlike Sandra and Chan these discussions are not used to explain ways people behave towards him. In 1988, Peter Lee has the power to respect others.

The ability of Lee and me to name the relation about which we speak is particularly complicated here. On the one hand Lee is quite clearly discussing matters of race. He speaks of 'that racial problems', of favouring one race rather than another, and of understanding all people as the same. Nevertheless, he explains that that he is constantly understood as different because he is Asian and 'non-Anglo-Saxon'. The knowledge that he is treated differently is placed against a denial of its reality. When his colleague suggests that he might have been promoted because of his colour he is doubly shocked. First that she should suggest that he had not properly deserved his promotion. Second

because the relational dualism (Asian/Anglo-Saxon), which he argues is non-existent, is constantly made manifest.

Kim – 1988

> Q.. What about at the school. Have some of the other students been racist at the school?
> A. Not really.
> Q. The students are usually friendly at the school – and what about the teachers? Are the teachers friendly to the parents?
> A. Most of the teachers are very nice they're nice to everyone. I don't know about other schools but this school is. (Kim, 1988, ll. 205 – 210)

If i find only fragments of data about racism in my conversations with teachers and professional staff, I find I have collected almost no material from parents. Parents often answer such questions in monosyllables and do not elaborate further I ask questions and do not follow through answers. Ng Wu Kim's son interprets my conversation. Even as the words are out of my mouth, he is telling them to his mother. Things happen, I am told. At work, Europeans are treated differently from Asians. My questions about the school however, are met with a brief 'not really'. Students are 'not really' racist at the school. 'Most' of the teachers are very nice'. As I look back in time at this interview with Kim, I find myself coming up against the inconclusiveness of words 'not really'.

Murmuring about it – 1998

Aruna – 1998

> It's a very nice school, actually. I am very happy. Like I say, people are very good and I feel like this is my second home actually. In Melbourne, there are so many different types of people here and everybody's very nice, actually. So we can work better. (Sandra, 1998, ll. 92 – 94)

In Aruna Sandra's second story Southgate Secondary College is different. Her increased comfortableness within the school is reflected in her last sentence where 'we' can work better. There are 'different types of people here', and 'everybody's very nice'. Southgate is a place that is comfortable, a 'second home actually', a 'nice school', a place where she is 'very happy'. Southgate continues to be a place where there are good people. Like other community members she argues that now the school is good because there are so many other different people. Nevertheless, Sandra continues to be troubled that she might be treated differently. In 1998, as in 1988, this was because some people were

good people and some were bad. Now however, the school itself is different, a hearthland – a 'nice school', 'a second home' – in a world where everybody is not nice.

Linda 1998

> Q. How do you find people get on with each other? Not just with you but generally.
> A. I, really, don't know and I don't want to try to find out, because I'm too afraid it will start. If I start to test people to see the reaction, it's just like I'm banging my head onto the rock.
> I'd rather just leave it, you know, calm everything, as usual, because if you try and find out something. When the fact comes to you, you be very disappointed and you will be upsetting and working. You know ... You don't know, how people see you, but you would rather the fact that you would rather not to know, so you can still keep in your mind peaceful in the area ...The Australian attitude is very hurting. (Chan, 1998, ll. 530 – 566)

For Linda Chan, the borders, which mark the safeness of being inside and the dangerousness of being outside the school, are unclear. Like Aruna Sandra, Chan iterates that the relation between herself and others within the school generally, is more complex than ever. She fears that people might hurt her. In 1998 she is able to give those people a name. 'The Australian attitude is very hurting', she tells me. On the other hand, she is no longer sure who those people are. Unlike in 1988 where there were most definitely 'good people' and 'bad people' now she doesn't really know who these people are or 'how people see you', 'would rather not know'. She is 'too afraid it will start' should she really 'try to find out' what people think. The real extent of the relation between herself and people is one that is both crucial and hardly mentionable. She is scared that things could be too upsetting if she really found out. 'To test people to see the reaction' would be like 'banging' one's 'head onto the rock'.

Peter – 1998

> Q. Do you find that it's changed your experiences of ... everyday racism?
> A. I become more conscious when I speak to a white person that they are genuine or not. Once upon a time, I grow up with an Aussie girl. In fact I've grown up with, but you understand it in terms of girl friends and so forth. No, I think my way of life, the way I conduct myself, is more Aussie than anything. But I've been asked to, forced to think about my actions ... That's why I say, sometimes, you have a feeling about, you know. Before you talk to white person, you going to think – Are they genuine or not, or are they, basically, hating you or something like that. (Lee, 1998, ll. 722 – 729)

In 1998, Peter Lee, Chan Wu, Danny Lui, Navin are agreed. The emergence of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party and public debates about ways Asians can be allowed to

enter has changed the ways Peter feels at home within the school. Like Chan, he does not see the school as a buffer between himself and the impact of these relations. Rather, he explains how these have impacted on the way he can relate with the Australian community generally and with white people particularly. The first part of the paragraph considers his credentials as someone part of the Australian community. Like Chan he names the community from which he feels excluded. He grew up with an 'Aussie girl' and conducts himself as more 'Aussie than anything'. His emphasis on his ability to maintain not only cross-cultural skills but also the possibility of miscegenation emphasises both his wish to be the same and the knowledge that he is positioned as essentially different. His dream in 1988, that everyone is the same has been destroyed. He is now suspicious of the motives of any white person. He finds that he is never quite Australian enough, that he is suspicious of white Australians. The uncertainty which accompanies this realisation is that he is now never quite sure about what other people think of him, or whether 'they basically hating you or something like that'.

Navin – 1998

> The country town of Blackmore is, sort of, very conservative ... not very conservative-conservative compared with Southgate and at times you – if you are a different background – you are looked down upon ... You have a bonus skin and you are, sort of, looked down upon. But they don't say that, all that, because it is illegal. But you can see. When I came here I found it very, completely different ... Because of the set up and because of the principal and then you are new to this and ... the Multicultural, ... I found everything very different. (Rajee, 1998, ll. 73 – 105)

As was the case in 1988, I am only able to contact parents who are already very involved within the school. In 1998, such parents are often very well educated and have been able to speak English before their arrival in Australia. Like Aruna Sandra, Navin Rajee is not able to work in his chosen profession. Rajee's children, like those of Sandra, have attained considerable educational success but are frustrated in the pursuit of their careers. Rajee and Sandra are clear that Southgate is different. The safety provided by the school is ephemeral. Outside the school, people are 'very conservative' and 'if you are a different background – you are looked down upon'. Rajee describes the condition of his difference but stumbles as he does not have the right words to use. You have a 'bonus skin', regardless of where you are, he tells me, which makes 'you are sort of looked down upon'. However, knowing about this is very difficult, because 'they don't

say that, all that'. Once again what 'that' is, is not described because to say that, 'it is illegal'.

After Rajee's comments, I find few other scraps of data about the ways that racism might take place in schools. The response given by Fuxin Tang, a highly educated man, firmly entrenched within the community life of the school but also of the Indo-Chinese community was typical of the response to my questions by most parents:

> Q. So, your children, don't feel then that there's....that there's any kind of racism, or anything, at the school, because of them being Cambodian?
> A. No, no. (Fuxin, 1998, ll.380-385)

Conclusion

In this chapter, I put together the stories of experience and practice that teachers and parents tell me. I examine the historic patterning I form from these stories from three directions. The first direction, 'Same place, changing times', describes the demographic changes that occur at their school. The second section 'Dealing with change' describes the fiercely contested and changing policies and practices put in place to deal with such changed demographics.

The third section of the history I pattern describes how relations between individuals and groups within the school take place. I find that teachers and parents, in both these years agree that there is no racism in the school and that community members get along well. Nevertheless, I find other conversations where teachers, parents and I talk about 'it'. 'They don't sense it' at Southgate, Sally Williams tells me in 1988, 'but you sense it from outside'. 'I don't know you would interpret this ... I am not sure what that means' Ar..anda says. 'It' is something pervasive and ever present, but is nevertheless something unexplained and unspoken. Carl Davies story, which described Mary Wu's attempts to introduce Chinese language programs into the school is unusual in that it noted, even as it debates, the possibility of racism occurring to others within the school. 'I think in Mary's eyes ... it almost bordered on racism' he considers. 'I don't know whether it actually was or not'. In 1998, discussions about racism occur even more rarely. 'The things you read about in schools,' Bill Kelly tells me, 'it doesn't happen within the school.' 'There's not a lot of racism'. Bill Kelly says, 'It's more a teenage

push me pull you', Danny Miller tells me. 'What about racism?' Sally Williams asks. 'They've had enough of it'. As Ramon Romanov reminisced:

> Unless you experience it, you can think about it all you like, unless you experience it ... or have an experience with it... it won't mean anything unless you have experienced it. (Romanov, 1998,ll.594 – 597)

I am concerned with fragments of conversations I collect which talk about the way some experience 'it' in other ways. In 1988, Aruna Sandra tells me that it is something that could not be fought then and which she only knows about now. Linda Chan explains it is something that needs to be coped with, managed and fought. For these two women, it is something not quite describable, yet it is something for which they need to make strategies all the time. Peter Lee's frustration is double because he expressly does not see it is that, and yet he inevitably finds himself involved in just such a relation. He argues that everyone should be treated as the same, even as he is made to be different and becomes an object of resentment. In 1988, Linda Chan and Aruna Sandra explain, that there are good people and bad people; nice people and people who are not nice, people who were helpful and people who were not. Bad people are those who do it. Good people are those who do not.

'It' is something teachers and parents speak about in 1998. However, now what 'it' is and when 'it' happens seems far more confusing. In 1988, people are good or bad, nice or not nice. In 1998, the presence of 'it' seems more real than before, and yet its presence seems as contested, changing, nebulous as ever. Peter Lee questions whether skin colour might be an issue and is concerned that he is never allowed to feel quite the same as everyone else. Navin Rajee explains that in the country town of Blackmore, you have 'a bonus skin' although no-one says anything because it is illegal. Now Linda Chan finds she does not know when people are nice and when they are not nice. People are nice to her, but she doesn't want to dig too far to find out if they really mean it. It is illegal to treat people differently because of the colour of their skin,

Racism is not a word that is often used within these discussions and when it is used its meaning is strongly contested. In 1988, Carl Davies remains unsure whether the difficulties Mary Wu faces are manifestations of racist intent. Peter Lee feels vulnerable

because of the colour of his skin. Nevertheless, he argues that he is not a victim of racism. In 1998, definitions of racism are even more uncertain and strongly contested. Navin Rajee tells us that people in the country town of Blackmore pretend to be nice. Peter feels distrustful whenever he speaks to anyone with a 'white skin'. He never quite knows what they are thinking.

Discussions about ethnic and race relations remain an ambivalent and changing trope in both years of my study. The school particularly, is considered a safe/dangerous place. In 1988 Aruna Sandra, Linda Chan and Ng Kim particularly emphasise that Southgate Secondary College is a good place, a good institution, a place where the obstacles that they describe elsewhere do not happen. It is as Sandra says 'a nice school ... my second home really'. Yet she remains on guard. There have been bad people in the school before. She is never quite sure that someone won't be bad again. Peter Lee is suddenly made other, even as he thought himself the same.

In 1998, the school continues to be understood as a safe place. 'It's a very nice school' Aruna Sandra tells me, 'her second home really'. Navin Rajee emphasises that incidents that happened to his family in the country town of Blackmore did not happen in Southgate. The diversity of groups within the school, as well as the intervention of the Principal mean they can feel comfortable here. Nevertheless, Aruna Sandra is no longer sure who the good people and who the bad people are. Linda Chan is too scared to ask, because she suspects she does not really want to know what people are thinking. Peter Lee feels more suspicious of white people generally. Even as the school remains a safe, comfortable place, by 1998 it has become an increasingly ambivalent, dangerous sanctuary place.

This chapter describes the historic patterns I formulate from the stories I gather from parents and teachers. They describe a school which is demographically diverse and which is at the forefront in the provision of multicultural programs and policies that deal with this diversity. The discussions about demographic change patterned in the first part of this history describe how a community deals with the sudden arrival of others. In 1988 these changes feel out of control. In 1998, teacher and parents feel more in control

of these changes. The very different way that the community accepts demographic difference in those two separate years is, in part, due to the successful implementation of multicultural policies and practices. These programs are changing and contested as parents and teachers debate how these relations should best be dealt with. The third part of the chapter describes teacher and parent satisfaction that ethnic relations are working well and that there is no racism at the school. The analysis of these conversations from the different vantage point of the narrational map hints that beneath these conversations about multiculturalism are others, which are deeply concerned about identities and difference and the relations between them. These conversations are concerned about the ways that people belong as one-of-them or one-of-us. This relation is seldom spoken of directly, but rather alluded to by proxy or in euphemistic terms: in relation to other notions such as change, globalism and diversity; within debates about language and cultural curriculum and in the restructuring of the discussions as multicultural. In 1988, the logic of this relation appears clear and people feel that they know when they are being treated badly or not. In 1998, these relations seem more confused and people never know how they will be treated. In this chapter, I examined the patterns I traced out when teachers and parents tell me about race and ethnic relations in their school. A third level of analysis allowed me to move beyond those historic patternings and to describe the narrational maps to which these narrational fields and practices were tied. In the next chapter, '(Un) Making maps', I examine the categories, conditions and logics of those narrational maps.

MAPPING SILENT NARRATIONS:

Articulating race and ethnic relations in a Melbourne school

1988- 1998

Chapter 5
(Un)Making maps:
Overturning narrations

> As the first-born-successfully-white-man-in-the-family-line I woke to a terrible pressure, particularly upon my nose and forehead, and thought I was blind. In fact, the truth was there was nothing to see, except – right in front of my eyes – a whiteness which was surface only, with no depth, and very little variation. (Kim Scott, *Benang: From the heart*, 1999, p.11)

In his autobiography, *Benang*, Kim Scott examines his position as the 'first-born-successfully-white-man-in-the-family-line'. It is a deeply disturbing book in which Scott documents day-to-day decisions made by Australian governments and public officials and places them in relation to his particular experience as an Aboriginal Australian person. Scott's 'whiteness' becomes a metaphor, which he interprets from three levels. In the first, the mirrored image of his almost-white-face shows nothing of the horrible pressure of the life lived behind it. In the second, his white persona shows nothing of his identity as an Indigenous person. In the third this 'whiteness' is surface only, has no depth, leaves nothing to see, but as he goes on to explain in the book, comes to mean everything.

In the last chapter, I drew patterns from the stories teachers and parents told me when they speak about ethnic and race relations at their school. I discussed these historic patternings from three directions: the first described the incidence of demographic change; the second examined the policies and practices implemented to deal with this; and the third explored the achievement of good ethnic relations within the school. The

accomplishment of this 'historic patterning' was its pervasiveness. The study of these patterns from the narrational vantage points of narrational practices, fields and maps allowed me to look at these patterns from different perspectives. The view from the narrational practice demonstrated the wide numbers of different experiences and opinions teachers and parents had when they spoke about ethnic and race relations. The view from the vantage point of narrational fields explored the very different ways the conceptual and material domains of multiculturalism and racism were negotiated and spoken about within the school. The vantage point of the narrational map revealed a further logic and provided a third order to this analysis. This third way of looking at the data suggested that people belong within the school community in different ways. In 1988, community members wonder how they can cope with the sudden arrival of other groups into their community. In 1998, teachers and parents discuss the different groups within their community in more measured tones. The relationship between the community and between different groups seemed difficult to discuss. It was referred to euphemistically (as 'it' and 'that'), spoken about under different category headings (as diversity, as change) and placed within the fields of other debates (about language, culture and globalisation).

Recent post-colonial and whiteness writings suggest that in contemporary Western societies an omnipresent and unmarked us locates and knows its own identity against the always-out-of-reach and not-quite-known-other who we-are-not.[150] Ghasson Hage's (1998) writing, particularly, explores how others and selves are made visible and located within Australian national spaces. My interest in this chapter is not merely to examine the stories I retell and the histories I piece together from this third vantage point of the narrational map. Rather it takes seriously Patti Lather's (1991) suggestion that these normalised ways of understanding and behaving must be spelt out: the structures of its argument made clear; the conditions of its terms defined; and the conceptual organisation of its representation located and problematised. My analysis has three tiers. The first, 'Dealing with others', examines the structure of the self/other relation I

[150] See Chapter Two.

identified in the first stage of my analysis[151]. In 1988, parents and teachers described ethnic groups as essentially different and separated from each other and the community by almost impermeable barriers. At the same time teachers and parents argued that people are essentially the same as each other. In 1998, the boundaries between ethnic groups seem fluid and to fall apart, even as the configuration – other groups and our community – remains. The second tier, 'Of great love and immense hate', explores the condition of being within an-other ethnic group. In 1988 members of ethnic groups are defined in terms that are extreme and contradictory. 'They' are one thing or another, wonderful or dreadful, brilliant or problematic with 'no-in-between'. In 1998, teachers and parents continue to define ethnic groups in extreme and contradictory terms even as the essential and concrete categories that define these groups fall apart. The third tier, 'Safe spaces/Dangerous places' examines the logic that underpins these structures. Teachers and parents want to know about other groups and to locate them in communal spaces. This is easier in 1988 as the notion that ethnic identities are essentially different makes it easy to know and to locate those who are inside and those who are outside of 'our' community. In 1998, the boundaries that separate ethnic identities seem to fall apart. Teachers and parents define how others are known and located within their community even as – in an increasingly globalised world – it becomes difficult to know which identities are which, and where these identities should be. In this chapter, I review these observations. In the next chapter, '(Between) Disrupted narrations', I turn these logics around to identify the identities who make up the self within this self/other relation and who define some as belonging and not belonging in this way.

Dealing with others

The relation between ethnic groups is understood differently in 1988 and 1998. In 1988, teachers and parents believe that people belong to essentially different groups separated by almost impenetrable barriers. At the same time, they argue that all people share a universal and common humanity. In 1998, people are considered able to change and to choose between different ethnic identities. Even so, people are included within the

[151] See Chapter Four.

school community differently. I make two points about these observations. I have suggested (see Chapter Two) that beneath conversations about multiculturalism is a crucial irony where liberal notions that subjects share a common and unitary humanity are juxtaposed with notions that groups are essentially different to one another. Sneja Gunew (1994), describes this relation within an Australian situation commenting that:

> Multicultural policy constructs communities in terms of an ethnic absolutism which results in separate and homogeneous entities. Within a social justice framework, participation is often reduced to those activists who speak on its behalf. In turn, the community comes to signify a motley collection of outsiders. (Gunew, 1994, p. 22)

Her point is that multicultural thought shifts between notions of alterity and universalism. The corollary of her argument is that ethnic groups are considered as other and as outside of the community regardless of how identities are understood as diverse. The result is that multiculturalism claims to bring people together, even as it signifies some as 'a motley collection of outsiders'.

When I study the stories teachers and parents tell me, I trace a similar ironic contradiction between universalism and alterity. In 1988, these narratives describe almost inalienably different others, caught behind seemingly impenetrable barriers. Yet, these differences can be overcome, sometimes painstakingly, sometimes by something as simple as a smile. In 1998, differences seem superficial, a matter of choice and easily changed. Negotiating this ironic relation becomes increasingly complex as definitions of identity change over the decade. Stuart Hall (1992) describes how identities are defined differently in recent times.[152] The 'enlightenment' subject defines identity as centred, reasoned, autonomous and continuous within itself; the 'sociological' subject describes identities as essentially the same but as made different by the addition of different cultural or biological differences; and the 'post-modern' identity seems fluid and changeable and a matter of choice. In this section, I explore how these three fields of narration (the definition of identity, the description of ethnic groups as different, the principle of a universal humanity) are played out in 1988 and in 1998.

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[152] See Chapter Two.

Other Dealing – 1988

Susan Siddons speaks of the barriers that stand between those like herself and those others who are essentially and biologically different. She wonders whether she can work with people quite so alien. Although, she notes that students do often work together, she is doubtful that the barriers between different groups can ever really be broken down:

> It's really quite incredible ... the acceptance and the co-operation, the working together and not necessarily being racist, of wanting to be with that person or that person because their eyes are different and all that sort of thing. And it never ceases to fascinate me at all. I guess to my way of thinking ... it should in theory produce a great deal of tolerance ... but I just don't know whether human beings are tolerant ... I just don't know whether the barriers can ever really be broken down. I think that there is always going to be that non-acceptance and really if you're white Caucasian or southern European or something there is a chance there that coming out of a different, a very different culture and you look different if you are Asian but you smell different. All of those sorts of things. Whether it is going to work into a melting pot I don't know. But I believe that there will always be pockets of racism. I wouldn't necessarily object ...
> Q. So do you think that multiculturalism will work ... ?
> A. Maybe it will. One would hope that it would. It may be the answer to so many problems. I don't whether you can ever break down the barriers completely. (Siddons, 1988, ll. 479 – 500)

Siddons considers the relationship between others and herself with credulous fascination. 'It's really quite incredible', she tells me. 'It' refers to the relationship between ethnic groups. It is a relation that she cannot quite come to terms with. No amount of 'wanting to be' or tolerating or accepting can ever 'breakdown the barriers completely'. 'It' is a relation that 'never ceases to fascinate' Siddons. The source of Siddons' consternation begins from the definition of identity itself. Ethnic and raced groups are essentially and primordially alien, made almost absolutely different by biological as well as cultural conditions. 'If you are Asian' you 'look different' and 'you smell different'. Siddons doesn't know 'whether the barriers can ever really be broken down'. Tolerance of difference is possible, but it takes a great deal of perseverance and is probably not sensible. A multicultural society 'may be the answer to so many problems' but this seems unlikely.

For Helen Brown, alterity is not so much a matter of biology, as of essential values. She finds herself walking a tightrope as she tries to teach her students proper moral and ethical principles. Her students live fraught lives: men treat their women badly, families fall apart and children are being bashed. Working within such a demographically

complex school, requires that teachers help save students from such dangerous situations and provide them with correct values so that:

> Those boys will leave those classes with more respect for women's rights and the girls will have more understanding of why their brothers and fathers and uncles, sometimes appear to be playing the heavy-handed persona because they think that it is their right. In this case we will, hopefully, have less marriage breakdowns. We will have less children bashed. We will have less problems amongst families and if only one family does something that saves their family and saves them a break up, that is all you can look for. (Brown, 1988, ll. 252 – 258)

Despite her pessimism Brown does not share Siddons' contention that barriers between ethnic groups are absolute and impenetrable. Over time and with help intergenerational change can occur. 'Boys will leave those classes with more respect', 'girls will have more understanding'. Her despairing final aside emphasises the limited nature of this possibility. 'All you can look for' is to somehow prevent families from breaking up altogether. People are able to change, but presently they behave very differently from those who belong within her community. Moreover, the ethnic groups described here are quite definitely not one of us. They are 'those boys', 'their brothers and fathers and uncles'.

Tracy Cunningham also believes that ethnic difference is defined by cultural norms. She gazes with me at students who are desperately in need of her help. These children lack discipline, are unable to work properly at school because they lack 'background' and are not provided with the proper support at home. They provide an enormous 'load' that she has taken up against her better sense:

> It is an enormous load ... One of the heartaches is when you get the kids like the one wandering up and down at the moment, and his shirt hanging out and his tight jeans and he should be in class. Once again, he has wangled his way out of class. He is here without his parents, with older brothers who just can't cope with their own families. A kid without supervision getting into things he shouldn't. He has got a conscience, because he is all the time telling me just by his look that he is at school but he is going to do his own thing and invariably gets into trouble and he makes promises but he has no way of maintaining promises because he hasn't any background. He has no habit of knowing how to maintain discipline and that they're the ones you really get upset about, because you can get them here and you can talk them into doing the right thing, but they've no staying power and they've no back up. I am powerless to change the home. (Cunningham, 1988, ll. 132 – 145)

Cunningham focuses her comments on 'the kids like the one wandering up and down at the moment'. She sits with me and both of us become voyeurs of the student 'who just

can't cope', 'hasn't any background', 'no habit of knowing how to maintain discipline'. The collective difference, which 'this kid' represents is re-iterated at the end of the passage as 'he' turns to 'they' as 'they've no staying power', 'They've no backup'. The relation between Cunningham and the kids like this one is a burden she carries. 'It is an enormous load', Cunningham tells me. 'One of the heartaches'. The essence of the relation she describes is one in which she is responsible to change others who are not only different, but also deficient and problematic. Her despairing, 'I am powerless to change the home' is more pessimistic than Helen Brown's conceptions that she might save some of her students. Cunningham's conception of difference is essentially social, rather than the biological. Change however, remains almost impossible.

Helen Brown and Tracy Cunningham do not share Susan Siddon's contention that multiculturalism is unworkable and that barriers between groups probably cannot be broken down. For these teachers ethnic differences are of social origin and therefore can be altered. That these differences are often understood to be of cultural rather than of biological origin has only a limited effect on the way such alterity is flexible. Ethnic differences are deeply entrenched and almost beyond their ability to mediate. The study of these narrational fields from the different vantage point of the narrational map reaffirms the dualistic structure of this relation. Teachers set out to help their students even as they reaffirm the us/them dualism they seek to ameliorate. Their despair that these students are almost beyond their help reaffirms the barriers they believe stand between them.

Such notions of absolute difference contradict others, which suggest that everyone is the same. Tom Paterson argues that almost impermeable barriers separate essentially and measurably different ethnic groups from each other. At the same time these barriers are simply overcome by a smile, an interest in gardening, friendship, a bunch of roses. It is a matter of negotiating barriers between those 'sad case(s)', wanting only to be friends:

> That's where the barriers are broken down. If there's going to be racial barriers that's where it's going to be sort of broken down ... I think it's a sad case sometimes. They want to be friends but people won't sort of accept them. When I'm out in the garden, the rose garden ... I speak to everyone that goes past and smile to them or try and make themselves and it's remarkable the smile you get back. One day I saw some of them ... roses. I went outside and gave them a bunch of roses. They thought that was great. It's

> just trying to break down that barrier. I think that they're so acceptable to that. My wife was out weeding the other day and she had four or five little ones, I'd say they would be about four years old or six, and they helped her weed that garden. They thought that was great. (Paterson, 1998, ll. 106 – 124).

The notion of a school community forced to deal with groups of people who are essentially different contrasts with a second that considers that all people share a common humanity. The barriers between groups can be broken down by the simplest of means: by talking to each other, by eating each other's food, by taking part in each other's projects. Paterson believes himself to be an agent of change in this regard. ' I think it is a sad case' he tells me. 'I went outside', 'I speak to everyone', 'I think they're so acceptable to that'. Throughout Paterson's conversation, those on the other side of racial barriers remain as 'they'. They 'want to be friends', look at his roses, 'thought that was great' to help his wife. The 'four or five little ones' shyly cross barriers as 'they' help weed the garden. The relation between others and self remains. Paterson declares all men are the same, indulgently smiles at them, gives them roses and considers how difficult it is for them to be accepted into our community. At the same time, Paterson continues to understand members of ethnic groups as essentially different and as desperately in need of his help. 'That's where the barriers are broken down', he tells me, 'If there is going to be racial barriers, that's where it's going to be sort of broken down'. The 'that' and the 'it' of this unspoken relation stand at the juncture where everyone could be the same, even as ethnicity remains a marker of almost absolute difference.

The multicultural history patterned in the last chapter, describes the sudden arrival of different ethnic groups into the school. The practical difficulties of dealing with such large numbers of new students (the provision of classrooms, teachers, English classes) are compounded by the difficulty of coping with people who are essentially different. The central task of multicultural policy and practice in 1988 is to 'break down the barriers' between such different groups. The definition of difference changes, as notions of identity change from those of biology to those of culture. For Susan Siddons, breaking down barriers is an almost impossible task. Those on the other side of those barriers are absolutely different: have different smells; different colour; different cultures. For Tracy Cunningham and Helen Brown others are made different by almost equally rigid cultural and social conditions. At the same time these notions of alterity are

in ironic contradiction with conceptions of a common and universal humanity. Paterson continues to see his neighbours as essentially different even as he believes barriers between such different groups can be broken down by the simplest of means. The following discussion with Bill Kelly shows other ways these contradictions are played out. Kelly considers the sameness of all peoples and finds himself caught within interchanges fraught within endless contradiction. The people down the road are 'very good neighbours', he tells me needlessly if everyone is the same:

> There are good people and bad people. I have more troubles with Australians than I would've with the ethnic population. I've had Greek neighbours on one side now and behind us we used to have French and Poles. We haven't had any Asians. At the moment we've got Mauritians but we get on very well. There's no problem. We've got Sri Lankans the other side of the road very good neighbours. We're all working together, neighbourhood sort of style. Its very good. There are bad people ... there's bad Australians too. (Kelly, 1988, ll. 398 – 310)

Kelly believes that ethnic differences don't matter and 'we get on very well', 'we're all working together' and there are always 'good people and bad people'. The notion of commonality is fraught. Kelly lists the different ethnic populations who live in his street: the French, Poles, Greeks and Mauritians and Sri Lankans. A dualism is set up between 'Australians' and the 'ethnic population'. Ethnic populations are discussed as the people that we have had. We 'used to have French and Poles', 'we haven't had any Asians'. The notion that 'we get on well' and 'we are working together' is placed against the people 'I've' had, that 'we've had'. The shift that takes place in the conception of the word 'we' is made clear in the last part of the paragraph. 'There are bad people', Kelly tells me. 'People' does not include everyone. 'There's bad Australians too'.

I have argued that Australian, as well as Western, multicultural thought is made paradoxical as it struggles to define and categorise alterity, and yet reaffirms liberal notions that subjectivity is universal, centred, rational and self-motivated.[13] The historic patterning I piece together from the stories teachers and parents tell me in 1988, examine a similar notion. Teachers and parents understand that some people belong to different ethnic groups and therefore belong differently within the school community. The parameters of belonging to ethnic groups are defined by essentially different biological and cultural traits. The boundaries between those groups are understood as almost

impermeable but also as easily crossed as people share a common humanity. The analysis of these contradictory narrational fields from the vantage point of narrational maps suggests that a self/other dualism continues to structure multicultural narrations. Susan Siddons, Helen Brown and Tracy Cunningham are certain that some ethnic groups do not belong to the community in the same way as others. Tom Paterson and Bill Kelly argue that differences are both immense but also easily accommodated. Nevertheless, they too continue to assert that some groups do not belong within the community in the same way as others. In the next section, I consider how these same notions are understood in 1998.

Other dealing – 1998

Like Tracy in 1988, Sally Williams argues that members of ethnic groups are essentially different and need particular help if they are to work well within the school. Sally Williams tells me about Cook Islander students:

> Well, to begin with, they were constantly out of uniform. It came from that. They don't wear shoes in the Cook Islands, so they went out and bought a whole lot of second-hand shoes from Clarke's and things. Just ways that we could best help by having class sets suited to a particular year level, so that we could train them. It sounds really demeaning, but train them that equipment is important and that they could borrow the equipment from us. So that with them coming to school unprepared we would still say, "Well, here's a pen, here's a paper. Get stuck in and here's a book that you may use now and I'll photocopy these pages for you to take home." So that they didn't have a broken ... a lot of them, as I said, don't live with their mum and dad. They might go and live with their uncle for two weeks and then their clothes will literally be at their uncle's and their school bag will be at some other house. So to minimise that sort of disruption in their lives and we'll probably add strategies that we ask teachers to do this or take this in with them. (Williams, 1998, ll. 957 – 967)

In 1998, Cook Islander students are problematic. They are not used to the simplest everyday practices: wearing shoes, living in one location, bringing the correct items to school. Their integration into the school demands carefully formulated 'strategies that we ask teachers to do'. It means that 'we' need to 'train them' how to work within the school. The analysis of these discussions from the vantage point of narrational maps reaffirms the self/other relation delineated in the last section. Williams' conversation lists the things we need to do as 'we could train them'. What has changed in 1998 is Williams' confidence that she now knows what to do. They need strategies to change

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[153] See Chapters Two and Three.

their behaviour: they leave their work at home, shift from house to house, need shoes. 'We'll probably add strategies', Sally Williams tells me, which will 'minimise that sort of disruption in their lives'.

Nevertheless, the distinction between being in one ethnic group and being in another is less clear in 1998. Gillian Mulhauser speaks about multiculturalism as being about valuing differences that people choose or refrain from keeping:

> I think direct Multicultural policies, you know, direct sensible policies in the school just direct action at the school. The way things are it's basically valuing other peoples, it's the valuing of the language and it's a valuing of the cultural and it's the understanding that it's different that people don't often feel comfortable about coming to the school because they're in a new country and because they're – And I think it's about people, about making sure that people know that they can always come to the school and the importance ... other languages so that they feel comfortable about coming here and I mean you know those basic things that .... (Mulhauser, 1998, ll. 652-666)

Mulhauser is concerned that people don't feel comfortable because they are new to the country and do not understand the language. 'It's about people', she tells me, 'about making sure that people know they can always come'. The notion of people is interesting. 'People don't often feel comfortable coming to the school'. People' however mean 'other peoples'. They are the 'other peoples' who feel comfortable because the school values their 'other languages' and cultures. The relation between other people and selves is about valuing what those other people bring. The self who sits back and values others in this way is present but remains unnamed. The notion of identity is also changed. People are different because they bring different languages and cultures. The addition of difference makes some members of other groups even as everyone shares in a universal and common people-hood. Her point is that 'people know that they can always come to the school'. Difference and sameness remain in contradiction but are nevertheless placed in paradoxical relation within the same human entity. The complex logic contained within this kind of argument is seen when these fields of narration are considered from the vantage point of the narrational map. Gillian's argument cannot but maintain the dualistic relation between selves and others. The people who are not quite comfortable are those other different people who are new to the country and bring other languages and culture. Good relations depend on the way 'we' value them. Despite the complex ways that ethnic identities are understood, and Mulhauser's good intentions, they remain as one-of-them and as not quite one-of-us.

Teachers particularly refer to the contradictions implicit within this juxtaposition. Sally Williams wishes to maintain that we are all Australians, but she keeps floundering with conceptions of difference:

> So they came up with some lovely stuff. We had a couple of kids, very Anglo-Saxon. Other schools come as well to the Convention. Us, Southgate ... St Mary's, but with those Anglo-Saxon kids there they were listening hard, with interest, to what they were saying. Because they were saying, "No, definitely, you have to be Australian, or you can't represent the Australian people." "But what you're talking about is not cultural diversity. You're not representing, all Australians. Because you are Australian Anglo-Saxon and what's more you're not representing the Aborigines." So there was some lovely discussion coming from there. That's a huge growth isn't it because teenagers are very, generally egocentric anyway. They've become cultural centric. Now they're talking about more migrants. (Williams, 1998, ll. 835 – 844)

Williams' point is that her students are all Australian. Her argument is contradictory. If you are Anglo-Saxon, 'you're not representing all Australians'. 'What's more' Aboriginal Australians need to be represented differently. Her students are a different kind of Australian who are not Anglo-Saxon and who have become 'cultural centric'. The different vantage point provided by the narrational maps suggests a third way to read this discussion. Even as Williams is confused about the identity of her students she re-iterates the way her students belong or do not belong within the school community. Her discussion slips between the 'they' who are representing the school, and the 'they' who represent the Anglo-Saxon kids who are from other schools. 'We' is used to discuss representatives of Southgate, specifically the couple of kids who are 'very Anglo-Saxon'. Her conversation is about the Anglo-Australian students at other schools and how they don't represent all Australians. Her final comments refer to that other 'they', the students at her school who are not Anglo-Australian, who have 'become cultural centric' and who are 'now talking about more migrants'.

For Bernard Pieterse difference is something that everyone has. At the same time, he finds difference hard to pin down because:

> It is very hard to pin ethnic tags on people. It is a lot harder to say you are Khmer, ethnic or the like. If I told you I was born in Australia and I was born in Shepparton on a dairy farm. I mean you would probably put me in a classification. But if I was to say to you I can speak Dutch and I didn't start speaking English until I was 6 years old ... Got you because it will flexible my ethnic background ... It is very difficult to place those ethnic labels on people, to say, "You are Italian", "You are Greek" It is a little bit more healthy say to pick on the language because often that defines the ethnic boundaries but they open enough to realise – even Scotland/Gaelic, Wales/Welsh – have different backgrounds and cultures to draw upon. (Pieterse, 1998, p.5)

Pieterse notion of identity seems to fall apart in a post-modern and 'moveable feast' of choices.[154] Ethnic tags become unworkable as people move from place to place, mix in different ways and relate and do not relate to people differently. People have many identities, as Australian, Dutch, Greek, Italian. Pieterse 'can speak Dutch' and didn't speak English until he was six'. He can 'flexible' his 'ethnic background'. 'It is very difficult to place those ethnic labels on people'. The view of this analysis from the vantage point of narrational maps suggests a different logic. These tags continue to define some as other. The terms are slippery but nevertheless Pieterse immediately defines ethnic groups as different as demonstrating that 'you are Italian, you are Greek'. 'It is a little bit more healthy to say pick on the language' but that is 'because that often defines the ethnic boundaries'. 'Even ... Welsh – have different backgrounds and cultures to draw upon'. Pieterse's very attempt to avoid such categories already assumes the presence of others. Even as Pieterse is most careful not to differentiate between groups he defines what is different between himself and others and repositions the differences between them. The conceptual shuffle required in order not to speak of others, even as this is exactly what one needs to do, is made clear in Pieterse next comment:

> Why should I impose my Western culture and stereotype them. It is real dog eat dog competitive. You have got to learn to survive about yourself here. Don't look at the person next to you. Your racial background may tell you that you operate and talk and make a bit of socialising with a friend and then work on the problem and here I am imposing my ideas on them. (Pieterse, 1998, p.5)

Pieterse is worried that he should 'impose' his 'Western culture and stereotype them'; 'imposing' his 'ideas on them'. A dualistic relation is set up between 'them' and his Western self, even as he seeks to demolish it. Pieterse' definition of ethnic identities is confused. Ethnicity is understood as a matter of race and presumably biology. At the same time, it is a matter of something added on and cultural; a matter of how you 'operate and talk', 'socialising with a friend', 'work on the problem'. Pieterse argues that these added on differences are things ethnic groups keep that he chooses not to change. That he believes that he could choose to change them reaffirms the differently empowered relations, which stand between himself and other ethnic groups.

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[154] See Hall (1992, p. 275).

In this 'moveable feast' of the 'post-modern' identity', the categories, which seemed so easily attributed in 1988, fall apart as teachers and parents enter the increasingly globalised world of 1998. Within the world of hypertext, email and user names, people seem no more than images, their difference no more than different names, faces and colours. Diversity becomes little more than the variety of the text, the colourful picture. Difference becomes no more than the imaginary and therefore seems irrelevant. Ethnic groups exhibit differences that spin out into almost never-ending variations. More and more languages, more and more dialects of Maori, more and different places where students who seemed to be the same can come so that:

> The publicity is merely just to handle ... trying to promote, let people understand that we ... that we really are quite diverse, and we're not all Cambodian, we're not all Vietnamese. People say, "Southgate, that's next to Southgate South, they're all Vietnamese aren't they." No, no.
> Trying to find a balance in the ... the images so that there are African, there are Vietnamese, there are Cambodian, ... there are Anglos, Europeans ... here as well. We're just trying to say, "Well, look at us, because we're diverse." The shots are, that's what I was doing this morning, with that photographer, for a promotion of our 35 years. (Miller, 1998, p.4)

The contradictory, paradoxical mixing of ideas which underpin the ways that teachers and parents understand these shifting images interweaves ever more complexly as multicultural ways of dealing mix with cultures and globalising technologies. Danny Miller markets the diversity of his students and sells conceptions of multiculturalism virtually to people anywhere. Images of Southgate say 'look at us, because we're diverse', 'the publicity ... let people understand ... that we really are quite diverse'. Even as the borders between identities seem to have disappeared, and conceptions of self and other made irrelevant, the other remains enigmatically there. Far from negating difference, these conversations about selling multiculturalism begin with the conceptualisation of some groups as different and as other. 'There are African, there are Vietnamese, there are Cambodian ... there are Anglos, Europeans'. Miller takes his digitalised images, negotiates their fragmentedness, and makes all of them, whatever their difference, part of a shared difference. He celebrates their difference. It is an image of all-of-us as different. At the same time, they remain as a reminder of all that is different and other than ourselves.

In 1998, teachers and parents continue to describe ethnic identities as being quite different from each other and yet as sharing a common humanity. This paradoxical relation becomes more complex as notions of identity change. The essential categories used to name ethnic entities in 1988 continue to be used in 1998 but now these definitions seem far more slippery affairs. Identity becomes understood as twofold; as entities in common with something different added. Gillian Mulhauser describes new migrants as people who are more comfortable with their different culture and language. Danny Miller understands ethnic identity as absolutely flexible. The impact of new technologies and ways of communication mean that the most basic ways of understanding these concepts seem lost. The materiality of Cook Islanderness becomes conflated as photographs of generic, exotic difference are sent everywhere and anywhere on the net. Nevertheless he reasserts the same dualistic relation between others and ourselves. The Cook Islanders on the net remain Cook Islanders. In the next section, I explore the condition of the other entities that people these representations.

Of great love and immense hate

In this section, I take up Lather's second suggestion and explore the ways teachers and parents describe the condition of being ethnic. Ethnic identities are described as exhibiting characteristics that seem extreme and contradictory. Such people are better or worse than, more acceptable or less acceptable, more wonderful or more dreadful than us. In 1988, Asians are both brilliant and impossibly inept, Spanish are both bohemian and hopelessly lazy, ethnic families are impossibly pathological. There seems, as one teacher says in 1988, to be no in-between. In 1998, commonly held definitions of identity have changed. The notion that members of ethnic groups are different becomes more difficult to demonstrate. Nevertheless, parents and teachers describe ethnic groups in the same contradictory and extreme languages. Now however, these discussions become even more paradoxical as these contradictions are juxtaposed within the fragmented and changing form of single identities.

Post-colonial writers argue (see Chapter Two) that the representation of identities as ethnic in western societies is profoundly ambivalent. As Homi Bhabha (1994) explains

it, otherness emerges as a relation to selfness. As such, it is made in a process of splitting caught, as it is in that place of demand and desire so that

> The demand of identification – that is, to be *for* an Other – entails the representation of the subject in the differentiating order of otherness. Identification, as we inferred from the preceding illustrations, is always the return of an image that bears the mark of splitting in the Other place from which it comes. (Bhabha, 1994, p.45)

To discuss others, Bhabha argues, builds a stereotypical fantasy of the other as a relation to self. The different become represented as identities about which there is always excess, more than or less than. The ' in-between' spaces that provide the terrain of selfhood are not only sites of collaboration but of overlap and displacement (p.1). The production of the stereotype as a representation of the other contains within its logic, its own demise. Its attempt at mastery is always slipping, displaced and incomplete, as the other remains never quite known. As I look at my data, I find that the stories teachers and parents tell me express ambivalent expressions of otherness, even as they tentatively explore possibility of the relationship in-between.

The ambivalence of the other – 1988

> The kids – as far as I am concerned, the kids are the 'working class ethnics' and to me they are terrific kids... ninety percent of the Asian kids are happy kids, marvellous kids to teach. They really want to get on with their work, They really are fantastic, The other 10 percent are really the bottom rung, There is no in-between.
> Greeks, Southern Europeans

> Parents often have too high expectations ... The Asians are harder working, whereas the Greek and Italian are more peasantly types. Asians tend to work harder to get somewhere, The 'working class" Europeans have come to the lucky country but Asians are prepared to work hard. (Saunders, 1988, p.3)

In 1988, I asked Carol Saunders to describe her students. Greek and Italian students are 'peasantly types', their parents unrealistic in their 'too high expectations'. The kids ... the working-class ethnics are 'terrific kids'. Asian students are 'harder working' 'happy kids', 'marvellous kids to teach'; or at least 'ninety percent' of them are. Asian kids, Saunders explains, are 'really are fantastic'; or 'really the bottom rung'. 'There is' Saunders argues, 'no in-between'.

The concept of 'no-in-between' underpins the conversations I have with teachers and parents in 1988. Carl Davies describes Yugoslavian students as taller, far nicer, more sensible, more hard-working than all the other students in the school.

> The slavic kids. There are quite a few of those. They are very noticeable because they can be much bigger than all the other kids in the school ... Usually the tallest kids in the school will be the Slavs ... and they are obviously blond and pale complexioned and blue eyed – Which you will find some Greek kids are – but not many and they are usually quite nice kids too. They are usually quite sensible and hard-working. It may not be because they are slack. It might be because they are from a particular socio-economic background. I don't know what it is but ... they fit in really well ... They look Australian for start. I mean you can pick a Slav kid pretty easily but here they happen to look quite Australian. (Davies, 1988, ll. 591 – 603)

Slav students are larger than life, 'bigger than all of the other kids in the school', 'the tallest kids in the school'. They are middle class, quite sensible, hard-working students who tend to do quite well in their schoolwork. Further, these students are whiter than white, 'obviously blond', 'pale complexioned', 'blue eyed'. Their almost superhuman tallness, their extreme whiteness and their goodness is emphasised in Davies' brief aside. Blond Greek students can also be considered 'nice'. These students easily 'fit in' because they 'look Australian'. In these stories Slavic students come to embody heroic proportions. Like Australian, they are better than Australian, taller, brighter, whiter; they suggest something almost superhuman, a thing of white mythology. At the same time they are not quite Australian. Davies' final comments that you can 'you can pick a Slav kid pretty easily'. even as 'they happen to look quite Australian' reasserts the notion that they remain quite different even as they look almost the same.

Spanish students are 'trouble and more than the others'. At the same time, they have an 'enjoyment of life', are 'often very happy and well adjusted sort of kids':

> I think they have just crawled out of the primeval slime. It's a real – I think they must have – Perhaps their experiences are burying their whole attitude. They sort of – very – of any particular ethnic group. I put a question mark on them. They are lazy and they are trouble and more than the others. (Siddons, 1988, ll.375 – 379)

> Spanish kids are just as lively. I think that I probably speak on behalf of a few of the staff when I say that the Spanish kids are often very happy and well adjusted sort of kids – Very chauvinistic – Very sexist but it doesn't let them interfere with their enjoyment of life but – yeah they are very pleasant kids – (Davies, 1988, ll.529 – 531)

The stories teachers tell me about Spanish students suggest two very different conditions: that of innocent enjoyment and that of laziness and primitiveness. [155] To some, Spanish kids 'have just crawled out of the primeval slime', are lazy and

[155] Western ambivalence about the other as both the noble savage and the savage has often been noted in post-colonial literatures. See, for instance, Hall (1997b), Young (1995) and Chow (1998).

troublesome. To others, these same students are happy and very pleasant kids, enjoy life, are well adjusted and lively. These students do not work hard; value past-times other than those that underpin academic success. This not-work-hardedness is both idyllic and is terrible. For Carl Davies, the Spanish student is less hardworking but enjoys life and is more relaxed than us. For Susan Siddons, these students are lazy, the worst of all students. Puritan notions of hard work mix with bohemian conceptions of the good life making the same student either enviable or despicable beyond belief; happy, well adjusted, bohemian or peasanty, primeval slime.

The trope of ethnic groups as being other, different and problematic is repeated in different forms and in relation to different ethnic groups. A common description of Greekness is that:

> The first-born boys will really be quite spoilt ... I think that is pretty common for the Greek kids especially for the boys. There are quite a few Greek girls complaining that they are made sort of second-rate citizens at home. They can carry quite a chip on their shoulder. They're in a different society here a lot of the Greek migrants carry their prejudices with them ... into Australia and our kids realise that girls are equal ... Over the years I have spoken to quite a few Greek girls who have lots of problems with their parents. They are not allowed to go out. Their parents watch their every move. They are expected to do heaps and heaps at home. There is a lot of sibling rivalry. (Davies, 1988, ll. 542 – 568)

A central theme is that of the dysfunctional Greek home. Such domestic things are different because 'they're in a different society here' and they 'carry their prejudices with them'. Boys 'will really be quite spoilt'. Girls have 'lots of problems with their parents'; are repressed and over-protected and 'expected to do heaps and heaps at home'. 'They are made sort of second-rate citizens at home' and 'carry quite a chip on their shoulder'. The pathological condition of Greek home life is placed in relation with 'our kids' who 'realise that girls are equal'. From Carl Davies' conversations with 'quite a few' of them he has come to realise that 'they're in a different society'. The generality of his final sentence, 'there is a lot of sibling rivalry' asserts the dysfunctional home-lives of all of them.

Stories of others as pathological and as unable to know, as we do, how to treat their women, look after their families and bring up their children, are repeated again and

again. In Helen Brown's story the field of narration is that of Greek, Turkish, and Middle-Eastern girls:

> Yes, if they wear provocative clothing and get into trouble, nobody is going to protect them. A lot of Greek and Turkish, Middle Eastern girls, behave with a great deal more, sexually, provocative actions, because they believe that nobody is going to, particularly if they have older brothers, no one is going to rape them, or molest them. And they look at life, as all sugar and almonds and white brides and they write in a Mills and Boonish type way. (Brown, 1988, ll. 285 – 303)

> They will be better communicators, the boys will be, particularly certain types of ethnic boys who believe that males can do as they please and the females ... those boys will leave those classes with more respect for women's rights and the girls will have more understanding of why their brothers and fathers and uncles, sometimes, appear to be playing the heavy-handed personae, because they think that it is their right (Brown, 1988, ll. 230 – 258)

Helen Brown complains about the ways that Turkish, Greek and Middle-Eastern woman and men behave. Girls 'wear provocative clothing' and are sexually provocative in their actions. Their place as temptress is both purposeful, they know 'they have older brothers' to protect them and naïve as 'they look at life, as all sugar and almonds'. They suffer the advances of their 'heavy-handed' brothers, fathers and uncles without really understanding what happens to them. Brothers, fathers and uncles are 'heavy handed personae' who are not only disrespectful of women's rights but abusive of them. Their right to do so is enshrined in points of view, which allow ethnic boys to believe that 'males can do as they please' with 'females'. The ethnic woman is also contemptible; the repressed victim of male violence; bashed and violated. Daughters strut around irresponsible, sexually provocative, repressed and yet quite inconsiderate that their task is to protect themselves.

The notion of ethnic groups as dysfunctional is particularly persistent in discussions about the Moslem woman. Once again the narration begins with a description of the pathological condition of the ethnic home. Bill Kelly tells me that:

> I have noticed in some of the other groups who are coming out now. I must say that some of the Moslem boys that we are getting, the Afghans and so on are different in terms of, I think again it is probably the society that they come from. In terms of their attitudes in terms of ... and they have to be dealt with in a special way and that's fine.
> Q. Can you extend on that?
> A. Sure – Just – It is not entirely – It's more specific – We haven't got enough of them. There's about – the few that we have got out here – I can give you one example with a guy and his sister and I have been to India and Kashmir where I have seen Muslim society where the females are pushed terribly into the background and everything is kind of the male side of the family and he has just got his freedom and it was just noticeable

> and the female was in the background and the male was extremely pushy and demanding.
> Q. And you can see that happening here?
> A. This is this case here and I won't generalise from the case where this was taken, but it would be nice if it isn't going to be the case. Because as I said, I don't think that is the way that Australian society is to go – that sort of importance of people and so on but we will wait and see what happens as more of these people come out. (Kelly, 1988, ll. 411 – 433)

The ethnic woman, this time the Muslim woman, now the woman from India, Pakistan and Afghanistan is pushed to the background, by the pushy, demanding ethnic, this time the Muslim man. These 'other groups' are arrogant in their difference. They 'have to be dealt with in a special way'. The females 'are pushed terribly into the background'. The male has 'got his freedom' and he is 'extremely pushy and demanding'. The terms 'female' and 'male', 'these people' further separates them from the civilisation and humanity of the Australian society that should not go this way. The relation of their behavior to the way in which we would behave is reflected in the last part of my conversation with Kelly. "You can see that happening here', I ask. 'We will wait and see what happens as more of these people come out'. Kelly replies.

The contradictory nature of these descriptions becomes most noticeable when I speak with my respondents about what it means to be 'Asian'. Tracy Cunningham describes to me the dysfunctional nature of the Asian home:

> We have one Year 11 student, Tam. She is here with her father. Her three younger sisters have moved out of the area, but stay with the school, because they know friends and teachers – security – travel a long way to school which is actually out of character, because the Indo-Chinese do not like travelling to work or school, they like to live nearby.
>
> Tam went through, the school, getting straight As, but is also Mother to her sisters, housewife to Father etc. Father had been in the army and imprisoned, by Communists, and beaten and when he got out of the army he tried, at least, half a dozen times to escape. Lost everything in bribes of gold, bargain not fulfilled. Finally could only get half the family out. Mother and older sister still there. I have helped write letters, re Sponsorship.
>
> The motivation is just remarkable. You could eat your dinner off the floor in their house. The house and the garden are lovely. The Father had a job and lost it. He helps, but there are traditional things that men wouldn't do. We, actually, took Tam, with the family, sailing – don't usually take students, but Tam is special. You have to be very careful about taking students. (Cunningham, 1988, ll. 150 – 171)

Tam is 'out of character'. Her story is made in opposition to the ways most Indo-Chinese behave, to the ways 'they like to live'. Cunningham finds her taken-for-granted

notions of a proper home turned upside down. Tam is the perfect 'housewife': 'you could eat your dinner off the floor', and 'the house and the garden are lovely'. However, her mother is absent, and her father ineffectual: he does not have a job; and he doesn't help properly in the house. His ineptitude is a product of his traumatic past and because 'there are traditional things that men wouldn't do'. Despite her problematic home-life 'Tam is special'. She is 'getting straight A's' and her 'motivation is just remarkable'. Tracy's narration shifts from the specific story of Tam, to notions about these students generally who are usually not like that. 'You have to be very careful about taking students' she tells me.

A second commonly discussed trope is that of the Asian gang. Carl Davies describes the dangers he knows about because:

> I had a boy in the other day who was saying he had a few problems and one of them was that he was being hassled by a gang of Vietnamese kids and he was saying ... He was Greek ... and he was saying that a lot of the kids don't – I was going to say don't like – but I should say are a bit wary of Indo-Chinese kids because they feel that if you cross one of them they will gang up on you. Now I don't know if that is true but that certainly was what he believed and he knew that there was a group of Indo-Chinese kids led by one kid who was from a different school who was after him and he knew that one day they would catch up with him and bash him. He wasn't particularly worried about it. Yeah they certainly do have their – what those other cultures are capable of doing and how they are going to react to contact. (Davies, 1988, ll. 370 – 393)

Davies doesn't quite know if there are Asian gangs but he has his information from one of his students. 'Indo-Chinese kids' were often 'after him'. 'One day they would catch up with him and bash him'. The narration shifts from the story he has heard from 'a boy in the other day' to his own perceptions 'of what I should say'. His final remarks shift his story, to the general 'they certainly do have' their gangs. Gang-members themselves become superhuman. 'The gang of Vietnamese kids' becomes the 'Indo-Chinese kids' you have to be 'wary of'. By the end of the paragraph they are 'those other cultures' generally who are extraordinarily dangerous as one never knows what they 'are capable of doing and how they are going to react'.

An alternative trope describes 'Asians' as passive. 'Asians', Tom Paterson explains, are a quiet shy race, grateful for small things, not very able to help themselves. It is, he reminisces,

> A real shame ... feel sorry for them because they're really genuine ... There's others like Indians that have been very good you know taken everything in. It's very hard but I think with the Asians. I just feel that there are, just that little bit of language barriers that keeps them from speaking. Also I think they're very shy race. I feel it's going to take them a long while to ever get to a stage where they can get up and really speak with authority, confidence because I think they're still very frightened people but they're very nice people the ones I've spoken to I've always gone up and spoken to them and try to make them feel at home. This is the whole thing to try and build their confidence. I've had a friend recently. He saw this car break down just down the side of the school. In a car and he stopped ... He said, "Are you alright". He said, "I've run out of petrol". My friend said, "Look come on". He said, "I'll take you down and get you some". So he took him down to Southgate and got him petrol and brought him back. And that man was basically crying. He said, "You are the first person that's ever spoken to me or treated me like a human". (Paterson, 1988, ll. 24 – 35)

Paterson differentiates himself from many others who do not behave well towards Asians. He himself has 'always gone up and spoken to them and tri[ed] to make them feel at home'. What he does is 'try and build their confidence'. Patterson explains that he 'feels sorry for' Asians. He thinks that they are 'very nice', 'really genuine'. However, they are generally 'a very shy race', 'very frightened people', unable to speak for themselves and silenced by their lack of language. These cultural, perhaps even biological inhibitions 'keeps them from speaking'. Paterson's role as saviour is exemplified by his friend's act of kindness. 'The man was basically crying' as a consequence. 'You are the first person that's ever spoken to me' or who has 'treated me like a human' his friend is told. Paterson's friend stands out as an exemplary case within a society where most might see Asians as subhuman. His achievement throws into relief the difficulties most of us who are 'at home' have even speaking to such a 'shy' and 'frightened' people. In direct contrast to the ferocity of the Asian gang member, the Asian here is ineffectual and quite dysfunctional without help.

Juxtaposed against these images of the Asian as pathological and dangerous, timid and ineffectual is the conceptual image of the brilliant Asian student. As Barry Houston explains:

> They work extremely hard. Like this Cambodian boy, at the end of last year, who had no schooling in Cambodia. After 3 years, he did HSC and got into Medicine, under special consideration. The Chinese and the Vietnamese, even more so than Cambodians – They work very hard ... Mostly Cambodians, Vietnamese, Chinese at present. Mostly work hard, old-fashionedness, politeness – teachers love them. Our past Principal was delighted, because our HSC results were out of sight. Get straight As in Math and Science, because of Vietnamese boys. Look at Dux Board. The names for the last two years are of Chinese students. (Houston, 1988, pp16-17)

A most common trope is that of the Asian student who works 'extremely hard', is 'old fashioned' and 'polite' and who achieves almost against the odds. They are the perfect student, quiet, hard-working, obedient, and high achieving especially in areas of maths education. These accomplishments have positive consequences for the school community generally. Houston remarks cynically that 'teachers love them' and 'our past principal was delighted'. 'Our HSC results' are 'out of sight' 'because of Vietnamese boys'. The aptitude of the Asian student is nevertheless pathological. Their achievement, and the hard work they put in to accomplish this, are not normal, not quite sensible.

> Asians are more methodical, very structured. If they go away from the straight line, they get lost. Europeans tend to be more creative. All kids including Australians like to be spoon-fed but if you ask the Asians to create something, they are lost – except for the art field. Can be creative in the art field but not so much language wise, even if they speak good English. All types of artwork, some fantastic students in art ie. painting, but language wise, though wise are very structured. This is why they are very good at science. Not just a language thing being good at maths/science. Wonder when Asians become more integrated, whether they will become creative writers. (Saunders, 1988, ll. 108 – 120)

Asian students are indeed doing well, but their achievement is a narrow one, and a reflection of a lack on their part. They are 'methodological', 'structured' and even more so than Australian kids 'like to be spoon-fed'. They can speak good English and can be good at art, but only in very specific ways. Asian students, as Carol Saunders explains to me, are not creative, cannot think for themselves. Their hard work is to repeat and to regurgitate what they have been given in school. Their thinking lacks flexibility. There is a difference in the form that this image of Asian takes. Whereas in other portrayals of ethnic groups discussed here my conversations shift from the individual case to the general, here teachers, parents and I confidently discuss the way these students are. 'They work extremely hard', Houston tells me. 'Asians are more methodical'. 'Europeans tend to be more creative', Saunders says.

The trope of the Asian student is contradictory: they have problematic pasts and difficult home-lives; are dangerous and timid; brilliant students but lacking in creativity. There is little in-between here, Dimitrious Kalidis explains:

> I separate particularly the Asians into two groups – The very bright and the very dumb – That is how I see them. Those who are dumb – They are dumb – You can't do anything with them. Those who are bright – even if they are not – Those who are really willing to become somebody – They try they try and unbelievably how much they try. They spend hours and hours to study and to overcome their difficulties. (Kalidis,1988, ll. 435 – 453)

In 1988, distinctions are clear. Asians come in 'two groups', the 'very dumb', or the 'very bright'. Kalidis' omnipresence is almost absolute: he can 'separate' them, can 'see them'; and he can try but often cannot 'do anything with them'. Those others, in this case Asian students, are clearly one thing or the other: very bright, hard working, respectful, high achieving; or very dumb, difficult and impossible to help. There does indeed seem to be no-in-between.

When I explore the descriptions of ethnic groups in 1988, respondents shift their conversations between the individual case and the general. They 'have spoken to', they 'have been to' them. Now they know 'how I see them'. Ethnic groups are understood as being essentially different from each other and from ourselves. They are more or less than; worthy of great love or great hate. Asians are both brilliant/stupid almost beyond redemption; hardworking, successful/totally lacking in initiative, uncreative; nice, timid, dependent on our support and help/aggressive, violent, withdrawn, timid. The Latvians are whiter than white, better than us, what we aspire to, easily fit in/not quite us, don't quite fit in. The Spanish are fun-loving, bohemian, enjoy life, lively, lazy, slime, troublesome, hopeless. Ethnic men are cruel and chauvinistic and women suffocating, maternal, victim, whore. There is certain definitiveness to these descriptions of the way these other people are. There seems indeed to be no-in-between.

The ambivalence of the other – 1998

In 1998, I no longer hear stories about Spanish, Greek or Slavic students. Instead teachers, parents and I speak about the Cook Islander student. Varvara Kokanakis tells me her opinion of the Cook Islanders:

> With the Cook Islanders you ask them to do something, it's much more relaxed, more understated and yet I'm sure there's a whole lot of hierarchy going on there as well. With the Cook Islanders, mainly, respect seems to be with the older people, so that's what I'm saying about being in tune. How people do this, every society – It needn't be cultural. It's different ways that they either show respect for people or they encourage people or whatever. (Kokanakis, 1998, ll. 494 – 500)

For the Cook Islander 'it's much more relaxed, more understated'; 'it's the different ways that they … show respect'; it's 'about being in tune'. Bernard Pieterse is similarly impressed with the Eden-like existence of the Cook Islander student:

> In the Cook Island community,where the kids were walking around barefoot and

> singing songs, playing guitar with a flower in the ear. And why should I take the guitar from them and tell them to put the flower away because it is not part of the school uniform – impose silence bans as they are working quietly on individual projects. (Pieterse, 1998, p.5)

Cook Island students come from a place of 'walking round barefoot', 'singing songs', of 'playing guitar' and 'walking around with a flower in the ear'. The description of the Cook Islander remains in dualistic relation between the exotic and the mundane, the primitive and the modern. The existence of the Cook Island student is both noble and idyllic and totally at odds with all that Kelly finds appropriate in the material, sensible world of the Australian classroom. In the modern world of the school Cook Islanders need to think otherwise, put away their guitar and work quietly on 'individual projects'. In the real world of the Australian schoolteachers face students who need to wear 'school uniform', obey 'silence bans' and work 'quietly on individual projects'. The quandary for Pieterse is that the consequences of these differences: the way they should be described; and what should be done about them, have become unsayable. How 'should I take the guitar from them'? How can I 'tell them to put the flower away'? He asks. Nevertheless, the dimensions of these differences remain within his conversation: a lacunae found between the 'kids' 'walking around barefoot and singing songs' and the kids 'working quietly on individual projects'.

The story of the Asian student, well used to hard work, polite, respectful and achieving good results, is repeated but in a slightly different form. Asian students still 'want[ing] to achieve'. Nevertheless the utopian classroom peopled by perfect Asian students is something of the past. Teachers and parents are concerned that other Asian students, the Refugee-Asian student and the Second-Generation-Asian student have somehow taken over. For Bill Kelly the perfect Asian student is:

> One of the things that we used to have and don't have any more is, the number of new arrivals, kids that were straight from, as in, they'd come in as refugees, as refugees and more or less into the classroom that, usually, were fairly skilled and perhaps, a little bit older. Now we seem to have a lot more kids of an Asian background. They were either, born in Australia, worked their way through the Australian system. It seems to me how that, perhaps, that ambition that those kids had had earlier on, has been diluted, somewhat, and to different extents and growing up and moving through the system, their ... Whereas the other kids were refugees from an Asian country, that came into Australia and were fairly interested in education. These kids are, a lot, more like, perhaps you might think one of the ... kids who have just come through the education system. They're still wanting to achieve, but it's not an ambition ... (Kelly, 1998, ll. 15 – 26)

For Kelly speaking in 1998, the kinds of Asian found within the school have changed. The Asian students who come here, still go through the motions of 'wanting to achieve', 'but it's not an ambition'. Today's Asian student is a pale replica of the perfect student of earlier times. 'That ... has been diluted'. The Asian of past times forms the model against which today's students are judged: provides a proper example of hard work for the Australian student; and is an exemplar for other groups who arrive in Australia. They are 'one of the things that we used to have'. The analysis of the concept 'things' is of interest. The Asian student of the past has become an object against which today's students can be measured. The Asian student in today's classroom is also not quite one-of-us. Their very contact with us has not been useful. Instead contact with us has rubbed away some of the nobility of their own culture, contaminated them with the worst of ourselves. In this way these hybrid students, neither one-of-them nor one-of-us, remain nevertheless as other. Our ability to speak about them is never in doubt. 'We seem to have a lot more kids of an Asian background', Kelly tells me. 'They were either ...'

The narrational fields that describe ethnicity as a condition take a different slant as teachers and parents discuss the Muslim student. Now stories of the pathological ethnic home merge with notions of the dangerous fundamentalism of Islam:

> Oh one of the things about Multiculturalism, this is my own opinion, I think with the school. Like some certain things, where ... in their culture, I don't think, should be approved in Australia. Like, if it's going to hurt a child, like what happens with Muslim girls in Africa or something, then I don't think they should be approved in Australia. ... if you come to Australia you should respect culture, you should also respect way of life, so it doesn't mean you can have five wives or four wives ...
> Also this is private, I can't discuss it, but you have child abuse. You have children who are beaten up, by their parents, because of their culture. They can't report or they can't say it. That's not to me, Multiculturalism. It's abuse. (Vadra, 1998, ll. 694 – 715)

Crucial within cultures of Islam are the terrible things that can hardly be said. 'This is private', Violeta Vadra tells me: 'I can't discuss it'; 'they can't report ... it'; 'they can't say it'. The 'it', the 'certain things' refer to that which is going 'to hurt a child', the thing 'what happens with Muslim girls', it's 'child abuse'. The loathsomeness of 'five wives or four', or 'children who are beaten up', pales in significance. The real horribleness is that of female circumcision. This concept unpins our conversation, without ever quite being mentioned except as something which 'happens', which is 'abuse', which 'hurt'. No longer simply pathological in their family lives; the Muslim family is shadowy, evil,

macabre and absolutely depraved. My conversation with Gillian Mulhauser exhibits similar and paradoxical shuffling between the unspeakable practices of others and our understanding that the very labelling of some as other is wrong:

> Yes, and there's also ... got students who have corpor ... it's more than corporal punishment it's violence and the main part, the cultural and the role of women in some of these cultures.
> Q. So what do you do in those kind of situations?
> A. Well, because it's ... sometimes it relates to individuals who can't be ... who can't be expected to ... just have to work around it. But I think people need to know about it in general terms. It's not something that you get up ... You don't want to do it in a negative way, you don't want to get ... to do with people, there's a lot of domestic violence or whatever or they treat their women badly.
> Q. Because then, of course, you're doing something quite else and when you're trying to ...
> A. Yes, and you don't want it to be negative and you don't want people to get more negative feelings than they, may, have about it.
> Q. And then on the other hand you want them to understand that if the girl comes and she's ... upset.
> A. You've also got to look at ... well you know maybe there are things that the kids don't want everybody to know so you've got to talk about in ... general terms, I sometimes don't think that general terms actually...
> Q. Expresses enough to do with anything.
> A. Yes.
> Q. It's a thin line isn't it between trying to help people understand and all ... typing people, or invading people's privacy and such.
> A. Yes, because you don't want to say, "Well alright some of the African girls have had female circumcision." You don't want to get up there and say that because it might...
> Q. Then they'll say that all of them have and that they're primitive and...
> A. Or else they might say something in class that is totally inappropriate and I think the other thing people have to learn about, myself included too, ...
> Q. I mean I know all that ... and that's the worst of all of this because you sit and you talk and you think God I'm stupid sometimes.
> A. Yes, about what's appropriate and what's inappropriate and it takes a lot of learning. (Mulhauser, 1998, ll. 861 – 888)

From the beginning Gillian Mulhauser is barely able to say what she is speaking about. Her sentences remain unfinished. They speak of an almost unsayable 'it', which is 'more than corporal punishment, its violence'. 'It' looms enormous as something you 'just have to work around'. Nevertheless both of us (Mulhauser and myself) are absolutely certain about what we are speaking about. Nor is the truth of our assumptions about what it is ever in doubt. There is no need to say more, we both know exactly what we mean. The loathsome story of the Muslim woman literally becomes the unspeakable. Behind coded stories of the African women, her home life, her threatened sexual castration, are coded knowingnesses. Yet and at the same time we are ashamed. Both Mulhauser and I are aware that in noting these behaviours we are 'typing people' and we are concerned about the implications of doing this. The focus of our frustration is the

nature of the relation in-between. We know to be careful not to 'type people', to put them into categories. Yet we have already learnt about them, we already know who they are. We have already made them horribly, despicably and frighteningly other.

In 1998, I trace fields of stories about ethnic groups, which understand and define these entities in ways that are fragmented, changing and complex. Nevertheless, beneath these changing patterns I map out ambivalent stories about others which transverse the tortuous spectrum between orientalism and nativism speculated upon in post-colonial writings.[156] The uncaring, violent/ idyllic, loving vision of the Cook Islander home and the bohemian behaviour, joyful/lazy attitude, primitiveness, absolute hopelessness of the Cook Islander student reconstructs (albeit with a different focus) the trope of no-in-between I trace ten years earlier. The Asian, now also the fee-paying student, the new arrival, the ESL student, is the bright, not bright, good student and problematic. The Asian who has been in Australia for some time, remains in a space between usness and themness, a new kind of themness, neither them, nor us, and who nevertheless remains certainly not a member of us. The Moslem, the African, the Southern Asian, are represented within complex stories of the unspeakable. The very silence underpinning these tales encode something already known which seems even more horrendous, in its lack of telling. The Moslem man, no longer man but male, is not only chauvinistic and rough, but breaks the most hallowed of Australian values and institutions. The Moslem female, no longer merely complicit in her subservience performs her own circumcision. The slippery fantastic silent awfulness of these stories is the materiality of their difference, even as the identities they describe now seem disjunctive, slippery and changing.

Safe spaces/Dangerous places

I have argued that teachers and parents spoke differently about ethnic and race relations in 1988 than they did in 1998. The ironic structure of this argument was both repeated and changed over the decade. In 1988, respondents understood ethnic identities as essentially different and separated from us by almost impermeable barriers. At the same

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[156] See for instance Chow (1993).

time these barriers were easily crossed by small acts of kindness, tolerance and good will. In 1998, ethnic identities were harder to differentiate between, even as the differences between them were maintained. The condition of being within an ethnic group was understood in contradictory and extreme terms in both these years. In 1998, definitions of the condition 'ethnic' seemed slippery, even as these identities continued to be described as absolutely different from us.

In this section, I examine the logic that underpins these arguments. In 1988, teachers and parents seek to know about and locate the ethnic groups who have entered their community. Their conversations are underpinned by a sense of shock at their inability to know how to deal with groups that seem so different. In 1998, their efforts to do this continue to be fraught. On the one hand, they feel more confident that they know about the ethnic groups in their community. On the other hand, their ability to know and locate these groups becomes increasingly confused as the boundaries that define the most taken-for-granted ways of being in the world – identity, place, time – seem to fall apart. In this section I take up Lather's third suggestion that the conceptual organisation of these normalised maps be located and problematised. My exploration takes its framing from the whiteness and post-colonial writings discussed in Chapters Two and Three. A particular focus of these literatures is the position that an unmarked 'white', or in the case of post-colonial literatures a 'coloniser', self defines its being though the embodiment and enunciation of what is other-than-itself. Bhabha (1994) argues that this psychosis by which others are made through the fantastical desire of the self is pornographic. The other becomes both the focus of the self's obsession to know, and that which remains out of its reach and not quite in its control:

> The fetish or stereotype gives access to an 'identity' which is predicated as much on mastery and pleasure as it is on anxiety and defence, for it is a form of multiple and contradictory belief in its recognition of difference and disavowal of it. (Bhabha, 1983, p. 202)[157]

There are three strands to Bhabha's theoretical claim. The first can be understood in terms of Said's orientalising condition. Here the 'white' and 'colonialising' self traces out its own condition through the understanding of what it-is-not. Contained within this

[157] See Young's (1990) critique of this text.

condition is the obsessive desire to make, that which is outside the self entirely visible and knowable. The second strand is consistent with Lacan's insight that the desire to know and locate the other is bound to fail. The impulse to control is disrupted, slipping, and incomplete as the other, who is the obsession of their desire to know, remains out of their gaze and not quite knowable. The third strand of Bhabha's analysis introduces the concept of the fetish, whereby the other who is so much on our mind becomes not only not quite known, but also not quite able to be spoken about.

Recent writings examine how Edward Said's orientalising logic to know and control others is played out within contemporary western communities. Ghasson Hage's (1998) analysis traces this logic as part of the Australian national condition.[158] I am reminded that these logics are not mere matters of the mind but are material in their manifestation. As Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (1999) put it, space itself is not 'a neutral grid on which cultural difference, historical memory and societal organisation is inscribed'. These relations are made in the most taken-for-granted material as well as conceptual spaces. In my analysis I trace how these logics are played out within conversations that take place at one particular Melbourne school. In 1988, teachers and parents feel uncomfortable, as they are unsure about how to deal with the presence of ethnic groups whom they do not quite understand and cannot quite place within their school community. In 1998, teachers and parents feel that the school is a safe place and that they know about and can locate the ethnic groups in their school community. Even so, they remain frightened about the presence of ethnic groups who remain not-quite-one-of-our-community, who are not-quite-located-in-our-community and who are not-quite-known-within-the-school. At the end of this section, I look at the slippages as this simultaneous project both to know and locate the other and to deny its difference, seem almost to be accomplished and at the same time to be displaced and incomplete. In the next chapter, I turn these logics around as a move to make visible and locate the person who makes the condition ethnic other in this way.

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[158] See Chapter Three.

Locating the other – 1988

Beneath Tom Paterson's story of an Eden 'all gone to what it was'.[159] I mapped out metaphors of home and hearth disturbed by the presence of strangers.[160] It is an image played out again and again but in different ways. For Helen Brown the arrival of such different ethnic groups is an invasion of her most immediate home spaces. She narrates:

> People come out – the streets we live in, have a mixture of people, our Shopping Centres have signs – Vietnamese – Chinese is spoken here and I expect to be able to go to the bottom of my street and when I speak to the – they understand what I want – but I am finding, more and more, that the Shop Keeper doesn't speak enough English for me to buy what is in their shop. This is in an area that would regarded as Anglo-Saxon background. My favourite deli – the people only speak Spanish. My chicken shop – it is only Vietnamese that is spoken – and so I am finding that I am not able to communicate, with the people, in my own area. To buy cheese etc. – I don't mind people going in there that speak that language – but I think that the shopkeeper should be able to communicate, with me. (Brown, 1988, p.9)

Brown is concerned about the 'people' who 'come out', the 'mixture of people' who have entered 'my own area', 'the streets we live in', 'my favourite deli' and 'my chicken-shop'. Brown 'expect(s) to be able to go to the bottom of my street' and when 'I speak' that they should 'understand what I want'. Her concern is that 'I am not able to communicate', that they 'should be able to communicate with me'. Embattled by the impact of so many others, Brown finds herself under siege, unable to communicate within her own neighbourhood or to carry out the most mundane of her day-to-day tasks. Her Anglo-Saxon background is under threat as Greeks, Vietnamese and Spanish people congregate in the street she lives, take over her shopping centre and change the familiar sameness of the demographic character of the community in which she lives. Their inability to speak English limits the ways she is able to communicate her most basic needs. Her agency to carry out her most taken-for-granted day-to-day activities is mediated. She feels that her ability to negotiate her day-to-day life is mediated in the vicinity of her most immediate communal spaces. Her sense that she is out of control of her most intimate affairs resounds in her final aside, 'I don't mind' if they speak that language between themselves, but they 'should be able to communicate with me'.

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[159] See Chapter Four.
[160] See particularly Bauman (1997b) and Cohen (1993).

Susan Siddons walks around the playground and wonders at the intrusion of other groups with similar surprise:

> On Tuesday when I was out on duty and I was looking round and I saw a number of kids engaged in some kind of activity and you've got a great bunch of nationalities and they are getting on splendidly and maybe there is whole in that – certainly I think that it has enlarged the horizons of the original inhabitants – there are some original inhabitants who simply don't want it – not at all – you know – traditionalists conservatives and so on, and the one thing that concerns me is our treatment of our own – our treatment of our Aborigines is abysmal beyond words. I don't know what the future holds for some of these kids, you know, whether there will be acceptance. I guess there has got to be because there are so many – there are so many indeed but I think that feelings die hard and you think of what has been going on in the US and what goes on in England as well too, and whether there will ever be acceptance true acceptance – who would know – (Siddons, 1988, p.9)

At first Siddons speaks as one confident in her place within the school community. Her duties as teacher demand, that she watches and controls the space of the playground. 'I was out on duty', she tells me. 'I was looking around'. 'I saw a number of kids'. Her conversation shifts from the playground to the general. The kids she watches become 'a great bunch of nationalities'. They 'have enlarged the horizons of the original inhabitants'. That she is one of those 'original inhabitants' is made clear in the next sentence. The Aborigines, far from being in control of the land, are 'our Aborigines' one of 'our own' whom we treat well or badly. Like Australia's indigenous people, ethnic groups 'getting on splendidly' provide the exotic backdrop to social scenery in which she is the protagonist and over which she has control. Nevertheless, she is frightened. She doesn't quite know what her students are doing. The 'great bunch of nationalities' she watches' are busily engaged in 'some kind activity'. She 'wonders what the future holds for some of these kids'. 'There are so many, there are so many'. She understands the feeling of some other of the 'original inhabitants who simply don't want it'. She fears what will happen as 'you think of what has been going on in the 'US and in what goes on in England'. What 'it' is, is not directly stated. Its implied meaning suggests that the relation between us and those other kids is potentially problematic, that 'what has been going on' elsewhere might happen here.

Emma Hampton considers the spaces of the playground as ones where each ethnic group has a place.

> Q. Do you kids find that the different groups in the school, do they tend to group together into different groups?
> A. Yes I think they've said they do. Because Andrew doesn't always go with the boys that he likes at the school because he said they all mix with the Wogs as they say. Now I don't know who is in the Wogs but the Wogs and the Asians probably stay together. I think they do.
> Q. So he doesn't go with some Australian kids because they mix?
> A. No he just goes to one section of the school and I don't know who actually stays there – but his mate I think David that goes and because he's a bit sporty maybe he goes where the Wogs are. I don't know but I know that I think they do sort of segregate themselves a bit. But then Melanie's right in the middle of all of them so I don't know. (Hampton, 1988. p.8)

Hampton, is clear that school spaces are divided into appropriated places made different by the relation between where the 'Skips' and 'Wogs' are. These spaces matter. Andrew does not go into those spaces, even to be with 'the boys that he likes' 'because he said they all mix with the Wogs'. The notion of who is a Wog is unclear. It is not necessarily Asian. Asians are also other, and they 'probably stay together' with the Wogs. 'The kids', Andrew likes, are not Wogs or Asians. In my aside I assume the kids he likes are 'Australian' and Hampton accepts this. His mate David is interesting. He crosses the playground and 'goes where the Wogs are'. Andrew does not go with David but 'just goes to one section of the school'. Melanie has chosen to be 'right in the middle of all of them'. The spaces within the playground mark separations between where they are located and where we are located. It is a process over which Hampton is almost in control. The sense of control is not quite complete however. She is not quite sure of the ability of Melanie's freedom to choose in this way as 'they do sort of segregate themselves a bit'.

Bill Kelly is also concerned that ethnic groups have in some way invaded his spaces. However, he doesn't 'have any feelings about it at all'. These are people he feels are all right to teach now that he knows them and he has 'found out how nice they are'. He does not need to be worried about these groups in that:

> I have never seem to have any great prejudice or any – It's something that has happened in Australia and up to me – in terms of a teacher I don't see any advantage in it. I hear the comments that come out about Asian ghettoes and so forth and they shouldn't be there and I don't have any feeling about it at all – I have – and it is probably because I have taught them – found out how nice they are. I mean again in any group there are people that you would rather not associate with but that is fine. Its a word that – perhaps the only thing that I have come up against in students that I have disliked intensely is students that have brought parents' prejudices out with them. (Kelly, 1988, ll. 398 – 310)

Kelly's contention is that he 'never seem(s) to have any great prejudice'. 'In any group there are people that you would rather not associate with'. He knows they are alright however 'because I have taught them' and 'found out how nice they are'. Despite their niceness, members of some groups belong as one-of-them. They have been foisted onto him. 'It's something that has happened in Australia' and if it is 'up to me' 'I don't see any advantage in it'. The 'it' refers to the numbers of ethnic identities; particularly Asians who have entered his community in ways which were beyond his control. As he knows these people he doesn't 'have any feeling about it at all'. Like Helen Brown and Susan Siddons, Kelly maintains that he has the right to choose how he will behave towards members of ethnic groups. He is concerned about the numbers of ethnic groups who have entered his school community and is frustrated that he has been unable to influence this decision-making. As it is he has decided that they are acceptable. This acceptance is mediated by the limitations of his ability to know and locate ethnic groups once they have happened to Australia. His acceptance remains provisional. He hears comments about 'Asian Ghettos' and he 'dislikes (it) intensely' if 'students' 'have brought parents' prejudices out with them'.

Barry Houston is speaking to me in 1998. He still remembers the frustration that he felt when he didn't know how to work with the different students who enter the school:

> I remember I just got to be Co-ordinator and I was told thirty students had arrived and that they were in room 30 or something. I picked up two MEA's, a Chinese and Cambodian MEA, that's our main group, walked down to the room and got met with a room full of Africans and Hispanics. That was the sort of change, that quickly, just boom! I just ... And I suddenly got hit by this change and ... they would have been and we didn't do nearly enough of what finding out what that meant. You know, different learning styles, different ... In this case they were new arrivals and we didn't have any new arrival programs. (Houston, 1998, ll. 258 -281)

Houston is speaking here with the benefit of hindsight. He reminisces ten years later that 'we didn't do nearly enough'. His description of the shock of this 'change' in demographics on the school is one that was repeated by many teachers in 1988. Teachers and parents, faced with the arrival of large numbers of ethnic groups into their school, no longer know how to understand their students or how to locate them within their community. It is 'boom!' and 'I suddenly got hit by this change'. What 'we didn't do nearly enough of' is 'finding out what that meant'. The 'that' is the relationship implied in the negotiation of that which is 'different'. It is about negotiating 'their different

learning styles, different... ' The following conversation, I have with Carl Davies illustrates how each of us struggle to know what 'that' meant. Here Davies instructs me how to approach students of different ethnic groups.

> Q. My story – the first time I met May I was speaking slowly and loudly.
> A. I have noticed a few people on the staff talking to her like that – I know May – I know her socially and she is very intelligent, very well spoken and I mentioned to her that this particular person – do they annoy you when they speak to you slowly you know And she said "Well you get used to it, but it is a bit annoying "...
> Q. It just annoys me how ignorant I am too.
> A. About things that you don't know – Have you spoken to many kids?
> Q. No, that is what I want to start next week. I haven't spoken to any kids.
> A. Did you speak to some of the people like Quong and May about how you approach the kids?
> Q. That wouldn't have been a stupid idea to have done that.
> A. They would have told you things like – If they don't look at you in the eye ... and crossing your legs and keeping your legs out straight and things like that. They are supposed to be signs of rudeness ... I mean you will speak to a kid and he won't give you eye contact. They don't look at you and you think that it is rudeness. (Davies 1988, ll. 289 – 319)

Davies and I consider how we can come to know people from other ethnic groups. The focus of our conversation is how best to approach 'people like Quong and May?' I am ashamed and frustrated. 'It just annoys me how ignorant I am.' My ability to speak to these aides or their students (and therefore to write about them) seems beyond my reach without Davies' guidance. Davies is more experienced. He is the one who is able to tell me 'about the things' I 'don't know'. He 'know(s) May': he knows her 'socially'; that she comes from a 'good background' 'is very intelligent'. You do not need to speak 'slowly' to her. The 'things' I don't know take on extreme importance. Without them proper contact cannot take place, they may be construed as 'rudeness'.

In 1988, the history I pattern describes a school community shocked by the presence of different and other groups and desperate to find ways to cope with them. The focus of these conversations is to know and locate those people who do not properly belong within the community. Not knowing what is being said or how it is that others behave, is the source of unease: Helen Brown feels out of control when others behave in ways she does not understand; Barry Houston feels we could have done more to understand them; I am concerned about the best ways to approach them. The imperative to know about ethnic groups and to make them visible is manifest conceptually but also spatially. Susan Siddons and Helen Brown, but also Barry Houston and Bill Kelly are concerned because

these other ethnic groups have come within their school community in a manner over which they have little control. Houston and Kelly set up structures, which mediate how these groups can be known and located within the community. Houston feels in control now, but that is in retrospect. At the time, the school seemed turned upside down. It was like 'Boom'. I am concerned that I need an intermediator before I can meet with school students. Siddons and Brown remain worried that their very presence is problematic. Brown feels that the shops at the bottom of the street are part of her community and is concerned when shopkeepers cannot communicate with her. Siddons walks around the school confidently in control of those spaces but nevertheless uneasy at the presence of the large numbers of them who remain there, not quite known and not quite understood.

Locating the other – 1998

In 1998, Southgate is understood by teachers particularly as 'somewhere safe', 'comfortable', more relaxed', 'because everyone's different'. 'One of the major things and one of the reasons why kids like being here is because they've got so many people who are in the same position'. Students are travelling from the other side of Melbourne ... because they feel like the school is providing a safe environment. They travel long distances to come here, because they feel safe and secure and they like the environment, they like the feel of the place. Students come to the school from the dangerous world that is outside. 'The kids say' Danny Miller explains, that 'the school is so much safer' because here 'we don't get shot, when we go down the street, like we did at home'. It is a school world, which is safer than the world from which students came but also than the Australian world outside the school. As Violeta Vadra tells me:

> There was a lot of bullying because they are different. We are providing a lot of students, travelling from a really far distances, from the other side of Melbourne, because the covered girls, Muslim girls, say that they feel like school is providing a safe environment. Daughter was being bullied in another school because she was different. So here everybody looks different, so nobody's different, everybody's different. (Vadra, 1998, ll. 628 – 643)

What is different in 1998 is difference itself. The comfortableness of Southgate Secondary School is embedded in the ways 'everybody looks different', and 'nobody's different' and in the manner that everyone accepts that. Difference is not however, something that has disappeared. The school is providing a safe environment for those

people who are different. 'the covered girls', the girls bullied elsewhere because 'she was different'. In other schools these students are bullied because other students are not different. Difference ceases to be a problem here only in that the students here would be considered different elsewhere. The analysis of the word difference itself becomes crucial. The school locates those students who are 'different', and as such not quite part of the not-different community. The school itself is safe because 'we are providing' a safe environment for them.

Many teachers and parents suggest that those outside the school may not realise this accomplishment. Gail Dreske and Julie Pink explain that Southgate is a safe place for their children but that other parents do not understand:

> When Caroline was going to Southgate, I know of two people that said, "Sending her to Southgate? That's a crummy school, you don't want to send her there." sort of thing. "There are a lot of drugs there and you don't really want to mix with some of the students there."
> Guns and knives and ...
> This is it ...
> My boy.
> And they're, utterly untrue.
> Definitely.
> It's not there, not on the inside ...
> But we know that this is what's stopping people.
> Someone saying to you, that if you send your kid there, you are being, somehow, irresponsible ...
> It's very annoying, when you find out, in actual fact, that it's got a very ... It's got all these things that they wouldn't have got.
> It makes it difficult and it's stupid. (Dreske and Pink, 1998, ll. 832 – 875)

Dreske and Pink differentiate themselves from the parents on the outside, who do not understand what students within the school are really like, 'What's stopping people' they tell me, is their belief that there are drugs at the school, and that you really don't 'want to mix with some of the students there'. As members of the community 'on the inside' these parent know these comments to be 'utterly untrue'. They remain concerned about the people on the outside; worry who will consider them 'irresponsible' 'if you send your kid there'. Dreske and Pink compare the amorphous parent on the outside to their own more tolerant understanding of the real nature of the school. If the parent on the outside did know how to work within the school then they would realise that 'it's not there'. The real import of their comments is contained in the definition of 'it'. Once they know the students within the school, they know that the terrible things that could happen

have not occurred. Further, their own children have learned something from working with these other students and learning more about them. 'Its got all these things that they wouldn't have got.' It is contained within the very presence of other race and ethnic groups. Not only is it not there but students are also learning how to work with other ethnic and raced groups in ways that they would not if they went to school elsewhere.

Danny Miller also considers that Southgate is special in the way that it is a safe place for its students but that people outside the school simply do not understand.

> When I go to the Southmeadow committee, which is one of the City of Southton's local area committees. They are very Anglo and, whilst they....their committee consists of a whole range of people, the real power brokers in the group are WASPs and they don't like our school. It's probably a defamatory statement, but they don't...So we're fighting all the way. The committee has given money for the pergola to be built and a new barbecue and they have given us funds. There's, always, this statement about the community's not having real access to the community centre, which is down there. Which is a joint project between ourselves and the City of Southton. What they're really saying is that no one from our cultural groups getting access because it's used all the time on the weekends by another group and by other groups in the community. The Cook Islanders have their church down there; we've got various Asian groups that use it. (Miller, 1998, p.5)

Miller is frustrated by the difficulties he faces when he works with local area committees. The problem he explains is that 'they are very Anglo' and 'the real power brokers', and those WASPs 'don't like our school'. The obstacles put in place by 'their committee' means that 'we're fighting all the way'. The conception 'we' is interesting. Miller is speaking as school representative to a network of community organisations, the Southmeadow Area Committee. The focus of the argument revolves around the word community. Those on the committee are always making 'this statement about the community's not having real access to the community centre'. 'Our cultural groups' do not get access because the centre is 'used all the time'. The term 'our cultural groups' is interesting. The paragraph ends in a series of confusions as to which groups are part of the school community and belong to us and which belong to the community generally, but are different. The definition of the 'us' who owns these various ethnic groups is separate again from 'ourselves' who deal with the city of Southton and 'our cultural groups' who need to be given access. Even as Miller defends the rights of community groups to locate their activities at the school, he maintains a difference between other

communities groups who are from the community but not part of us and the cultural groups who are part of our community but who belong to us.

What is most different at Southgate is that the teachers know how to work with ethnic students in ways that others outside the school do not. Gillian Mulhauser for instance explains that

> I think that's one of the major things and I think one of the reasons why the kids like being here is because they've got so many people who are in the same position and ... they can talk to people who understand them and know their backgrounds and know their lives and they've just got that understanding when they say things, and I'm not just talking about Cambodians but when they say things you know what you're talking about. (Mulhauser, 1998, ll. 684 – 688)

Unlike teachers and parents who worked at the school in 1988, or the teachers and parents outside of the school, Southgate is a safe place because teachers here know how to work with difference. Mulhauser explains that 'kids like being here' because they are all different and 'they've got so many people who are in the same position'. Most particularly, 'kids like being here' because teachers know how to work with them. The teacher's knowledge of 'the kids' is almost all embracing. Teachers 'understand them', 'know their backgrounds', 'know their lives', know how to 'talk to people' and how to behave with them. Other parents and teachers express similar confidence that they know how to work with different groups within the school. Violeta Vadra knows about Cook Islander culture because:

> My brother married a Cook Island girl, so I had personal interest in studying language and I wanted to see the Country. It's completely different from our culture and ...I have to learn what the people ... rather than making our decisions we should know a bit about culture in order to...to have an opinion. Yes I went to the Cook Islands, because it's a different way of lifestyle, laid back people, very friendly, very sport orientated. Different, completely different culture, not European. Academic achievement is not that important, sport achievement is much more, way of life. (Vadra, 1998, ll. 307 – 313)

Their culture is 'completely different from our culture', its 'not European', a 'different way of lifestyle'. She has had 'to learn'. She has studied their language, seen their country and her brother is married to a Cook Islander girl. Now, Vadra feels literate in Cook Islander culture. Cook Islanders, she now knows, are 'laidback', 'friendly', 'sports orientated' and not particularly interested in academic achievement. The following comment made by Sally Williams also reflects the increased confidence that teachers and parents feel when they talk about ethnic groups. Sally knows better than before what

Cook Islanders are about: their character, their culture, their country, and the reasons why Cook Islander students find the school so difficult. The nature of their difference has now been properly explained to her. She is:

> Generalising madly ... but the Cook Island Kids would, we had a few staff, Professional Development Meetings, where some of our staff ... We've had a guy in. He's at Monash doing Social Work and he gave a talk on – There is no work ethic, because you don't work at the College you go to the trees and pick your food and it's ... and they're coming here for a new start, but they're constantly late ...
> If you wanted to get work from them, to assess or just to say; this is an indication of their standard. You had to take it off them; you couldn't let them take it home. I think they're the worst group I've, ever, had in my life ... Most of their aspirations are to become a motor mechanic or work at Buttercup because they employ them with their uncles. (Williams, 1998, ll. 320 – 357)

Williams knows about the Cook Islander students because 'we've had a guy in' and 'he gave a talk on ...' The Cook Islander social worker gives her discussion legitimacy. However, almost immediately her discussion shifts to the general. Williams already knows her students. 'There is no work ethnic', She tells me. 'There is no work ethic, because you don't work'. 'You go to the trees and pick your food and it's....and they're coming here for a new start, but they're constantly late ...'. Now she understands why 'most of their aspirations are to become a Motor Mechanic or work at Buttercup'. Having learnt the lessons of the Cook Islander social worker Sally knows her students even better than before, knows why these students are 'the worst group' Sally has 'ever had in her life'.

Teachers and parents become more confident that they understand their students when they go to the Cook Islands. This changed way of knowing, also applies to people who did not go to the Cook Islands. Now I understand these people, I understand the way they do things, Gail Dreske tells me:

> I understand, why the Cook Islanders hang around under the shed, now. Because that's what they seem to do. They have those, sort of open, sort of shed things and they seem to do their thing in that. You see at school, a lot of the Cook Islanders hang around down at the bottom there, at the shelter. That's what I was looking at, the shed, not the shelter. Now, the teachers can understand that, because it's what they do, back home. Everything seems to get done, under the shelter and they hang around and talk and play music, do what they like. Yes! (Dreske, 1998, ll. 626 –631)

'Now the teachers can understand', Dreske tells me. Now she can 'understand' why the 'Cook Islanders' 'hang around under the shed' and 'talk and play music'. The relation between the 'that' of what they do at home and 'that' which they do 'at school' explains

Cook Islander behaviour. Students are known and located quite literally within the school. They can be found 'under the shelter' where 'everything seems to get done'. Their behaviour is also predictable. Students behave in particular ways 'because it's what they do back home'. The sense of control, which Gail feels, is repeated throughout the paragraph. Now 'I understand', she tells me'. 'I was looking at' them. Now 'you see'. What she sees what 'they seem to do' both in the Cook Islands and in Australia.

In 1998, teachers and parents feel confident that they can know and locate the ethnic students within the school. Nevertheless, members of ethnic groups belong to the community differently and appear not known and not quite in control. Sally Williams laments her loss of control as the language faculty gets bigger and bigger. She no longer feels that she is in the position to make decisions within the school in the same way as she could ten year earlier. Now:

> The whole size of the faculty. It's just....
> Huge?
> Yes and, I think, that's the ownership thing, in there. Before it was a committee that you all wanted to be on and ... So now it's ... (Williams 1998, p.11)

Not only is the LOTE department huge but there's the 'ownership thing'. The 'thing' referred to here is the way in which she has been able to take control of the way curriculum works within the school. However, it also refers to the social relations that these curricula relate to. The programs to which Sally Williams refers are the very multicultural programs set up to help different groups learn more about each other ten years earlier. Programs run to deal with others, and to know who they are, are no longer owned by the community itself, but now, by the ethnic and language groups that these programs were set up to deal with. Bernard Pieterse also finds he doesn't quite know his students, even as he believes himself to be most in control:

> Another one to that I picked up as different, the Cook Island community. In terms of my policies and practices – Cook Island students would act a little bit hostile to the way that I would work in the computer class – and it took me a while to click that there was a real culture difference. A lot of Asian students are very quiet and say, "yes" to any questions. So now I have to focus my questions to draw out more than 'yes – no' answers so I can tell if they have done the work, if they understand it. Cook Island students were a bit different. They were hostile to me actually making them sit behind individual computers ... I wanted them to do their work. I didn't want them to share their work and work off each other. (Pieterse, 1998 p.5)

Pieterse knows his students. 'It took me a while to click', he tells me but now he knows that 'there was a real culture difference'. He knows how to 'focus my questions to draw out more than "yes"', and that he must 'make' the Cook Islander students 'sit behind individual computers' if he wants them to do their work' and not 'work off each other'. Nevertheless, his ability to know and locate his students is mediated. The Asian kids sit there quietly inscrutable and 'say "yes" to any questions'. The Cook Islander students sit behind their computers, 'hostile'.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I looked at the stories teachers and parents told me from the very different vantage points of the narrational map. The chapter has three sections. In the first I examined the structures that define the relation between ethnic groups and the school community. In 1988, these described essentially other people caught behind almost insurmountable and unchangeable biological, cultural and social barriers. At the same time these barriers were dismantled by the simplest of gestures. In 1998, the essential notions that categorise identities seemed fluid. Nevertheless, parents and teachers continued to discuss how ethnic identities belonged differently within the school community. The second section explored the condition of being ethnic. In 1988, ethnic groups were described in terms that appeared extreme and contradictory. Ethnic groups were described as being more than and less than us in ways which leave 'no in-between'. In 1998, race and ethnic groups continued to be described paradoxically. Now however, these contradictions became more difficult as they were juxtaposed within individual identities themselves.

I argue that the logics which structure these arguments were negotiated as parents and teachers know and locate ethnic groups within school community spaces. In 1988, parents and teachers felt out of control as groups of people whom they did not know could not be located in older mappings of community relational structures. In 1998, parents and teachers were more confident that they knew about different groups in their schools. They were more confident that they knew who they were and how they were positioned. Moreover, teachers and parents believed that ethnic difference was something that everyone has and therefore of little importance. Even so the presence of

different ethnic groups remained a concern, as those other groups who seemed safely known and located [illegible] appeared dangerously unknown, out of position and out of control. The comfortable safeness of the school seemed nevertheless unsafe, uncomfortable and uncertain.

Recent whiteness and post-colonial writings (Discussed in Chapter Two) suggest that an unspoken and unselfconscious 'us' maps out that which is not us, the conditions of those others and the silhouette of the self. Australian writings about multiculturalism (Discussed in Chapter Three) define who is Australian and how they can be located within an Australian community. The multicultural story I narrate here is patterned by a similar logic, which nevertheless needs to be examined more complexly. Teachers and parents identified and defined some ethnic entities as ethnic and not us; they defined the condition of these others in ways that were ambivalent and extreme in their difference and considered how these groups could be known and located within the school community. These negotiations took place differently in 1988 and in 1998 as the definitions of essential notions of identity changed and became more complex to define. Nevertheless, the dualistic logic of self and other did not disappear and teachers and parents remained concerned about the presence of ethnic and raced identities not quite in our control. In the next chapter, I attempt to turn the spotlight back towards the silent, yet omnipresent self who formulates those logics.[161]

[161] See hooks (1995, 1997), Lather (1991) and Morrison (1992).

MAPPING SILENT NARRATIONS:

Articulating race and ethnic relations in a Melbourne school

1988 - 1998

Chapter 6
Speaking of us:
Between disrupted narrations

> Having established with a few discrete and apparently humdrum questions that I had not come as the bearer of bad tidings, we went to the hall and telephoned my aunt to tell her of my arrival. And once again Charlotte surprised me by the ease with which she spoke to this woman, who was so different from her. Her voice, the same voice which a moment ago had been softly crooning an old French song, took on a slightly rough accent and in a few words she managed to explain everything, arrange everything, putting my escapade on a level with our regular summit reunion.
> "She is trying to mimic us", I thought, as I listened to her talking. "She's parodying us". Charlotte's calm and that very Russian voice only served to exacerbate my bitterness.
> (Andrei Makine, *Le Testament Francais*, 1997, p.199)

Well able to write in the French language, Andrei Makine's books remain unpublished until he claims that they have been translated from Russian. Charlotte' faces a similar dilemma. Neither quite one-of-us nor one-of-those-others her very presence is an irritant. Her control of the Russian language, her ability to accommodate not only the words but also the very timbre of Russian speech, is understood as an act of resilience but also as one of parody and mimicry. The bitter sweetness, which this accomplishment inspires, is reflected in the immense ambivalence Makine's Russian protagonist feels towards his French-born grandmother.

My analysis in previous chapters foreshadows this ironic interchange between being one-of-us and remaining one-of-them. The stories teachers and parents told me about race and ethnic relations described a history with three parts: the concerns that the demographic patterns of a school had changed; the policies and practices put in place to deal with these changes; and the satisfaction that relationships between ethnic groups

have been negotiated successfully. Two observations disrupted the pervasiveness of this historic patterning. First, I found stories that did not fit within the narrative I pieced together. A few teachers and parents told fragmented tales that racism happens within the school. In 1988, those teachers and parents were concerned that 'bad people' might exclude them from the community. In 1998, these teachers and parents remained concerned, but were no longer sure who those bad people were, or when they were being excluded from the community in this way. Second I examined how these two sets of stories, the one about multicultural policy and practices, the other about racism, structured the way people belonged differently within the school community. I made these observations from three directions. The first examined the ironic relation whereby identity is considered both as a universal condition (so that everyone is the same) and as one of alterity (so that people are made different by race and ethnicity). In 1988, the structures that defined difference and sameness seemed clearly defined. In 1998, the paradoxical relation between those two conditions – difference and sameness – remained implicit, even as in an increasingly globalised world, the borderlines between identities seemed fluid, changing and to fall apart. From the second direction, the condition – being ethnic – was defined in extreme and contradictory terms and as being different-from-us. In 1988, ethnic groups were defined as being different from us in one way or another with nothing in between. In 1998, parents and teachers continued to define race and ethnicity in contradictory and extreme terms but now these differences were juxtaposed within individual identities. In a third direction to this analysis I traced an orientalising condition where the narrator knows and locates ethnic groups in relation to themselves. Teachers and parents felt increasingly confident that they understood what ethnic and raced groups within their school were like and that they were empowered to control their location within the school. Even so, in 1998 teachers and parents remained frightened that those ethnic groups had not been properly understood and located at all, but remained in our midst and out of our control.

Recent writings argue that conditions of 'whiteness' have become normalised within contemporary western conversation as universal and confluent with the human condition. They suggest that an unspoken and 'white' *us* is able to write the text of its selfness through the text of its others. This suggests the theoretical possibility of two

silences. The first is 'our' silence where those who belong, find it difficult to speak about themselves and do not have to do so. The second describes the silence where some are defined as other than self and in the process so retextualised that they literally cannot speak. Australian writings suggest that a possible corollary of these arguments is that policies and programs of multiculturalism provide the codes that define how others can be known and located within our community.[162] These observations signal further research directions for this thesis. The first is that the spotlight of the research be turned away from stories about others and consider instead the omnipresent self who makes these stories. In the first section of this chapter, 'Speaking of us', I attempt to describe those who narrate the conditions of being other. I examine the terms and conditions that structure what it is to be one-of-us. I find this task difficult. In 1988, I too am caught within the ambit of these narrations and do not think to ask what being one-of-us means. In 1998, I ask teachers and parents to define who they are but find that they are unable to do so except through ambivalent stories of what they are not.

In the second section of this chapter, I consider the possibility that the two epistemological silences (that of the noisy silence of the self who textualises the other, and the other so retextualised that he or she is left with no place from which to speak) are struggled against and disrupted. Stuart Hall's (1996a) insight is that identities – our own and those of others – are made at the point of suture between 'the discourses and practices which 'interpellate' or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses and the processes, which construct us as subjects that can be 'spoken'. This relation describes the juncture between negotiations of meaning and practice related to a particular conceptual or practical domain and the ontological processes that frame them. The juncture between those two processes, the negotiation of the identity one is to be and the conditions, which mediate these negotiations, must be made clear. In the second section of this chapter, 'Negotiated narrations', I examine these junctures as they are viewed from the different vantage points provided across and between narrational practices, fields, and maps, and between practices and between fields and between maps. In 1988, I find that the differences between these viewpoints are clearly defined and

[162] See Chapter Two and Three.

easily described. In 1998, these different vantage points are harder to define. The negotiations within conceptual and practical domains that formulate the condition of calling oneself one identity and another, become increasingly blurred. Further, the juncture between those disjunctive and contingent domains (as viewed from narrational fields) and the taken-for-granted ways that one can be those identities (as viewed from narrational maps) is confused and conflated.

In the third section of this chapter, 'The terror of it', I consider Homi Bhabha's (1994) warning that these normalised frames and the disjunctive, contingent domains of concept and practice to which they are tied, are decentred by contradictions and ambivalences contained within them. The mastery of other ethnic groups by our selves is disrupted as the object of our gaze is both asserted and is slippery, displaced and incomplete. The object of our gaze becomes a site of preoccupation but also of disavowal. In the last section of this chapter, I reconsider the consequences of these observations for the questions that underpin this dissertation. When asking how ethnic and race relations are spoken about in schools I find that teachers and parents seldom name these relationships but rather refer to a nebulous and contested 'it'. When asking the question "How do ethnic relations take place in schools?" I find that teachers and parents speak about multiculturalism. Conversations about racism are seldom broached. When discussing people's experiences with ethnic relations and when considering matters of multiculturalism and racism, I find these discussions relate to deep-seated conceptions about self-identities, otherness and the relationship between them.

The narrator unmasked

Edward Said's (1991) condition of 'orientalism' describes how in Western contemporary societies an omnipresent and omnipotent self considers itself through the textualised conditions of that which it is not. In this section, I take up Patti Lather (1991) and bell hooks' (1995) suggestion that these stories about others should not remain as the central focus of the argument. Rather, this orientalising gaze needs to be averted and refocused upon those persons who have made these dualistic relations as one-of-us.

Describing us – 1988

In 1988, I do not find material that discusses what it means to be one-of-us. It does not occur to me to ask the question. Nor do teachers and parents think to discuss their self-identity. Instead, and as I have noted in the last chapter, I have collected large amounts of material where teachers and parents describe other ethnic and raced groups. These stories are disrupted by only a very few stories where teachers and parents tell me that they are not properly included within the school community.

Describing us – 1998

In 1998, I too stumble as I ask Bill Kelly to describe his identity:

> I was wondering, whether you could tell me a bit about your own ... How you see your own sense of identity?

Kelly's response is typical.

> I have no trouble, at all. I don't ... I'm more than happy with Asian kids coming in, Asian people or Asian background, coming into Australia. I enjoy the ... As a group, they seem to be wanting to fit in. I live in an area where, none of my neighbours are Asian background, but High Glen has an Asian population in it. There's a ... I can not see how people can have a problem with Asian people, to be ho ... but I deal with Asian kids and that's different, perhaps and then. I don't have any threat from them. I don't feel any threat from them ... They're Australian kids, they've ... a lot of them have a lot values, that I've had. You don't look at them as kids. You, just, look at them as students to teach, them you enjoy teaching. (Kelly, 1998, ll. 537 – 549)

Kelly begins to answer my question but cannot finish the sentence. The focus of his discussion however, is not his self-identity, but his relation with 'them'. He understands himself as the perpetrator of these relations. 'I am more than happy', 'I enjoy', 'I live', he tells me. His first sentence 'I have no trouble' at first refers to his ability to speak about himself. At the same time, it refers to the nature of his relationship with other ethnic groups. He does not 'have any threat from them'. The object of his conversation remains those 'Asian kids' whom he is happy to allow in, who 'fit in', who are no problem, and who are not threatening. They 'have a lot of values, that I've had'. The description of the 'I' who has these values, or even what these values are, remains undefined.

Parents Gail Dreske and Julie Pink give a more direct response. When I ask:

> I wonder if you ever think about that? What it means, how you would see yourself as Australian, compared to. I know that's a really hard one. I didn't ask that one ten years ago.

They reply:

> But we are very different to the rest, our beliefs, our way of life. It's so different. We are ... I think we are more loving and we give more for nothing and we don't expect anything back, like, we give our time. Time, I think, is very important, in that school, because ... I'm not racist ...
> No.
> It's just that I think the others, don't think they shouldn't have to do anything for the school. They think it should be the government ... Sometimes, I get angry, even Kay, "Well, you're a parent too. Why can't you do it?" Any time, I would think, come across. (Dreske, Pink, 1998, ll. 656 – 664)

Once again, I can hardly ask the question. I apologise, explain myself, start my question again. Unlike Bill Kelly, Dreske and Pink do begin to try to define who they are but like my question their description is made in comparison with other ethnic groups. 'We are very different to the rest', they explain, 'our beliefs, our way of life'. 'It's so different'. In the second part of the extract, Dreske and Pink are even more direct. They 'don't think they shouldn't have to do anything for the school'. They think it should be the Government'. By inference, Dreske and Pink's community are not like that. They work hard to help themselves and the school. They are angry (resentful) at the way 'the others' do not help.[163] Why can't they 'do it'? Dreske asks in exasperation. 'It' refers to the relation being defined here. 'It' is what Dreske and Pink do and which 'the others' do not do. 'It' is what is so different and can't be overcome. It is a relation that is not only difficult to talk about but in some way illicit and should not be spoken about. 'I'm not racist', they tell me, 'It is just that ...'.

Negotiated narrations

When I ask parents and teachers to tell me about their identity as Australian, I find it difficult to ask the question, and they find it difficult to answer. Teachers and parents like Bill Kelly, Gail Dreske and Julie Pink do not define their self-identity. Instead their

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[163] The discussion of the way these kinds of resentment have become crucial part of Australian discourse has been the focus of several recent texts. See particularly Brett (1997).

discussion immediately turns to the relation that exists between themselves and other ethnic groups. The observation that those who are 'white' and understand themselves to be part-of-us find it difficult to talk about their own identity is well documented in the literature. Suzuki, asking a similar question from an American student, elicited the response:

> I wish I had something to contribute, but I don't know much about my background. In fact, I don't even have a culture. (Suzuki, 1991 in Giroux, 1994)

The observation that teachers and parents describe their own identity through their discussions about others is crucial to the argument I am making here. It begins to explain the nature of the 'it' relation which teachers allude to but which remains undescribed. It examines how teachers and parents speak of this relation in conversations about multiculturalism rather than racism. Finally, it begins to explain how some people remain uncomfortable and not properly included within the community. Nevertheless, the dualistic relation between those who belong as one-of-us and those who are one-of-them needs to be looked at more carefully. In 1988, the knowledge that one had been in the school before the arrival of new and other ethnic groups within the school, and the understanding that ethnic identities were essentially different, allowed teachers and parents to define who they were and who they were not. Even so, I find that teachers and parents negotiate their identities between a number of ethnic possibilities and shift in the way they understand themselves as belonging and not belonging within the community. By 1998, conceptions of identity are more complex. Difference becomes a matter of addition as people take on or give away cultural differences. Moreover, some people imagine their identities as completely fluid and changing and that they can choose between different ways of understanding and making themselves. Nevertheless, people understood themselves as belonging differently within the community. The study of these observations from the different vantage points of the narrational maps and the narrational fields shows that teachers and parents negotiate the ways they understand their identities as containing one ethnicity and another, but also the way they are positioned by these identities within the community. In this section, I examine these negotiations between whom one calls oneself and whom one can be. In the next section I consider whether and how these negotiations are disrupted.

Negotiating the interstices – 1988

When I ask Tracy Cunningham to describe her ethnicity she reminisces:

> My parents were British migrants. They speak English but it wasn't easy – 12000 miles is a long way from home. (Cunningham, 1988, ll. 112-113)

Cunningham's account of her ethnic identity begins with her parents' migration from Britain. Her story focuses on the things her parents needed to do as migrants. 'They speak English.' Nevertheless, the negotiation of the relation to become part of a new community was not simple. Cunningham's parents transverse the 12000 miles between being at home and being elsewhere. They were not at home and 'it wasn't easy'. It is not altogether clear what her parents were trying to become at the end of their long voyage away from what they had been, only that it 'is a long way from home'. How Cunningham perceives her self-identity now remains unclear. She describes her own identity only in terms of the difficulties faced by her parents.

Sally Williams also tells me she is from England. She and I however, are far more interested that she is also of Greek descent, that she is 'one quarter Greek'.

> I'm from England so I'm English but the kids are one quarter Greek so the kids sort of see me a bit of a Greek.
> Q. So you were born English and one of your parents immigrated to England from Greece.
> A. My grandfather did ... mother is English as well but my grandfather ... full blood Greek.
> Q. So do you speak Greek as well?
> A. No – not at all.
> Q. Do you do anything particularly to do with being Greek?
> A. No.
> Q. Just that you got that awareness.
> A. Yes the kids will all say to me what nationality are you – so they recognise it. It's quite interesting because I'm so fair as well – in that's my eyes ... They think there is some resemblance there. (Williams, 1988, ll. 23 – 39)

Williams plays with the ways she can identify as Greek and English. Her English identity is consolidated by her place of birth and her parent's migration. 'I'm from England so I'm English', she tells me. Her Greek identity is negotiated differently and by proxy; her 'grandfather' is a 'full-blood Greek'. She cannot speak Greek and has no contact with Greek social or cultural life. Her Greekness is presented as an alternative and essentially different biological condition. Despite her fairness it can be seen as something 'that's my eyes'. 'The kids' 'recognise it', she tells me. The remnants of her

Varvara Kokanakis examines what it means to be 'brought up with two cultures':

> My background is – I was brought up with two cultures. My father was a refugee from X, which is near Greece, and my mother was an Australian born person. I grow up in the 40's and 50's and going to school in that period – always aware of both sides of the coin. But most of my social development came from the Greek side of things, I think that was because in those days women followed what the men did in terms of social contact ... I suppose since 1950 I've had knowledge of different languages – so it's never been an issue that's something I had to think about it was already there ... My involvement with the Greek communities isn't all that strong. I'm a member of the Melbourne Greek Orthodox community of Melbourne and I'm a member of the Modern Greek Teachers Association but that's about all. I don't spend all that much time at informal Greek organisations. I understand them but I don't spend all that much time. I don't have the time. I attend social functions as the need arises but I'm not formally attached to anybody in a group. (Kokanakis, 1988, p.10)

Like Davies, Varvara begins to talk about her identity as it is defined by 'her background'. Greekness is a matter of descent (her father was Greek), of Greek schooling and of following Greek customs in her childhood home. In her adult life she maintains some of these by teaching the Greek language; remaining a member of the Greek Orthodox community; and becoming an active member of the Modern Greek Teachers Association. Kokanakis' mother was 'an Australian-born person'. Kokanakis does consider what it means to be the daughter of an-Australian-born-person. Nevertheless this is defined by what she does not do. As a child her mother took on the social and cultural identity of her Greek-born husband. Now, she does not 'spend all that much time at informal Greek organisations', she attends social functions but only 'as the need arises' and she's 'not formally attached to anybody in a group'. The second half of this relation, who she is as a not-Greek person is not explained. 'It's never been an issue'. She 'never had to think about it' because 'it was already there'. 'It' is the relation between being one identity. It is a matter of maintaining one culture or another, of knowing one language or another. It ignores the other part of the relation that Kokanakis speaks of at the beginning of her paragraph, the meaning of being one thing and another, of being Australian as well as being Greek.

In Dimitrius Kalidis' story, the relation between naming oneself as one nationality or being that or something other is made clear as he discusses his relation with his son:

> My son was of course bright but he got mixed with a group of people when he was in Year 11 and he failed and later he repeated Year 11 and then he did Year 12. He didn't pass HSC and after that he was so disappointed that he just didn't want to do anything. He didn't want to get a decent job and he denounced even his origin. He said, "I am not

> Greek. I am Australian" and I kicked him out of the house. But later he started working as an accountant. He did accountancy at school as an assistant accountant. After two years he has some money and he got into businessman and a very successful one too. (Kalidis, 1988, p.10)

Through the person of his son, Mr Kalidis *considers the relation between being one-of-us and one-of-ours*. The relation which Kalidis negotiates exists within his son's assertion, 'I am not Greek. I am Australian'. It is an observation, which places Kalidis' son outside of both the Australian and the Greek communities. To successfully negotiate this juxtaposition is to negotiate the Australian system (to mix in the right crowd, to get a 'decent' job) and identify as Greek (to remember your 'origin'). To become a 'successful' man, Kalidis' son needs to negotiate both the narrational fields that name him as Greek and Australian and the narrational maps which allow him *to be* both of those two things. The point of the story is that the Greek background of Kalidis' son is insufficient to decide his self-identity. It is up to his son to choose between cultural and language differences if he is to call himself both Greek and Australian. The upset for his father is that he does not initially make this choice. The ability of his son to make this choice reflects his ability to be able to take on the taken-for-granted positions which make him Greek and Australian in a contemporary Australian context.

Sandra Papapandis also negotiates the relation between being Greek and being Australian and being made Greek and Australian. Her parents (only her father is Greek) are 'traditional' and yet 'socialised'. She finds she can usually understand herself as Australian but there is always the threat of visibility, that people might expect her to behave the way that 'people have expectations of all Greeks look'. She explains that:

> The ones that are going out like the young girls fourteen, fifteen (year old) Australian girls can go out where as Greek and Asian girls can't go out – you can't ... and that still goes now for a lot of Greek girls. They can't – not just for me – for other girls. They can't leave the house until they get married, and its hard to persuade parents to believe that can be done. My parents were all right. They sort of got socialised but it was hard doing it – really, really hard. My parents are pretty traditional. The other things I suppose is people have expectations of all Greeks look. (Papapandis, 1988, ll. 380-401)

The borders between being Greek and Australian are, in the first instance, cultural. Nevertheless, they have become markers of seemingly enduring and essential difference which place Papandis both inside and outside of being Australian. Not growing up in Australia, having a different accent, having traditional parents leave Papapandis both

both inside and outside of the community. Papapandis swings erratically between describing herself as one-of-us and realising that she has been made other. A Greek name makes her outside, even as she is Australian and inside. This precarious relation between being one-of-us and being an-other gives Papapandis insights into both these narrations. Her empathy with her students problematises the stories commonly told about her students even as she never doubts their validity. At the same time, her relation with her own parents reflects the difficulty she too has crossing between these narrations. She is frustrated because people have expectations about how 'all Greeks look'. Papapandis wants to negotiate how she will be Greek. She does not have an accent and she no longer behaves like her traditional parents. However, she is not free to make that decision. Her Greek name and looks position her inalienably as Greek.

The structural and conceptual conditions, which underpin those of national, religious and historical difference, articulate with those of class, gender, education and migration experience. Parents, Justine Strover, Angela Sandros and Matthew Arkanidis, also examine how class differences, educational attainments and migration experiences mediate relations within the school community. As Justine Strover tells me:

> You were learning here in Australia?
> I wanted to be something but the English was too difficult – and I was too naïve. I wanted to do too much. When I drop in language that hard I cried. I wanted to go back. I didn't like the whole set up while in Germany – different culture, different everything. When I come here it's all I was in a ... "I'm going back". "No" I cried. I was very lonely, miserable. I couldn't speak and that was really hard. I couldn't learn the spelling and I was angry. It was very hard. The whole forty years I was just learning. Now I start to ... living again ... OK I achieved too many things so ... (Strover, 1988, p.6)

Coming to Australia was difficult for Justine. She 'wanted to be something' but 'couldn't' because 'English was too difficult' and because everything was different, 'different culture, different everything'. She 'didn't like the whole set-up'. 'It was very hard', she tells me. The difficult relation she faced is defined by the 'it' contained within the difficulties of not speaking, of not spelling and of overcoming her loneliness. It took sometime to overcome these difficulties: 'The whole forty years' she 'was just learning'. Now, however, she has started 'living again'. Angela Sandros agrees that now she is:

> More Italian than Australian for me for the parent – but for the kids more Australian – but they love Italian food – but we live more Italian than Australian but the kids have grown up here – but Italian and Australian you know they are ... (Sandros, 1988, ll. 108 – 11)

Mrs Sandros examines the relation between being Australian and being Italian. It is a process, which shifts over time as a love for Italian food is exchanged with being 'more Australian'. Her children choose more easily. The very material differences in language and in national cultures and the difficulties implicit within the migration process change with time as professional and educational opportunities improve. The impact of these differences varies. For Tom Paterson and Tracy Cunningham, British ancestry is a matter of pride. The difficulties of settling into a new country are past. For Carl Davies, the differences implied by a Dutch ancestry are more difficult to overcome but nevertheless disappear as he is able to look like and sound like other 'real' Australians. Sally Williams, Sandra Papapandis, Dimitrius Kalidis and Varvara Kokanakis find their negotiations between a Greek and an Australian identity more complex as the ability to move between two cultures is both a matter of choosing otherness and a matter of being other. Sandra Papandis finds these shifts problematic as she is never quite one thing or another. Her inability to change the way that 'Greeks look' matters to Sally Williams and to Sandra Papapandis but with differing consequences. For Williams it is the something in her eyes that the kids recognise. For Papapandis it means she is expected to behave in particular ways. For parents, Sandros, Strover and Arkanidis, these problems intersect with those of class, as they are unable to speak the language or to understand Australian academic systems, properly. These difficulties become less over time and intergenerationally as the barriers between belonging and mobility become more easily negotiated.

It is useful to look at this analysis, as it is understood from the different vantage points of the narrational maps and narrational fields. From the vantage point of narrational fields, I trace the way parents and teachers negotiate their identities. In 1988, I do not speak with parents and teachers about their self-identity. Rather we speak about the ways we define ethnic identities. We talk about the ways that people speak one language or another, maintain one culture or another. The observation of these discussions from the vantage point of the narrational map suggests a third order to this analysis. Teachers, parents and I worry about how we can accomplish 'it'. That is how we can shift across the relational boundaries between being one ethnic identity and another. Questions of background, culture and language and physiognomy matter differently. Sandra

Papandis' 'Greek name' and 'Greek looks' make people understand her another way. They position her to be one identity or an-other regardless of her own hard work, experiences or particular choices.

Teachers and parents negotiate differently the relation between choosing one identity and another and being able to be one identity and another. Peter Lee already speaks English before he comes to Australia. Further, after 20 years in Australia, Lee feels he is gaining control over the concepts and practices that are part of being Australian. He knows how to be outspoken, how to hold meetings and how to do his job effectively. He is a most effective teacher within the school and has just been promoted as coordinator. Nevertheless, Lee negotiates narratives, which suggest that he does not properly belong as part of our-community. Teachers suggest nastily that he is being favoured because of his colour and he has not properly earned his promotion. As Lee tells me:

> I don't think I get an easier time because I'm Asian. I get an equally difficult time but the things ... I've got one room one philosophy and that's it ... That's the first thing if you think about that I'll say its a wrong concept. There is one staff member that said, "You're a Year 11 coordinator because there are a lot of Asians here" ... Yes that is a very nasty thing to say – not talking about ability but skin colour. I object to that. I did not mention that to her. I was so shocked. (Lee, 1988, p.7)

Lee has no trouble defining his background. He is 'Asian'. His conversation is not about this identity but about what it means in relation to others within the community. It is one of 'the things': a matter of philosophy, of right and of 'wrong concept(s)'. It is a matter of being judged on one's own ability. What is shocking to Lee is that he is not given that choice: that people are 'not talking about ability but skin colour': and that this matters.

Aruna Sandra also grew up in a country where the education system was both in English and based on an English system. However, when she came to Australia she found her competence questioned. Her ability to use language understandably and to teach within Australian schools is disputed. Her attempts to get a teaching job met with responses such as the following:

> When I came back he said, "You can't work here." and I said. "What happened?" "Because your accent is too different and you are wearing different dress." At that time I am not smart enough. I mean now I am smart enough ... I kept quiet ... I said to him, "I know the dress is different. If I work here the children will ... get used to it" ... It was for teaching. I am a teacher and I said, "The same with the accent ... After they will understand me." (Sandra, 1988, p.8)

This story takes place at another school. Sandra finds that her accent, her dress is too different. She begs the Principal to employ her, pleading with him that the 'children will get used to it'. The 'it' here takes in all of these differences. They will become unimportant, she insists. She will be understood. Despite her entreaties, the Principal is disturbed by her difference and maintains that she 'can't work here'. By the time I meet Aruna she continues to wear a sari but 'her accent' has become less and she learns to be 'smart enough' to deal with institutionalised behaviours in Australian schools. Nevertheless, her work at Southgate is not as a teacher but as a teacher's aide.

Linda Chan has also been taught English in Vietnam before arriving in Australia and has some experience and training as a schoolteacher. Her job as communication aide centres on her ability to understand and to negotiate cultural difference. These tasks require that she translate conversations from one language to another and to understand crucial differences between the ways things are and happen within the school. Her ability to negotiate these differences is formidable. Not only is she able to explain to parents and students appropriate ways to access Australian schools, but also is able to explain complex Australian curriculum. She negotiates other conversations, which decide how she is able to work within the school community. When I ask her:

> How have you found it at this school?

She replies:

> Well, I would say that everywhere, you will find nice people and rude people everywhere – as long as you can take it and manage and face it. If you take it as serious matter then you will upset yourself very much but if you take it – that is like people everywhere and take it ... You will think that there are more important things to do ... Oh you wouldn't believe – some others say – some people perhaps because they were born here. Luckily they have no experience about how to become a foreign person and they don't know, the foreign person how they feel in a different country. They have to accept such a lot of different cultural things and you know – to fight for it too – and I can say that sometimes they even look down at us but the first few years I was really depressed about that but now once you get used to it then you think – you think about why we have to look down ourselves. I mean if you look down yourself no-one else can put you up ... so I sometimes I said to myself, "I don't put down myself. I'm proud of myself." (Chan, 1988, ll. 412-444).

Chan explains that 'nice people and rude people everywhere' treat her differently. She describes the principles that mark the nature of her difference.[164] The people who behave badly towards her were 'born here', did not come from 'a different country', and have 'different cultural things'. They do not need to 'fight for it too'. The nature of the relation is 'the serious matter' which she needs to 'fight'. 'It' is the other and omnipresent something that she must 'take' and 'manage' and 'face'. Ng Van Be perhaps summarises the mediated condition of these negotiations most succinctly. A pharmacist in Vietnam, Ng Van Be could already speak English as well as French and Vietnamese when he arrived in Australia and is now an Australian citizen. However, having made a choice to be Australian Ng finds his decision laughable:

> Q. Now if I asked you what do you think is your ethnic background would you say Vietnamese or Chinese or Australian? What would you call yourself?
>
> A. Because of the background we are Vietnamese we get citizenship. If someone asked me who are you I can say I am Australian – but if I speak Australian they will laugh – you're not Australian you're Asian – so we say we are Vietnamese. (Ng Van Be, 1988, p.7)

Australian, he explains, simply does not include Asian.

In 1988, teachers, parents and I do not discuss what it means to be part of the community. Rather we negotiate the relation between being one ethnicity and an-other ethnicity. Tom is proud of his Scottish antecedents. Besides this, the relation between being Australian and being Scottish has little significance for him. Carl Davies' parents' accent places limitations on his parents' ability to belong as Australian. However, the mere fact of having Dutch ancestry is not of any particular consequence. Dimitrius Kalidis' son negotiates both his Greek background and his Australian nationality. Sandra Papapandis also finds that her ability to choose between ethnicities increasingly easy even as they continues to be mediated as 'people have expectations that all Greeks look'.

The consideration of how 'all Greeks look' considers the interstices between what it means to negotiate one's identity and what it means to be that identity. For some, these negotiations are temporary matters and change as the cultural negotiations of settlement; and the positional differences of class are worked through. For others, these differences

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[164] See Chapter Four.

continue to matter but in different ways. Sandra Papapandis finds that having a Greek face and Greek ways of doing things sometimes matters. Peter Lee, Linda Chan, Aruna Sandra and Ng Van Be continue to find that they are made other. The relation between the identity they negotiate and the identity they are made to be, changes the notion of what 'it' means to move between one identity and another. Peter Lee considers the consequences of being understood as Chinese and not Australian even as he thought that he had successfully negotiated what it is to be one-of-us. Aruna Sandra and Linda Chan find their ability to pursue their professional lives mediated. Ng Van Be's answer summarises the different ways some negotiate their identities. 'If I speak Australian', he tells me. 'They will laugh – you're not Australian you're Asian – so we say we are Vietnamese'.

Negotiating the interstices – 1998

The exploration of these negotiations becomes more complex in 1998 as the essential condition of the entities, which underpin these relations, seem to break down. Stephen Barrows contemplates what it means to be Australian. Like Bill Kelly, he finds this difficult to do and observes instead how his Australian identity is made in relation to others. When I ask him:

> What do you think it means to you though, to have been several generations here in Australia?

He replies:

> That's not something I spend a lot of time, thinking about, I can tell you. ... My mother's people have been ... She was born in Australia Her parents were born in Australia before that her grandparents came from Britain, Scotland. My father actually was... He came to Australia when he was four, from Scotland. I guess. I've only been with people, who've only been in Australia and known no other country. I have done a little travel and it does make you think, a little I guess, about the place you come from and the person you are, but it's very hard to pin down. As you say, it's a hard question to answer.
> Q. I've just become intrigued with it, actually.
> A. I had never thought about how I would describe myself and my culture. My culture, I mean that ... I don't know ... I've never asked myself, actually. I think it's quite intriguing.
> Q. As you said, it's very hard to answer. (Barrows, 1998, p.13)

Barrows begins to tell me what it means to be Australian. After several false starts where he attempts to answer my question, he tells me about his British descent. His father was

born in Scotland. His mother's family came from Britain three generations ago. He has 'done a little travel'. These things are no longer about belonging to one ethnic identity and another. Barrows is all of these things. 'It' is no longer the relation between being one ethnic identity and another but becomes almost undefinable, 'It's a hard question to answer'. The difficulty of explaining what it is that is hard has two tiers. In the first place, 'The place you come from and the person you are' have become 'very hard to pin down'. In the second, the task of describing himself and his culture is something that he has never set himself before, he had 'never thought about' it, but he thinks 'it's quite intriguing'.

Stephen Barrows finds it easier to describe his self-identity through the ethnic identities of his parents and grandparents. He finds this is also difficult because the meaning of these terms no longer seems clear. Barry Houston's story negotiates these same processes; the negotiation of the way 'you would identify yourself' and the way you are able to be 'really Australian'. When I ask him:

> Q.Can you tell me a bit about your own identity?
> A.You'll have to be more specific.
> Q.Like we spent a lot of time talking about Cook Islanders and whatever and your own...
> A.My cultural identity?
> Q. Yes. How you would identify yourself.
> A. Well, was I married then, I can't remember, I would have been. 1988. Yes, I would have been.
> Q. I didn't ask you.
> A. I married a Chinese, so I've... that would have happened then I think ... That was ten years ago wasn't it?
> Q. Yes.
> A. I was married then, so ...
> You're only, really, Australian if you have an Anglo background. If you're not, you have a bit of Polish in you or something, well you're not really, as Anglo as I am. In the days of the Republic, that will change very quickly. It's the link, clinging on to the importance of the English tradition, that makes that happen and that you can consider yourself an Australian. My children consider themselves Australian and in the next Millennium, because it will be a Republic, if they're not Anglo, they're still Australian. So the Vietnamese second generation of Vietnamese and so on. They'll be able to be Australians. Which in a...while still retaining their identities, their self. That's important to me as an Australian. I see that as where my country's going as a pose to the English, not just the English, as the people in the Bush. (Houston, 1998, p.15)

In 1988, Houston tells me that he traces his family arrival in Australia to the time of the first European settlement. In 1998, Houston finds it difficult to discuss the Australian ancestry that was so important a decade earlier. Instead, Houston explains that he has

'married a Chinese'. It is something that he does not mention ten years before. In 1988, teachers and parents discussed the implications of being one identity and another. In 1998, miscegenation not only becomes possible but defines the limits of Houston's self-definition. The mixing of those two ethnic identities within people's very bodies is not only consequential to him but to his children. Houston's negotiation of narrations of belonging on his children's behalf forces him to reconsider the definition of the term 'Australian' itself. His exploration leads him to consider the fields of debate that define the conceptual domains, Anglo-Saxon and Australian. 'Australian' needs to be considered an outmoded concept and disentangled from its Anglicised roots. 'You're only really Australian if you have an Anglo background'. What is not quite Anglo is to have 'a bit of Polish in you or something'. His children are caught within a void of being 'still Australian', being Vietnamese and being not-quite-Australian. His concerns lead him to examine the negotiated domains of calling oneself Vietnamese and Australian and the condition of being Asian and being Australian. He worries that these differences mean that regardless of how they negotiate these differences, his children remain in some way Asian and not properly Australian. Houston's examination of his children's conditions spotlights the logics of belonging and not quite belonging as Australian. It is interesting however, that Houston defines his own identity through his marriage to someone Asian, and his children's negotiations between being Vietnamese and being Australian. That is, he describes his own identity in terms of what his wife and child are not. What the Australian part of this negotiation means to the way that Barry is able to be who he is, is no longer discussed.

Sally Williams articulates who she is through the consideration of how she is an-other ethnicity. As someone 'born in England, in Britain', Williams considers that she shares the dilemmas of being other with them as:

> The kids have said to me. "What do you think of Pauline Hanson, Miss?" And I say, "Well, you realise that she can get me sent away." And they said "Why." And I said, "Because, I'm not Australian born." They all went, "What?" And I say, I was born in England. In Britain" Then they say, "Oh ..."
> Well, the kids always say, "What are you?" Because I'm, obviously, not Australian, because I say 'carstle and darnce. So they do say what are you? I am different. They can detect that. I talk to them about the fact that I left England when I was three and what does that mean about my cultural identity, as well? And that when I became an Australian Citizen, the gifts that the staff gave me. Because that would have been, '86. When I saw you? I became an Australian Citizen and I've got my little tree growing. (Williams, 1998, p.16)

In 1998, Williams describes her self-identity through the things that make her an-other ethnicity. Her exploration no longer describes the trajectories that make her one thing and another. Williams talks about the different things she is. She was born in Britain, she speaks differently, she needed to be nationalised. Her students are no longer interested in the thing that is different around her eyes. Rather they 'detect' that she is 'obviously not Australian', that she is 'different' because she says 'carstle and darnce'. She shares with them their migration experience because she was 'born in England'. Most importantly she insists that she shares with her students their oppression. She too can get 'sent away', because she is 'not Australian born'. As she speaks about her migration experiences Williams claims not only the eventuality but also the oppression of being another ethnic identity. Her argument, as it is viewed from the vantage point of the narrational maps examines the way that she is one-of-us and another ethnic group. Williams does not reflect on what her difference means to the way she is understood as one of us. Even as she says that she is 'obviously not Australian', and claims for herself the identity of being another, it is not clear what this actually means in the way she is positioned within the school.

Gillian Mulhauser still remembers her embarrassment and shame as her parents spoke differently and 'you couldn't invite your friends' because 'it was just too different'. She reminisces:

> Yes, well I'm not Australian, I'm German and I came here as a migrant, when I was five years old and so lived through, you know, going shopping for my parents, filling in all the forms for my parents, being embarrassed about my parents coming to the school, because they looked different, they had accents, because we had different food, but I was brought up in ... the schools I went to were very Anglo, so I was always the, along with my sisters, we were always a bit strange and then even the things we did at home, my parents didn't invite people home. You couldn't invite your friends over to stay overnight because it was just too different, and they wouldn't cope and all you wanted to be was Australian and have white bread sandwiches with hundreds and thousands. (Mulhauser, 1998, p. 19)

Mulhauser is no longer one thing or another. She is 'not Australian', 'I'm German'. 'I came here as a migrant'. What this meant had been difficult for her as a child. She and her sisters were 'always a bit strange'. The 'things we did at home' were 'too different'. Difference caused her two problems. 'You couldn't invite your friend over' because 'they wouldn't cope'. 'All you wanted to be was Australian'. The juncture between

being 'Australian' and being incredibly different was a lacuna, which was almost insurmountable. The most taken-for-granted and the most miniscule of day-to-day activities described those differences. They were a matter of looking the right way and having the right accents and eating 'white bread sandwiches with hundreds and thousands'.

The gap between being German and being not Australian continues to haunt Mulhauser throughout her adulthood and continues to provide the definition of whom she sees herself to be. Nevertheless, as I continue to look at this statement through the different lens provided by the narrational map, I question how this relation between being this ethnic identity and not being Australian is accommodated now. This is not something Mulhauser discusses. It is a juxtaposition that remains problematic when I interview Sandra Papapandis a second time in 1998. In 1988, Papapandis feels she never quite belongs to one community or another. In 1998, Papapandis finds this even more confusing. In Australia, she is recognised as Greek, even as she feels that she has lived most of her life in Australia and thinks of herself as Australian. In Greece, she is considered Australian. As she tells me:

> I feel very strongly about that. I am very passionate about that. They can't go back to Greece; we don't fit in, in Greece.
> Q. Is that when you went back, because you said you went back to Greece? Can you tell me a bit about that?
> A. You feel an affinity, when you go there, but you also feel alienated. I was born in Australia, so I've spent most of my life here. It's good to go back and it's good to see the family. But we've moved up from them. We've adopted the fantastic things from Australian society and we have adopted the great things from Greek society. Greek society there's a lot of negative things. There's always a lot of them swearing and they're pushing and they're shoving and I call it 'organised chaos'. At the same time, when you go there, they're fascinated by you, because not many Australian Greeks go back, over here. Where I'm from ... (Papapandis, 1998, ll. 273-295)

Papapandis is an 'Australian Greek'. She is 'Greek in Australia'. In this passage she discusses what that means when you 'go back over there'. What that means shifts throughout the passage. Her discussion shifts from 'we' to 'they' and back again, 'They can't go back', 'we don't fit in'. 'We' and 'they' is neither Greek nor Australian. 'We've adopted the fantastic things from Australian society'. 'We've adopted the great things from Greek society'. She is certainly not Greek. They swear and push. When you 'go back', 'they're fascinated by you'. Her link with those people is palpable, it's 'where

I'm from', 'it's good to go back and its good to see'. Despite the fact that 'you feel an affinity, when you go there', 'you also feel alienated'. The change of pronoun to the more objective 'you' rather than 'we' or 'they' 'when you go there' emphasises the universality of her comments but also her confusion and estrangement. The problematic and relational 'it' which so dogged her in 1988 is no longer named, even as the relation between being one ethnicity and another is exactly what focuses her discussion. Once again, Papapandis talks to me about what being not Australian has meant to her. She never quite examines what the Australian within the relation, Greek Australian means.

In 1998, teachers negotiate the relation between being one ethnicity and another. The meaning they attribute to this relation varies. For Stephen Barrows, his parents' Britishness is intriguing. For Barry Houston, his marriage to a 'Chinese' is interesting and something which is problematic for his children. Sally Williams speaks about the potential consequences of her British descent. Despite their dramatic nature however, it is difficult to see how they have consequences for her. Gillian Mulhauser finds that there were times when she thought this relation mattered to her, but it is uncertain whether it is consequential for her now. Only Sandra Papapandis remains perturbed by the complexity of not-quite-fitting-in in one place and in another. Despite the very different ways this relation mattered, it is interesting that each of these teachers described themselves only in terms of the differences that they invoked. The way that each of these respondents considered themselves as part-of-the-community and as one-of-us was not discussed. The 'it', which loomed within the relation between being one thing and another, seems both crucial to the ways these respondents define themselves, and to have disappeared. This relation appeared more complex when I spoke to Bernard Pieterse and to Danny Miller. For these two teachers, the boundaries, which mark the difference between choosing one ethnicity and another and being one identity and another, become increasingly blurred. For Pieterse, the possibility of shifting between identities provides unbounded possibilities. Whereas Carl Davies was relieved that his Dutchness could disappear, Bernard finds that Dutchness (a Dutch sounding name, Dutch language and a chance of teaching in a Dutch school) defines superficial conceptual domains that are easily changed. He tells me that:

> My background – I am Dutch. I have a Dutch sounding name. I speak Dutch. I have a

> Dutch – I want him to speak Dutch as a language. I had a chance to teach in a Dutch school and I am Australian. I am English speaking and Australian-born. (Pieterse, 1998, p.7)

Unlike Gillian Mulhauser or Sandra Papapandis, Bernard Pieterse does not discuss the relation between being both Dutch and Australian. Rather, Bernard is Dutch, and Bernard is Australian. Calling oneself Dutch or Australian or being positioned as Dutch or Australian is no longer considered problematic. The complexity of this fragmenting otherness of identity is clarified when I ask Bernard to define his identity to me. Bernard explains:

> What it means to be Dutch. That's a good question. Is that the only way that you define your identity? I don't think that your identity is defined by birthright. I think that is something that is nice. I think that is something that you choose. I think that you choose and when I talk about identity I means cultural point. The Dutch did some horrible things in the various colonies of the world – Indonesia and the – they don't have a clean slate and record but I don't take that baggage on board. I take on the things I like. I enjoyed the lovely exuberance of life I saw in France, the passion for life that I saw in Italy and I take that on board. That's a bit of me too. That's my cultural identity. So your identity is also a lot of other things that came in between during your travels. Yeah, you choose, you choose, you take these things on and ... (Pieterse, 1998, p.7)

For Bernard Pieterse, everything is up for grabs. Nothing remains as an indicator of identity. 'I don't think that your identity is defined by birthright'. Who you are is a simple matter of choice. 'I take on the things I like', he tells me. 'I don't take that baggage on board'. In the end he is removed even from his own identity, as 'I' changes to the more objective you. 'Your identity', 'you choose – you choose – you take these things on'. The meaning of what it means to be Australian remains meaningless. The meaning of otherness becomes all embracing and yet something superficial, something nice, something that you can choose. Difference becomes something fun, the exuberance of the French, the passion for life of the Italians, the wonderfulness of the Poles. In this pastiche of stories, the historic contingency of these positionings becomes nullified. Bernard's sense of self-identity fuses a multiplicity of conceptions: of exotica, of passions, of experience. It is difference itself that is exciting and collectable: Italian passion, French exuberance, a sadder but reconciled Poland. The void, which is us, is formulated against these differences.

Bernard Pieterse defines himself as a multiplicity of ethnicities; Dutch and Australian, Australian and the exuberance of the French, the passion of the Italians. Danny Miller defines himself as all of these fragmenting reconceptualisations and more:

> Where I'm coming from? Look, once again, I know, because I've ... It's raising the question of, well what's my cultural identity? ... I'll struggle to answer in one sense, just come from my experiences in Melbourne, from growing up in what was previously a working-class family who, sort of, struggled up to working class, to middle class. Then, being, growing up, in that time frame, in Melbourne, I remember our idea of spaghetti was Kookaburra No. 9 spaghetti, with grated Kraft cheese on the top. Cheddar cheese. Yet, at the same time, during that period, my father worked for the ABC liaison Education Liaison Unit. So we actually had visitors in our home from ... I remember from Africa, from Nigeria ... My cultural background ... enlightened parents in terms of ... We used to go to live theatre. I have always appreciated, as an adult, the fact that our parents took us all to live theatre from a very young age ... I used to really enjoy the Spanish part of Sesame Street, when I was young ... So picked it up as a language at University. I didn't have lectures on Friday afternoons, or Monday mornings, wine and cheese on a Wednesday. No, it was interest in it. It developed, from there to the point where I was doing Contemporary Literature and Fifteenth Century Literature in Spanish by my third year. I did Aztec History with a wonderful woman called Mary Mantanis ... It was great. I went to Mexico...where I visited classes in the back woods of Mexico and taught in lots of places there. The plan was, always, to go back to Mexico and do that ... then I became involved in a Japanese Cultural Exchange Program and I had to learn some Japanese in a hurry. I ended up having to teach Japanese to the kids. A little bit. So that was interesting. It's just part of my brain, really. (Miller, 1998, ll. 636-685)

Identity for Miller is built within a mosaic of cultural reconceptualisations: the changing food habits of Australians, the middle-class intellectualism of his parents, his childhood television habits, his university studies in history and language and his overseas travels. The middle classness of his 'enlightened parents', and their love for live theatre, the narrowness of Australian culinary culture, the ability to travel, an university education merge together, unproblematised. Concepts of Atzecness, contemporary literature and Spanish Fifteenth Century literature conflate with experiences teaching in the 'backwoods of Mexico'. The fun of going to lectures and of wine and cheese days on Wednesdays, the difficulty of learning Japanese in a hurry, come together in a tapestry of experiences. Concepts, ideas, experiences, historical events, literatures, become collectables, matters of interest, things that one might choose between. Miller usurps them all. Each of them becomes part of his identity even as the materiality of the people who provide the focus for these choices are absolutely erased. The Atzecs and the Spanish are long dead. The Japanese person, the student in the Mexican backwoods remains immaterial. In this moment, not only does usness reconceptualize itself and others as absolutely the same, but it takes onto itself both that otherness and its selfness.

This ability not only to know the other, but to integrate the other's text as one's own become matters of concept, just something 'that was interesting'. A matter, an 'it' which is 'just part of my brain really'. Danny Miller and Bernard Pieterse bounce around in space and time, quite uncaring of their material dimensions. The Amazon, Japan, Italy, Greece, Poland all are within easy reach as these post-modern travellers shift from one place to another. Conceptions of place and space become made nothing within the globalised world of the hyper-real. The fence that surrounds the school disappears. Where people are and the boundaries between them become meaningless and break down. The reality of the here and now becomes non-existent, a digital fabrication.

Even as Miller 'could spin you out even further' with the absolute immateriality of the hyper-real, the material reality of difference re-emerges. The necessity to set up real machines, the possibility of actually going to the Cook Islanders, the negotiations with real people reimpose positionings between the very real bodies of those who are here and those who are there. Dan Miller's excitement as he leads the first consort of his students across to that other place negotiates both the excitement of the disappearance of time, space and bodies and its absolute materiality:

> I could spin you out even further, in terms of; we were the first Australian school to go to the Cook Islands at Easter Time. We've come back from there, having set up a few things and now we're, actually, organising to be.... we're going to host a 'virtual domain' for the Cook Island School, Avonia College, so that we'll, actually, have all their files and stuff on our file server. Their access that, they will be able to unload what they want, on to their part of it and then... so.... we'll walk over to the 'Virtual Domain' and they'll want it and so they don't have to have all the expensive file server and stuff over there. It's all here. (Miller, 1998, p.3)

Miller spins me out in the material world. His story is about what 'we' will do. 'We were the first Australian school to go', 'we've come back', 'we're actually organising', 'we're going to host'. They on the other hand will 'access that'. Most of all 'they'll want it' because 'it's all here'. What 'it' is, is no longer a matter of what is in Miller's brain. It continues to be about the relation between 'we' and 'they', about what 'they want' and what we can do. Miller's exhortation to spin me out not only places itself against the material world, of real machines and real places, but of the representation of those bodies within those places and spaces. The Cook Islander, gratefully accepting the services of school as they set up their virtual domain reconsiders the same tale of others

dependent on our help that Tracy considered in 1988. Bernard Pieterse similarly considers the reality of difference, even as he renegotiates its amorphousness:

> It is difficult because I don't want to necessarily identify – if I wanted to write a policy that was – I know there is a problem with boys, particularly Cook Island boys. I would hate to sort of wind it up as a formal school policy. It would be an issue to try to address the balance but I would hate to have it written up so that you were favouring one ethnic group over another. Perhaps strategies might support a particular group. It may be that our sister school, one of the Cook Island schools could be further explored to help empower boys here with a common background to feel more confident about their studies and to engage in further studies but I would hate to have it written up that there was something that would deliberately target that group or highlight them or favour them – same thing with the Aboriginal communities I guess. I wouldn't say that I wouldn't hand out money to you because you are Aboriginal ... It should be done in a inclusive way that supports the group but doesn't actually identify the problem as actually being characteristic of the ethnicity of that group – very dangerous ground to walk on. (Pieterse, 1998, p.6)

Even as Pieterse celebrates the pleasures of universal alterity, the shadows of otherness remain immanent. The Aboriginal, the Cook Islander, is different, dependent on our help, even as those differentiations are nebulous, dangerous even. The material structures of race and class make Pieterse' ability to choose ambiguous. He is no longer in control over whom he is or how he can know and locate others. The problematic and relational 'it', which defines his identity, no longer describes the relation between being one ethnic and another. Nevertheless, it continues to mark the limitations of whom he is against representations of others who are both essentially different and refuse categorisations of sameness. The realisation that not everyone is the same and that difference matters disrupts this perception. It is frightening not only because difference is understood to have disappeared but also because it is 'very dangerous ground to walk on'.

Pieterse's relativist notion that he is a tourist, who can choose those aspects of difference he wishes to take from others, is smashed. The pleasure of collecting tokens of diversity; the excitement of learning another language, another history, of eating another food, or being in another place, is juxtaposed with fears that difference is dangerous. The conception that difference has been reduced to the pleasurable and the insignificant, is interrupted by the realisation that alterity has not disappeared at all. Pieterse and Miller are confronted by the material reality of other people's lives: The Japanese whose language is learnt, the poverty of those living in the backwoods of Mexico, the

sufferings of the Atzecs wiped out by the conquering Spanish. The other lives of these people interrupt the attempt to write them out of the 'school policy'. The Cook Islander remains identifiable, and in need of strategies to enable them to feel confident about their studies. Aboriginal communities remain in need of 'inclusive' policy implementation, even as to 'identify the problem as actually being characteristic of the ethnicity of that group' is 'very dangerous ground to walk on'.

In 1988 and 1998 parents, teachers and I speak about identity differently. In 1988, we examine the relation between the contingent and disjunctive concepts and practices, which define how one can call oneself one ethnic identity and another. The view of these negotiations from the vantage point of the narrational maps shows the different kind of intervention teachers and parents undertake when they find their ability to negotiate these different ethnicities mediated by the taken-for-granted concepts that continue to position them as inside and outside of the community. It is a relation barely acknowledged and scarcely spoken about. In 1998, teachers and parents barely mention 'it' at all. Instead, they consider ways that they can be one ethnic identity and another. Danny Miller's story conflates the difference between the narrational fields from which he can choose to name himself one identity and another, and the taken-for-granted maps which position his sense of being. Freed by this conflation between the fields which debate the concept of ethnic identity and the maps, which position persons as one identity and another, Miller believes he can be any other identity he chooses. At the same time, Miller remains comfortably as one-of-us. He knows the other, locates the other and can be the other. The very fluidity of difference, as it can be travelled to, communicated with, consumed becomes not the object, but part of the subject of his self-identification. The multicultural story of the secondary college is represented by artistically blending different ethnic faces on the Internet web page. The final consequence of this logic is the ultimate consumption of the text of the other. The ethnic person becomes nothing more than the self-image that Miller wishes to project on his computer screen. Even so, the other remains prescient and out of reach. The concept of whom we are and whom they are remains. The Cook Islander sits hostile behind the computer screen, the Asian sits quietly at his desk, not quite located, not quite known. Their re-emergence disrupts the innocence and comfortableness of Miller's homely

representation of the school. The relation between the negotiated, contingent and often-disjunctive ways of meaning and practice teachers and parents use to choose between identities and the normalised ways of knowing and being in the world, which mediate these choices, become conflated. The socio-cultural and historical conceptual and material formations implicated within these differences remains. Other and different people continue to provide the boundaries of whom we are, but now we are shocked to find them still present. In the next section, I explore this place of disruption.

The terror of it

I am arguing that a dualistic logic in which a 'white' self maps out their identity through that which they are not, underpin teachers and parents' conversations. Nevertheless, these representations are disrupted and decentred as those other and different people remain out of reach and not entirely knowable or visible. The way that this takes place is understood differently as it is examined from narrational fields and as it is understood from narrational maps. In 1988, teachers and parents negotiated the relation between being one ethnicity and another. At the edge of their discussion, they were concerned about the thing, the 'it' that formed the boundaries between being able to be that identity or another. The other, clearly out of reach, remained as an-other. In 1998, the difference between being able to choose one ethnicity and another, and to be that identity or an-other become conflated. The other identity, whose text marks the edge of whom we are remains, even as those others remain not quite known and not quite locatable. Post-colonising writings note the paradoxical conditions of this relation and argue they continue as an irritant to the fluency of such discourses. The outcome of this ambivalent relation is both an obsession with others and the disavowal of their presence. As Robert Young (1990) explains:

> Colonial discourse does not merely represent the other, therefore, so much as simultaneously project and disavow its difference, a contradictory structure articulated according to fetishism's irreconcilable logic. Its mastery is always asserted but always slipping, ceaselessly displaced, never complete. (Young, 1990, p.145)

The corollary of the orientalising gaze, Young suggests, is the fetish. The other person, who marks out the edge of the white and colonialising self-identity is not quite known and not quite located, both the focus of the colonialist gaze, and the not quite visible and not quite sayable. I suggest that the reappearance of the other disrupts conversations

about self-identity in both 1988 and 1998. In 1988, the other disrupted these conversations from the outside. In increasingly globalised times these others become even more frightening, as they no longer seem outside but inside of us all. I am suggesting that the discussions that take place in a school represents a 'whiteness discourse; whereby those who-are-us find their own identities through defining what they are not. In doing so they textualise their own identity through the knowledge and location of an-other. By 1998, the project to make other known and visible seemed self-evident. However, the attempt to control the story of the other was disrupted as the other remained material, just out of reach and out of our control. The 'irreconcilable logic', which underpinned the ironic contradictions implicit within these juxtapositions, made other groups both 'our' obsession and something that could barely be spoken about. The terror of 'it' is the re-emergence of just that thing which could not be spoken about even as it is discussed all of the time.

In 1988, Sally Williams, considers 'it' as she sits with her students in a metropolitan train:

> Outsiders are surprised when they see our kids.
> But the kids don't hear anything.
> Don't seem to feel it. They,
> don't sense it at all which is good.
> I sense it from the outside.
> Outsiders smile at you and you smile back.
> On excursions the Asian boys and girls are polite.
> Give up their chairs.
> So the old ladies say what lovely children.
> It works in a positive way. (Williams, 1988, ll. 613)

Williams sits on the train with 'our kids'. 'Outsiders are surprised'. They smile across at Williams and 'say what lovely children'. Their smile across to Williams unites her with these others and makes the children, other. The children themselves remain innocent of their position as the object of this silent conversation. They 'don't hear anything', 'don't seem to feel it'. Nevertheless, 'it' is there, caught in the silent relation which Sally Williams shares with outsiders as they look at 'our kids'. The lacuna, which manifests itself between those 'outsiders' and the Asian boys and girls, is overcome by their politeness so that 'the old ladies say what lovely children'. The reversal of the notion of who is on the outside and who on the inside is palpable. The outsiders, no longer

outsiders, are 'old ladies'. The children are no longer 'our kids' but Asians. They are silent, unhearing, unseeing, and quietly polite. The kids in the train remain the obsession of Williams and the old ladies. I too join Williams by proxy and stare at those other children on the train. At first, they are 'our kids'. We know them and smile. By the end, we are relieved at their polite silence as 'it works in a positive way'.

I talk to Sally Williams again in 1998. This time Williams watches her students from the distance, in the open, contradictory spaces of the shopping mall. Here:

> And the kids talk about that too. That in 'Southgate' everyone gets on. But when people stare at you, when you go into the City. So we get lots of talking about....Maodstone the security guards move on the ... The security guards move on the groups of Asians. I said, "Are you sure it's just Asians? Look around and see did they move along anyone who's not buying anything". Lots of talk comes of that too.
> Q. But there is this feeling that Southgate's somewhere safe and now it's not ...
> A. They say that "yes".
> Q. Somebody else was saying that too. That there was this kind of feeling of ... safety here.
> A. Comfortableness. The kid I've just got into my Year 11 is from St. Gregories, where, he thought, he was getting racial taunts from the other kids, about his racial background. He's Sri Lankan or something. He's come here and I said, "Well, how different is it here?" And he said, "Oh, more relaxed." I thought you can't find that thing up here, because everyone's different. (Williams, 1998, p.16)

This time Williams is not present with her students. She is told what is going on when 'the kids talk about that'. 'When you go into the city', 'people stare at you'. Williams and her students examine this gaze by people outside of the school. 'We get lots of talking about' that. The implicit 'that', is not something that Williams shares. "Are you sure its just Asians?" she asks them. 'They move along anyone'. The 'they' now is the person outside who moves 'Asians'. The focus of their actions is now a non-committal 'anyone'. However, even as Williams argues that these things can happen to anyone, her students are once again the object of her conversation, 'They say that "yes"'. The thing that she has denied happens but on the outside. The kid from St Gregories was getting racial taunts at other schools. This is something that doesn't happen here. It is 'different' here, 'more relaxed'. 'You can't find that thing up here' because everyone is different. It is the unspoken something, that doesn't happen at the school, yet happens anyway. Even as Williams suggests it does not happen, she has reasserted it as the object of her discussion. Moreover, even as Williams has denied that the relation between herself and others has significance, she finds it continuously made the focus of her conversation.

The borders of what is inside and what is outside no longer seem so secure. The comfortable school is nevertheless not quite safe. What is outside now seems inside and outside. The clear signs, which define difference conflate as Williams sees everyone as the same in their difference, and understands that some are positioned differently than others. The Sri Lankan student is both different elsewhere and different here. It is just that here everyone is different.

I have argued that teachers and parents understood their own identities through that which they are not. My analysis has three tiers. The examination of the different stories my respondents told me from the vantage point of narrational fields showed that teachers, parents and I were concerned about the different ways one could understand oneself as ethnic. In 1988, we discussed how one could be one ethnicity and another. In 1998, the boundaries between choosing one ethnic group and another seemed more fluid. The analysis of these observations from the different vantage point of the narrational maps, made manifest a third tier to this study. In 1988, teachers, parents and I were concerned that something made it difficult to be one ethnicity and another. In 1998, choosing between one ethnicity and another, and being that identity became conflated – and it no longer seemed difficult to shift between identities. Difference, so under control that its manifestation is a simple matter of choosing, seemed to disappear. What was frightening to us all was that difference had not disappeared but remained prescient and at the borders of whom we are. In 1988, the others who bordered whom we are were clearly outside. The terrible dilemma in 1998 was that even as difference re-emerged, it was no longer clear whom those others were, or whether and how they were inside us all.

There is a second way that 'it' is discussed in this dissertation. In Chapter Four, I examined fragments of material that discussed the possibility that racism happened in the school. In 1988, some teachers and parents argued that 'it' was a matter of 'good people' and 'bad people'. In 1998, it was more difficult to know who the good people and the bad people were. I noted earlier Linda Chan's comments that, ' You don't know how people see you, but you would rather the fact that you would rather not know, so you can still keep in your mind peaceful in the area...The Australian attitude is very

hurting'. Aruna Sandra, tells a similar story whereby she finds her ability to become part of one community or another mediated even as she already can speak English and has professional qualifications. Peter Lee on the other hand has lived in Australia for most of his life. He can barely speak Chinese. So it is a relation which is 'virtually, lost'. He is concerned above all that all people should be treated the same way, and not treated differently because of race. Even so, he finds that his ability to choose between one identity and another absolutely frustrated. The lines being included and being excluded become increasingly unclear. He knows that he can never be sure: 'You know, before you talk to white person, you going to think. Are they genuine or not, or are they, basically, hating you or something like that' (Peter Lee, 1998, ll 722 – 729).

An experienced administrator within a shipping company and a fluent English speaker, Ata Hiwai carefully explored her options before deciding to come to Melbourne:

> We came here not knowing what to expect. My husband came here two months before us and got us a house and came back to the job that he was in when we came on holiday ... an extended holiday. While we were here he worked for a couple of weeks and then went back home, because he's never seen $300-$400 a week in his pay packet ... so we came home for a month and I get the kids to come to school. And two weeks and they want to go home. They just wouldn't want to get out of bed to come to school and that took a while. I stayed home and I used to come straight and go to work which I don't know where we live. I was working for a shipping company back home and I got transferred to Port Melbourne, to the office over here. (Hiwai, 1998, ll. 185-198)

Shifting to Melbourne was a matter of finding out whether the city was comfortable and how her children could go to school. Because of the high-powered nature of her work she had little difficulty being transferred to an office in Melbourne. Despite the ease with which she is able to move from one country to another, Hiwai finds the ability of her children to enter school community mediated. Students from the Cook Islands, who have arrived most recently, only have the use of an aide because of the voluntary services of Mrs Hiwai. Feeling concerned about her own children and the children of her friends Hiwai comes two or three days a week to work as an unpaid teacher's aide. At that time, Hiwai visits families, speaks to students with problems, helps students with their school work, intervenes in conflict situations between staff and students, and student and students, organises fundraising and cultural concerts, and holds regular community meetings with Pacific Islanders in Cook Island Maori. Despite recognition that Hiwai is most effective in this role, the school is not able to get funding to employ her.

For Li Kim Ha identities are so renegotiated in an increasingly globalised world, that she finds herself to be a floating person. As she explains:

> Now I happen to be a floatie person. I happen to have no root, because my language save me. I live in Paris and worked in Paris for 8 years. French and English the same thing. I didn't use Chinese at all. At all, because I didn't tell you, I was born in Vietnam. The year I graduate I lost Vietnam, so I got nowhere to go. I went to Paris, but I got background of French when I was little. This why how, you can learn one language. I was not educated in Chinese, when I was very little. When I was little lived in Vietnam but a French Education, twelve years. (Li Kim Ha, 1998, ll. 349-354)

Ha moves from one culture, language, country to another. She speaks four languages, has qualifications from three different countries, moves easily from one city to another. Her skills are well respected. As well as teaching economics and business, both in English and bilingually, she works as a marketing expert for the school, selling the concept of the school to sister schools overseas. If she does not like it here, she will go elsewhere. She will simply float on. Nevertheless, the business of floating is not an easy one:

> So, even in Vietnam, you're saying, your birthplace. You were really, floating because you were Chinese and then you came to Taiwan and you were ...
> A. I'm not the same Chinese. I am, always, a marginal person.
> Q. You went, then to ...
> A. Paris, I got a French Passport, in fact, but I'm not French. I'm happy the way I am, because I'm just a floating person. I float; I just look on the positive side, because I float. I learn a lot of things. Wherever I go the first two years is tough, but I get used to it. When I get used to it. I can cope and when I get used to it. I think I am excited, because I ... (Li Kim Ha, 1998, ll. 447 – 519)

Even as Ha floats from one country to another, adapts to one country and then another, she nevertheless remains 'always a marginal person'. Floating is exciting, but it is also tough; you have to 'cope' and 'get used to it'. Floating is not just matter of being one identity and another, it is a matter of floating on the surface, of never being part of any culture. This is a matter of not belonging, which is different in complexity from Papapandis' lack of belonging in either Australia or Greece. Ha belongs everywhere and nowhere. Like Miller and Pieterse Ha is a 'floating person'. Now however, floating is a matter of constant negotiation between material possibilities. It is not just a matter of choosing between being one thing and another, but trying to be those things. It is not easy. She needs an education, to learn French, to get a French passport. It is 'tough'. You need to 'learn a lot of things'. In the end she still has to get used to 'it', but she can

'cope'. She never really belongs. 'I'm everyone's enemy', she tells me elsewhere (Li Kim Ha, 1998, ll. 29 – 33).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I sought to turn the focus of my research lens to the self who narrates the stories of others, which make up my analysis in the previous chapter. I found this task complex. In 1988, I did not think to ask questions about the self who makes these stories. In 1998, I did ask these questions but only with great difficulty. When teachers and parents did talk to me about their ethnic identities, I found that they continued to describe themselves in terms of what they are not. In 1988, teachers and parents examined the relation between calling themselves one ethnicity and another. Carl spoke about what it is to be Dutch, as he wants to be Australian. Varvara Kokanakis negotiated between maintaining Greek languages and cultures. Dimitrious Kalidis' son no longer denied his origins. In 1998, teachers and parents continued to do this. Now however, they were simply one ethnicity, or one ethnicity and another. Gillian Mulhauser is German and not Australian. Sandra Papapandis is an Australian Greek. Danny Miller and Bernard Pieterse are one ethnicity and another and another.

The observation of these patterns from the different vantage point of the narrational map examined a different logic. Teachers and parents chose between one ethnicity and another, but found this ability mediated by the way they could be that identity. In 1988, Carl Davies' parents could not quite be Australian because they have a different accent and you can pick them from that. They remain otherwise invisible, because they are not positioned differently by the 'way they look'. Sandra Papapandis on the other hand, suddenly finds herself as different because she is expected to behave in the 'way that Greeks look'. In 1998, Barry Houston examined the way his children negotiate between being Vietnamese and being able to be Australian. Papapandis found she is not comfortable in Greece. There are several points to make here. The first is that this differentiation between calling oneself one ethnicity and another and being able to be one identity and an-other, was not made explicit. In 1988, this relation was discussed as a nebulous and barely understood 'it' that needed to be negotiated as people shifted between calling oneself one ethnic identity and another and as people could be that

identity. In 1998, this differentiation was conflated so that teachers and parents believed they could simply choose to be one ethnic identity and another but found that their ability to be another identity often impeded. The second is that these normalised positionings, which make the logic of how one is one identity and an-other remain. Teachers and parents describe their identities through that which is not one-of-us. In 1988, Stephen Barrows and Tracy Cunningham are Australian with British ancestry, Sally Williams is British, Greek and Australian, Varvara Kokanakis is Greek and Australian, Carl Davies is Dutch and Australian. In 1998, Sally Williams is British, Gillian Mulhauser is German, Danny Miller and Bernard Pieterse refuse ethnic tags and are identified as coming from everywhere. In each of these cases, these teachers and parents tell me what it means to be those other ethnicities. That which is Australian – that which is one-of-us – remained undefined. Third, by 1998, difference seemed to have disappeared as 'we are all different'. Nevertheless, difference re-emerged as teachers and parents realised that others who remain not quite known and just out of our reach border the condition of who-they-are. The frightening thing for these teachers and parents, the terror of it, is that these differences were no longer on the outside, but something that is inside our most comfortable places and inside of us all.

There is a second question to be asked here. If the condition of being one-of-us cannot be defined, what is it to define being not-one-of-us. In 1988, Sandra Papapandis spoke of being made not part of us, because she was expected to behave the way Greeks look. In 1998, Barry Houston described how his children could not be Australian as they were Vietnamese. Aruna Sandra's story suggested that she faced these different expectations more often. In both years, she was not able to work as a teacher because she is 'too different'. Linda Chan, also continued to need to be strong enough to cope with the different ways that she is positioned within the school. Peter Lee was a well-qualified and experienced teacher, yet still finds that people understand him as Asian and not Australian. Li Kim Ha floats from one culture to another, always learning what it is to take on one culture and another, one language to another, but still finding herself not quite included. These teachers and parents find that they continue to be understood as one thing or another no matter what their choices are. The different way this takes place in described in Chapter Four. In 1998 these teachers and parents found there are good

people and bad people who might treat them differently. In 1998, they no longer knew who the good people and who the bad people are. They find themselves excluded, even as they are also in some way included as both us and not us.

These observations have implications for the way the questions, which began my analysis, can be understood. When asking the question, 'How are ethnic and race relations spoken about in schools?' I found that teachers and parents seldom name these relationships but rather refer to a nebulous and contested 'it'. 'It' marks the relation between calling oneself one ethnicity and another and being one identity and another. In 1988, it was barely mentionable as the thing, which is both the focus of that which we are not, and the thing that cannot be spoken about. In 1998, it became something, which was almost not mentioned as all. The thing, which makes the relation between choosing and being, is so confiated that it seems to have disappeared, even as it remerges to be more frightening and more unsayable than before. When asking the question, 'How do ethnic relations take place in schools?' I found that teachers and parents speak about multiculturalism. Conversations about racism are seldom broached. Policies and practices of multiculturalism allow people to comfortably debate the differences between choosing between being one identity and another by proxy. It allows conversations to take place that consider how people might move between one ethnicity and another. Conversations about how one might be one ethnicity and another are dealt with as matters of granting access to those who are already different. The different positionings, which define how one might be that identity or another, are not considered. Racism is barely discussed – to do so would be to recognise the relation between those whom we are and whom we are not. This is both the obsessive focus of these conversations but also the thing that cannot quite be spoken about.

Finally, when discussing people's experiences with ethnic relations and when considering matters of multiculturalism and racism, I found these discussions relate to deep-seated conceptions about self-identities, otherness and the relation between them. This observation is the most recent of my observations and comes to underpin my thesis argument. Ethnic relations is concerned with the way that those who are one-of-us understand ourselves through our relation with those who are not one-of- us and

therefore are one-of-them. In 1988, this was considered a way of being one ethnicity and another. In 1998, the borders between between being one ethnic group and another seemed to fall apart. People were shocked to find that the other ethnic group remained, only now the borders between others and selves seemed fluid and haphazard. The other could now be found in the most comfortable of our spaces and inside of us all. The terror of it can be seen clearly as these negotiations are studied from the different vantage point of the narrational map. Even as other identities seem fluid, and matters of choice, we continued to be haunted by the other whom we do not quite know, cannot quite locate and cannot quite be, but who nevertheless draw the boundaries of whom we are.

Conclusion: Mapping silent narrations

> And that, my friend is why I ran away. I ran away because I was scared of the coming changes, and scared because of the consequences of not changing. I ran because I wouldn't carry a gun for apartheid, and because I wouldn't carry a gun against it. I ran because I hated Afrikaners and loved blacks, I ran because I was an Afrikaner and hated blacks. You could say that I ran because of the paradox. How do you render a paradox? I just don't seem to get it right and yet I know it in my mind ... It is that state of quandary ... that I am trying to describe, but I can't get it; I can only feel it. (Malan, *My traitor's heart,* 1990), p.93)

> With the attack on New York and Washington, cultures and structures continuous with the past have been overlaid with something new. The United States has been attacked by a group of people who apparently have no home and no name. Moreover they are persons prepared to put their bodies on the line. (James, 'The terrorist syndrome, *Arena Magazine, October-November, 2001,* p. 35)

Rian Malan, writes as an Afrikaner during the last years that the apartheid system is still in place in South Africa. He faces a paradox. He wants to change South African politics, dismantle Apartheid, and fight against Afrikaner hegemony. At the same time, he cannot do this. He is Afrikaner. He isn't black. Malan's quandary is that although he can choose which side he is on and whom he will fight for, the relation Afrikaner and Black continues to matter and to have consequences. 'It' is a relation that Malan tries to describe but he can't 'render a paradox'. He can't 'get it'; he 'can only feel it'.

Speaking after the September 11 tragedy a decade later, Paul James adds a different and contemporary overlay to Malan's dilemma. The 'cultures and structures continuous with the past have been overlaid with something new'. In contemporary times, the relation of self and other no longer seems a simple matter of black and white. The people, who have attacked New York and Washington, are no longer easily defined. They are 'a group of

people who apparently have no home and no name', who are 'prepared to put their bodies on the line'. The something that is new is not the inability of people within the United States to identify the attackers. In fact by the time this article was published, the attackers had been given names. What is frightening is the realisation that the people against whom we are fighting even in Australia, are not easily defined as outside of who-we-are, are in many ways part of us, could be any one of us. At the same time they remain a frighteningly different presence, out of our control.

In this dissertation I explored the ways that people in contemporary Australian and other western societies spoke about race and ethnic identities over the last decade. To do this I examined interviews I collected from nearly thirty teachers and parents at one particular Melbourne state secondary college in 1988 and in 1998. In 1988, these conversations were about a school community overwhelmed by large numbers of students who came from a miscellany of different locations. Teachers and parents spoke about the policies and practices put in place to deal with different groups of people and the good relationships that took place between them once they arrived within the school. In 1998, teachers and parents continued to speak of their school community as diverse; of the policies and practices in place to deal with this diversity; and of the good relationships that existed between those groups. The accomplishment of this history I piece together was its pervasiveness. Nevertheless, I collected a few stories, fragments really, which disrupted this narration and suggested that relations between ethnic groups were not always good. In 1988, a very few teachers and parents told me that racism happens sometimes, that there were 'good people' and 'bad people' inside and outside of the school and that bad people made 'it' happen. In 1998, those few teachers and parents who discussed racism were no longer sure what it was or who the good people and the bad people were.

At the end of this initial exploration of the data I was troubled by three observations: the failure to speak about race and ethnic relations directly; the predilection for conversations about these relations to take place as multiculturalism rather than as racism and the crucialness of conversations about identity and difference. These observations redirected my research project in three particular directions. In the first, I

explored the ways ethnicised and raced identities are conceptualised and practised and how they relate to each other in a changing context. This broached the connection between the disjunctive stories about 'it' that teachers and parents told me, the debates about multiculturalism and anti-racism, and notions about identity, difference and the relation between them. In the second, I examined the enunciation of these relations. I was concerned with the ways people spoke about social experiences, debated policies and practices, and related deeply held notions about who they were. Moreover, I wanted to explore what people said in passing or not at all. That is, I was concerned about how I might listen to that which has become (in many ways) a silence. In the third direction I examined the ways these relations and the ways they were spoken about, changed.

This research has pragmatic as well as methodological and conceptual implications. Methodologically, it provides the tools to investigate the vertical and horizontal junctures between the stories that teachers and parents tell me, the patterns made by those stories as they are negotiated in a particular conceptual and practical domain, and the maps of being in the world which frame and are framed by them as they are observed from the different vantage points of narrational practices, fields and maps. I have argued that the terrain of imagination, as it is concerned with these three different research directions (social formation, enunciation and change), can be viewed from three different but integrated vantage points. The first, that of *narrational practice*, considers the seemingly haphazard condition of individual stories and experiences as experiencing individuals conceptualise and participate within their everyday worlds. From this viewpoint, identities seem discrete, changing and separable. Relationships between self and other appear as a matter of behaving in particular but unpredictable ways. The embodiment of self and other is experienced individually. The enunciation of these experiences therefore is heard as a cacophony of different and individuated experiences. The second level, that of the *narrational field*, considers the patterned, yet contingent and often disjunctive ways of meaning and practice related to a particular conceptual or practical domain. From this vantage point entities and the relationships between them appear as patterned but interweaving ways of meaning and practice. The embodiment of these relations is understood as it is experienced and practised through these disjunctive, contingent and interweaving patterns of meaning and practice. The

enunciation of these relations is understood as it is spoken and textualised through these same patternings. The third level, the *narrational map*, considers the interconnectiveness of these narrational fields as they define the essential ways of knowing and being in the world. It considers the relation between entities, self and other, as they are made and practised within the 'totality' of taken-for-granted ways of knowing and being in the world. The embodiment of these relations is understood as being about the basic and taken-for-granted categories of human existence. Their enunciation is spoken of as it is to speak and to name, or to be spoken or to be named within the basic categories of knowing or being in the world.

Table 5: The methodological frame

Methodological level	Methodological focus	The Person	Difference	Relations between identities	Embodiment	Enunciation	Time/space relation
Narrational practices	Considers individual practices and stories.	As an experiencing changing, separable person.	As a matter of dealing 'nicely' or 'badly' towards others.	As matters of individuals.	As experienced individually.	As understood through a cacophony of voices.	As understood within the time and space of individual actions and experiences.
Narrational fields	Considers the contingent and often disjunctive ways of meaning and practice related to a particular conceptual space or practical domain. For example: multiculturalism, nation, race.	As patterned by the contingent and interweaving ways of meaning and practice in which the subject is both participant and defined.	As patterned by the ways that subjects are positioned, if only contingently, as 'us' and 'not us'.	As patterned by the contingent ways that relations between people made 'us' or ' not us' can take place.	As experienced through and practised within contingent and interweaving patterns of meaning and practice.	As spoken and textualised through contingent and interweaving patterns of meaning and practice.	As understood through historic trajectories of social and cultural formation which form the context and product of interweaving patterns of meaning.
Narrational maps	Considers the interconnectedness of narrational fields which provide taken for granted ways of knowing and being in the world.	As a subject placed, and called into the world through the 'totality' of taken-for-granted ways of knowing and being in the world.	As defined in taken-for-granted ways which position subjects as 'self' and 'other'.	As defined by the taken-for-granted ways that people are placed temporally and spatially in relation to others.	As understood in terms of the basic and taken-for-granted categories of human existence	As it is to speak and to name or to be spoken and named within the basic categories of knowing or being within the world.	As it is understood in terms of the basic categories of human existence differing across different lived formations.

The terrain of this methodological frame, draws together the three particular directions of interest to my research (social formation, enunciation and change) and as they are viewed from the three different vantage points (narrational practices, fields and maps). The conception of ethnic relations is studied from three directions. From the vantage point of narrational practice it describes contradictory and unpredictable relationships between changing and separable persons who might act badly or well towards others. From the vantage points of narrational fields these relations appear as they are patterned by the negotiations between different ways of meaning and practice, which define how, subjects are defined as one ethnicity or another. From the vantage point of narrational maps these relationships are defined by the ways in which the conceptions, self and other, are defined and made within the 'totality' of taken-for-granted ways of knowing and being in the world.

Conceptually my thesis supports and extends the arguments drawn from the very different literatures of naturalistic and phenological inquiry, critical theory and post-colonial theory, cultural studies and writings about whiteness. From the vantage point of narrational practice, teachers and parents tell a multiplicity of stories about the different ways they negotiate the relation between shifting between one ethnic identity and another and being able to be that identity. From the vantage point of narrational fields, teachers and parents negotiate the conceptual and material domains that allow them to deal with this relation. From the vantage point of narrational maps, I trace taken-for-granted and deep-seated conceptions about the ways one can be one identity or another and the relation between them. The vertical and horizontal relation between each of these levels provides the contingent link to the way they can be spoken about. The obsessive evasiveness that underpins the conception of the dualism self/other even as this relation provides the very basis of who we are remains as the subject and object of conversations about race and ethnicity and the ways they can be spoken about.

The problem here was that people spoke a lot about race and ethnic relations but only in particular ways. Other ways of speaking about these relations were difficult to broach or not spoken about at all. In the fourth chapter of this dissertation, 'Ethnic dealing:

multicultural moments', I applied this theoretical frame to literatures of multiculturalism, race and nation, particularly as they applied within an Australian context. Using one days newspaper as a motif, I examined a miscellany of conversations about ethnic and race relations that took place in 1988 and in 1998. These newspaper articles were about a myriad of seemingly unrelated topics: the relation between the British Queen and her ministers, the right of Australian Aborigines to access Australian resources and the production of the Oxford English Dictionary, in 1988; an art exhibition for Aboriginal artefacts, the need for a more open policy towards business migration to Australia and the discovery of groups with possible terrorist links in Australia, in 1998. I argued that these very different viewpoints of historic events held in common the negotiation of the terms and conditions that defined how people belonged as Australian. These negotiations centred on descriptions of people who did not belong and discussed the ways that such people could be allowed to live in Australia.

Three tiers of argument followed from these observations. The first was that Australian ethnic relations are underpinned by the conditions named in recent literatures as post-colonial and as white. Those who are a particular and changing entity, 'white', negotiated the conditions of whom they are not (and therefore whom they are), those people who belong as one-of-us and those who might enter our 'home-spaces'. The second was that in contemporary Australia these definitions are coded in languages of multiculturalism and that other ways of discussing ethnic relations have been silenced. The third was that identity itself is conceptualised in several ways. Newspaper articles discussed people as being one ethnic identity or another; they were concerned about ways people were the same and how they were different. Nevertheless, these debates between sameness and difference were firmly tied to notions of belonging and not belonging within the community. What was interesting was that even as the definitions of the entities that made up the sites of the debate changed, people continued to negotiate normalised notions that defined the ways one might belong or not belong as one-of-us.

The central focus of my dissertation was the conversations I had with parents and teachers at one particular Melbourne school. The chapter, '(Re)Telling history: Analysing narrational fields', described the stories collected from parents and teachers at Southgate Secondary School and examined the patterns which emerged as I explored these disjunctive and contingent stories as a relation to their socio-historic context. The narration I pieced together pertained to three particular conceptual and material domains. In 1988, teachers and parents dealt with large numbers of ethnic groups recently arrived within the school and the policies and practices put in place to cope with this changed ethnic demography. In 1998, teachers and parents were far less concerned by the miscellany of ethnic groups present within the school. Multicultural policies and practices continued to provide an enviable example of best practice to deal with such diverse ethnic populations. Relationships between different ethnic groups were understood as good in both years.

There were two strands to this analysis. The first was that conversations about race and ethnic relations were sited within a number of conceptual and material domains, which allowed some ideas, rather than others, to be discussed. In both 1988 and 1998 parents and teachers spoke about changed school populations, about the multicultural policies and practices implemented to deal with them, and the diverse and peaceful nature of school relationships. What were quite different areas of discussions – demographic change, curriculum reform, and diversity – became sites where conversations about race and ethnic relations took place by proxy. Issues about belonging and not belonging remained crucial issues, even when these ideas were not named or were alluded to indirectly or euphemistically. The second strand of this analysis examined these almost silent conversations. These assorted narratives spoke about 'it'. 'It', in this case, alluded to the juncture between feeling part of the school community and not quite part of the school community. In 1988, a few teachers and parents were concerned that people might behave badly or well towards them. Bad people made it difficult to belong properly within the school community. In 1998, this relation became increasingly confused and it became increasingly difficult to know whom the good or the bad people were or when one might be included or excluded in this way. I found that 'it' was given

a second, asymmetric meaning. When I re-examined the multicultural narrations, which took up so much of my conversations with teachers and parents, 'it' came to describe the juncture between the negotiations, which took place about demography, curriculum, and diversity, and the negotiation of the taken-for-granted ways that positioned people as belonging and not belonging within the community. In 1988, Sally Williams and I noted that 'the kids don't sense it' 'But that you sense it from the outside'. In 1998, the location of the juncture between the negotiations between the conceptual and material terrain of these debates and the ontological positions of being in the world to which they are related, became almost unmentionable.

The chapter, '(Un) Making maps: Overturning narrations', explored the terrain of these negotiations from the vantage points of narrational fields and narrational maps. This analysis furthered my argument in three ways. In the first, I re-examined the structure of the argument that defined belonging and not belonging. In 1988, this relation was described as being between two discrete and essentially different entities caught behind almost insurmountable cultural, social and biological barriers. These conceptions of absolute alterity struggled with notions that everyone is the same. Respondents remained confident that these barriers could be crossed with the most simple of gestures. In 1998, the ironic relation created became increasingly complex as modern definitions of identity changed and subjectivity became understood as fragmentary, contingent, changing and fluid. My point was that despite these changed ways of negotiating the conceptual and material domain, which defined ethnic identities, these negotiations continued to be framed by taken-for-granted notions which make people – at various times – one-of-us or an-other. Second, I defined the terms of the condition of otherness. In 1988, this condition described some people as members of particular ethnic groups who are quite different from us. In 1998, and even as definitions of identity became changed, conflated, fragmented, diffuse and fell apart, teachers and parents continued to define others in ambivalent and paradoxical relation to their own unmarked and ill-defined selves. The last and third section of the chapter, mapped out the underlying logic of these relations. In 1988, teachers and parents felt out of control as other and unknown ethnic groups moved into their space. Teachers and parents sought to define and to

properly know whom these others were and to map their location within everyday spaces of school. In 1998, parents and teachers appeared more confident that they knew about the different ethnic groups within their school community. At the same time, their ability to know whom those others were and to locate these groups within the school became increasingly tenuous as the boundaries that separated identities and the borders which made them inside and outside of the community became more difficult to make.

In the final chapter, 'Speaking of us: Between disrupted narrations', I attempted to describe those people who narrated the conditions of being other and different in this way. I found this task difficult. In 1988, I did not think to ask the question. In 1998, parents and teachers acknowledged the question, but continued to speak to me about the conception and location of those other people whom they were not. I found that these dualist relations, self and other, were contested, changing and confused. In 1988, parents and teachers considered ways they were essentially one ethnic group and another. In 1998, teachers continued to negotiate the ways they might become one ethnic group and another, even as the definition of these identities were contested, conflated, and fell apart. The ability to choose between one ethnic identity and another remained tied to the way that the ability to choose was tied to normalised ways that one could be that identity or another.

The concluding section of my analysis re-examined the nature of what 'it' was that teachers and parents alluded to within conversations about race and ethnic relations. I argued that 'it' conceptualised the relation between conceptual and material domains where people negotiate between being one ethnic identity and another and the normalised frames which define how they can be those identities. These normalised conceptions about how one belongs, were made against the stories of those who did not quite belong. The others who did not belong remained our obsession and our text and at the same time out of reach and not quite in our control. What was most frightening about this relation was the re-emergence of these identities that seemed to have disappeared. In recent years, borders between identities and places seemed to fall apart and difference has not seemed to matter. The terror of it was that the other, who seemed so under

control as to be a mere matter of our choice, re-emerged so that we no longer knew whom they were and whom we were. The terror of it was that identity became so confused that the other was now found inside of us all.

There was a second way that 'it' was terrible. Some teachers and parents spoke about the way that they were able to change the attributes that made them one ethnic group or another. In 1988, teachers and parents improved their education, learned to speak English and became acquainted with common ways of understanding things and doing things in Australia. In 1998, teachers and parents continued to do this. For some, these kinds of changes were accomplished often, and appeared as being a matter of 'floating' between the characteristics of being one ethnicity and another. Despite these abilities to take on the characteristics of one ethnicity and another, these people also came across 'it'. They found that no matter how they might choose to be one identity or another, or how hard they might try to be that identity, their ability to actually be that identity was circumscribed. Despite their attempts to be one-of-us, these people found themselves represented as one-of-them.

Finally, 'it' was terrible in the way that it could be spoken about. Homi Bhabha's (1994) notion is that the other who marks the edges of our definitions of whom we are is marked out by representations of those whom we are not. The ability to know and locate such others becomes both an obsession and something not quite within our grasp. The relation becomes both a source of irritation and fear and something almost unspeakable. The relation with others becomes both 'our' obsession and something that can barely be spoken about. In 1998, these relations were referred to as 'it'. In 1998, these relations were often not mentioned at all, even as they provided the focus of our conversations. Discussions about policies and practices of multiculturalism and anti-racism considered ways to deal with ethnic and race groups. I am arguing that these negotiations considered race and ethnic relations in particular ways and by proxy without referring specifically to the real substance of their debates – the way people belong and do not belong as one-of-us. The terror of it was that the material and conceptual manifestations of these relations continued to be apparent even as they remained almost unmentioned

and almost unmentionable. The terror of it was the re-emergence of the relation that could not be spoken about even as it remained the focal point of the discussion.

The conflation of these different ways of understanding race and ethnic relations and the way these are spoken about had important and pragmatic implications. First, it has important consequences in the way we, as teachers, understand our practice. The point was that my respondents (the teachers and parents with whom I spoke – and for that matter, myself) were well disposed towards the different ethnic groups who made up the community of the school. Nevertheless, we continued to repeat notions that made some people belong differently within the school community. Further, the very denial of these conversations became the focus of our obsession and thus prevented us from even beginning to dismantle the unevenly empowered relations they disguised. The project to unpick these notions is by no means an easy one. These conceptions were so deeply ingrained and taken-for-granted that for a long time I found it difficult to even ask the right questions. Moreover, even when I found the means to do so, my respondents found it difficult to find the linguistic or even the conceptual means by which to consider their answers. Nevertheless, if we are to move forward, a first task is to bring these conceptions to the consciousness of school community members – and particularly teachers.

Second, the conceptual and material domains through which conversations about race and ethnic relations take place need to be reconsidered and renegotiated. The relocation of these debates as matters of multiculturalism meant that these discussions took place in particular ways. Conversations about race and ethnicity were understood as being about the definition of cultural difference and its management. The codification of notions such as demographic change, diversity and globalisation meant that the real implications of ethnic and race relations, difference, and local and global interactions were ignored. Debates about demographic change, for instance, acknowledged the important insight that newly arrived migrants had particular needs when integrating into Australian schools. At the same time these debates repeated unquestioned taken-for-granted notions about the conditions of being one ethnic or another and as belonging as one of us. A

more sinister implication has been the recasting of these debates in recent years. The success of the new right in transforming the way these discourses are used has meant that exponents of multiculturalism and anti-racism find themselves unable to use familiar ways of arguing their case and are almost literally bereft of speech. To show what I am talking about as I complete my dissertation, I have only to look once again at a daily newspaper. Under a heading 'Why are we doing away with the manger', popular news broadcaster, Terry Lane, laments that:

> Culture in a multicultural society, is something that everyone else has but we don't. By we I mean those of us who are white and had the misfortune to be born here before 1949, when culture first arrived. I have been thinking along these lines by the annual agonising over the performance of the nativity play in your local kindergarten. In some places it is banned to protect the sensibilities of those not of the Christian faith ...The disquieting thing about the prohibition of the nativity play and associated ritual is it obliterates the last shared ritual from a society that is short on celebrations of significant anniversaries. (The Sunday Age, December 23, 2001, p.12)

Lane's argument is that 'culture in multicultural society' is a problematic notion. Unlike the teachers with whom I have been speaking Lane makes no secret of whom he means by 'we'. We are those who are 'white', 'were born here before 1949' and are – this time by implication – Christian. The thrust of his argument is the not unreasonable claim that the 'prohibition of the nativity play' takes away something that is crucial to the way this community delineates itself. What needs be debated with Lane is his assumption of, and his ignorance of, his claim to community. Crucial to Lane's argument is the understanding that those who are not like him do not belong in the same way as he does and therefore do not have the same right to share 'significant anniversaries'. His lack of awareness of whom he is himself, means that he sees himself as being without culture; that 'culture' is something that 'everyone else has but we don't'. At the same time he is concerned that culture is what he has to have and that the 'prohibition of the nativity play' 'obliterates the last shared ritual from a society that is short on celebrations'. Multiculturalism becomes representative of everything that is just out of his control, which he doesn't know and which he doesn't have, even as it is exactly what he has. The recasting of this debate as one of multiculturalism and religion enables Lane to recast debates about community and belonging without speaking about those relations directly.

In the wake of the September 11 tragedy it is clear that the ignorance and the arrogance that accompanies the preservation of whiteness discourses can no longer be ignored. The terror, which accompanied the horrible materiality of these events, was the realisation that difference had not disappeared. These events made it clear that ethnic and race relations are indeed social constructions but ones that have material consequences. They reminded those of us who felt part of a particular community that other people did exist, that they could speak outside of the representations we made for them and they could make choices quite regardless of the ones we might want to make for them. Further our own ability to choose whom we are within these manoeuvres was not completely free but mediated by the particular ways we were understood, exist within the community. At the same time the definitions of who-we-are and who-they-are became increasingly unclear as the definitions of the kinds of identities one could be were fluid and changing. These entities were made and practised in ways that were quite different to the taken-for-granted logics assumed just over a decade ago. Thus even after the group of people who attacked New York and Washington had been given names, they remained in a sense unknown and unlocated. Subsequent events suggested how traditional conceptions of otherness were used to put in place as a way to practise more workable conceptions of an-other who could be fought outside of the community. These recent events illustrated the intricate ways globalism changed the manifestation of these relations. Australians watched the unfolding of these events on television as they happened and even before they could be seen in New York. Australians associated themselves as also one-of-us who has been attacked even though many had never been to New York or to Washington. Stories about Osama Bin Laden and of Taliban Muslims took on a myth-like quality of the shadowy, evil and committed other who would go to any lengths to harm all-of-us.

My point is not to argue about terrorism. Rather it is to argue that these conceptions of belonging and not belonging need to be understood. In this dissertation, I argue that the conflation between and across narrational practices, fields and maps, means that ethnic and raced identities negotiate the domains of difference and sameness only to find themselves still made different. Those who however contingently, understand

themselves as one-of-us are shocked to see the re-emergence of the other – unknown and unlocated – even when that which is different seemed to have become all the same and a matter of choice. The other person, becomes the subject of conversation, even as he or she is exactly that which least can be spoken out.

In my dissertation, I examined the ways that teachers and parents within a school in Melbourne, Australian spoke about race and ethnicity in the years, 1988 and 1998. I found that these notions could be spoken about in some ways and not in others. Teachers and parents spoke easily about the negotiatedness and interchangeability of identities as they shifted between one ethnic entity and another. They found it difficult to speak about ethnic and raced relations as a relation to the material as well as the conceptual conditions under which unequally empowered entities come to embody the relation between self and other. I argued that the terms and conditions of this relation derive from deep-seated notions about the relation between self and other, and the way, which those who are one-of-us can define their identity though the definition of those whom they are not. Moreover, the terms and conditions of these understandings remain in place even as in an increasingly globalised and post-modern world people negotiate between raced and ethnic identities in ways that seem increasingly unconstrained and fluid.

My thesis is that the obsessive evasiveness, which informs this orientalising logic, underpins the ways that this relation can be understood and spoken about. I make this argument from three different analytic vantage points. From the first, that of narrational practices, I recount fragmented stories teachers and parents tell me about the ways that ethnic and race relationships happen within their day-to-day experience at the school. From the second vantage point, that of narrational fields, I make the observation that when discussing ethnic and race relationships people avoid speaking about these relationships and spoke a lot about multiculturalism. Conversations about racism are difficult to broach. Nevertheless, notions of ethnic and race difference continued to provide a focus for the discussion. From the vantage point of narrational maps I argue that deep-seated notions that define who-we-are in terms of who-we-are-not underpin these conversations. It is the juncture between the pervasiveness of these logics as they

conceptualise and are embodied within positioned identities, and negotiation of this conceptual and material domain as it defines the notions 'races' and 'ethnic, which underpin the way that race and relations can be understood and, as such, how they can be spoken about. 'Multiculturalism', as it is concerned with the negotiatedness and changeability of ethnic and raced identities and the relation between them becomes the thing that can be spoken about. 'Racism' as it maps out the material and conceptual conditions under which unequally empowered entities come to embody these relations becomes the field of that which is difficult, almost impossible, to say. The noisy and silent narrations that speak of ethnic and raced relations do more than trace individual negotiations between raced and ethnicised identities and contingent and changing debates about multiculturalism and racism. They work to manifest and to silence the taken-for-granted conceptions of self and other, which remain the subject and the object of these conversations.

MAPPING SILENT NARRATIONS:

Racism and multiculturalism in a Melbourne school

1988 - 1998

Appendices

MAPPING SILENT NARRATIONS:

Racism and multiculturalism in a Melbourne school

1988 - 1998

Appendix One

Appendix One

The principals for method as they underpinned my 1988 study

1. Setting:

The inquiry must be carried out within its natural setting . Events cannot be understood in isolation from their context, nor can they be fragmented into parts in order to give meaning to the whole (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 39).

2. The human instrument:

Is seen as the major instrument of data collection and analysis in that humans provide the responsiveness, adaptability and holistic emphasis necessary to adjust to a world of multiple understandings and to reshape the research accordingly (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 39).

3. Tacit knowledge:

The utilisation of tacit knowledge as well as propositional knowledge is seen as an important means by which to study the nuances in the different ways of understanding social realities (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 40).

4. Qualitative methodology:

Qualitative realities are seen as being the most adaptable means of exposing the many ways in which humans understand the social world (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 40).

5. Purposive sampling:

In order to maximise information collected within the research, rather than to facilitate generalisation, sampling methods other than random sampling will often be more useful (Lincoln and Guba 1985 p. 40).

6. Inductive data analysis:

In order to identify the different ways in which human activities are understood, inherent analysis typically takes place inductively from information emerging from the data rather than information emerging from data collected from a theory decided *a priori* (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 40).

7. Grounded theory:

In order to anticipate the many understandings that can present within a research project, naturalistic research prefers to have the substantive theory emerge from rather than precede the data(Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 41)

8. Emergent design:

Although it must be guided by an initial focus the design of the research must emerge from the study rather than be constructed pre-ordinately (Lincoln and Guba 1985, p.41).

9. Negotiated Outcomes:

In order to verify the data and the construction of the research and for the added credibility that such verification brings, the naturalist paradigm suggests that both the data and its interpretation must be subjected to the scrutiny of the respondents (Lincoln and Guba 1985 p. 41).

10. Case study reporting mode:

The case study is the preferred mode of reporting the data. It is ideal for providing the 'thick description', which allows for the portrayal of the different ways in which social realities are understood as 'multiple realities' and the inclusion of the tacit knowledge of both the observer, the observed and the reader (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 42).

11. Ideographic interpretation:

Naturalist researchers argue that the data should be interpreted ideographically, that is in terms of the particulars of the case rather than by making law like generalisations that apply widely (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 42).

12. Tentative application:

Lincoln and Guba argue that naturalistic research can only apply research findings from one context to another, transferability being dependent on the similarities in context and the time between the studies and the receiving context (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 42).

13. Focus determined boundaries:

Naturalist inquiry is guided by boundaries of focus which signpost what should be included and excluded in the study thus allowing many different understandings of reality to focus the study.(Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 42).

14. Special criteria for trustworthiness:

Interactionist theorists such as Lincoln and Guba argue that traditional notions of testing such as validity, reliability and objectivity should be replaced by other 'trustworthiness criteria' those of credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability (Lincoln and Guba 1985, p. 218-219).

MAPPING SILENT NARRATIONS:

Racism and multiculturalism in a Melbourne school

1988 - 1998

Appendix Two

Appendix Two

Teachers – 1988

Varvara Kokanakis	Two cultures: Greek and ustralian	Greek/Australian
Stephen Barrows	Australian	Australian Left but interviewed
Susan Siddons	Australian	Left
Carl Davies	Oz	Left
Bill Kelly	Australian	Australian
Sally Williams	Australian/1/4 Greek	English
Sandra Papapandis	Greek	Australian Greek
Peter Lee	Chinese	Don't know
Dimitrious Kalidis	Greek	Left
Linda Chan	Refused to fill in form/ Chinese	Chinese
Aruna Sandra	Indian	Indian
Violeta Vadra	Refused to fill in form/ Croatian	As in 1988
Mary Wu	refused to fill in form/ Chinese	Left
Barry Houston	Australian for 200 years	Left but interviewed
Amanda Winters	Australian/1/4 Norwegian	Left
Tracy Cunningham	English	Left
Helen Brown	Anglo Celtic Australian	Left
Joshua Presser	Jewish	Left
Carol Saunders	White Australian	Left

Parents – 1988

Angela Sandros	**More Italian than Australian**	**Italian Australian**
Tom Paterson	**Australian**	**Left**
Katerina Markusic	**Croatian**	**Croatian**
Ng Wu Kim	**Australian/ Chinese**	**Left**
Ng Van Be	**Vietnamese**	**Left**
Justine Strover	**Yugoslav**	**Left**
Emma Hampton	**Irish/Scottish**	**Left**
Matthew Akanidos	**Greek**	**Left**
Maria Huitendez		**Left but interviewed**
Effie Dratisis	**Greek**	**Left**
Refika Demrinon	**Turkish**	**Left**

New teachers – 1998

Julie Mackenzie	Jewish
Danny Lui	Australian Chinese
Bernard Pieterse	Dutch
Gillian Mulhauser	German
Ramon Romanov	Serbian
Danny Miller	Anglo
Li Kim Ha	Chinese
Eun Li	Australian Cambodian

Parents – 1998

New parents

Gail Dresk		New Zealand
Julie Pink		Australian
Ata Hiwai		Cook Islander
Tang Fuxin		Cambodian
Mrs Tang	Vietnamese Australian	
Navin Rajee	Indian	

MAPPING SILENT NARRATIONS:

Racism and multiculturalism in a Melbourne school

1988 - 1998

Appendix Three

~~Disc - pil~~
Disc - pilot 2

LA TROBE UNIVERSITY
Department of Education

THE PRINCIPAL
.....HIGH SCHOOL
.....

Dear .....,

I am writing to seek your co-operation in the research work I am doing in the Master of Education degree at La Trobe University. I am studying the implications of the Government policy of multiculturalism at the school level. The literature suggests several scenarios that could present themselves within the context of the school in relation to a policy of multiculturalism.

During the next two months I expect to approach several schools within the Melbourne matropolitan area to conduct a pilot study. The survey is an attempt to to find out as much as possible about what is actually occurring in schools prior to a study of a limited number of schools. In view of this, I would very much like to ask you a short series of discussion questions designed to present me with a broad information base for future research. I estimate that the interview would take about thirty to forty five minutes.

Although much has been written in academic theory, very little research has taken place within the environs of the school in relation to multiculturalism. What is happening at your school is very important to my research.

I will phone you in the next week to see if you are willing to meet with me and to arrange a time convenient to you. Should you require more information regarding my program at La Trobe my supervisor, Dr. Lois Foster can be reached on 479 2662.

Thankyou very much for your time,

Yours faithfully,

Doc - Case I

LA TROBE UNIVERSITY
DEPT. OF EDUCATION

THE PRINCIPAL
HIGH SCHOOL

Dear

Thankyou again for your valuable contribution towards the research work that I am undertaking for a masters degree at La Trobe University. During the last three months I have approached nearly thirty schools within the Melbourne metropolitan area to conduct a pilot study. The data gained in this way has proved highly informative and is now being further analysed. In 1988 I plan to make a more detailed study of two Melbourne schools and I feel that a study of High School would be particularly relevant to my research.

As you will recall, I am researching the implications of the Government's policy of multiculturalism in Melbourne high schools. The literature suggests several possible scenarios that could present themselves in schools but there has been little research undertaken in this area. The object of this research is threefold. Firstly, it is to paint a picture of what constitutes reality at the school level in relation to the Government's policy of multiculturalism. Secondly, it is to trace the outcomes which might emanate from such a response and thirdly, to compare this reality with the scenarios suggested by the literature and by Governments.

The study would involve a series of visits by myself over a period of 3 terms. Information about the school would be elicited by means of interviews, observation and documents. I would wish to observe a broad spectrum of school activities. In doing this I would act as an observer only and would not require any changes to be made in classroom routine or behaviour. I would also wish to interview a broad spectrum of people about how they perceive multicultural policy within the context of the school.

As the case study proceeds, every attempt will be made to ensure the utmost confidentiality and to make regular reports about the findings made within the study. I believe that it is important that discussions continue to take place throughout the study to ensure that all participants feel that the study is beneficial to them.

The information gained from our discussions so far suggests that a detailed study of your school would be invaluable to my research. I will phone you next week to make an appointment to discuss this matter further. Should you require further information regarding my program, my supervisor, Dr. Lois Foster can be reached on 479 2662 hy I can be contacted at home on 842 7204.

Thankyou very much for your time Sent 11/11/87

Yours faithfully

RUTH ARBER

A STUDY OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - I
THE PRINCIPAL

COVER PAGE

TEACHERS GENERAL

Code.....

Name.....

Date..... Sex.....

School.....

Status.....

Subjects teaching.....

Subjects qualified to teach.....

Academic qualifications.....

Place where academic qualifications were obtained.....

Other Qualifications .....

Length of time teaching.....

Other schools you have taught in.....

Other duties.....

Have you done any studies or inservices related to multiculturalism.

What were they.....

Place of Birth..... Of Spouse.....

Of parents M..... F.....

Other languages spoken.....

By parents.....

By spouse.....

Place where language learning took place.....

Situations where other languages are used eg.....

Do you use the language in the school -how.....

What do you consider to be your ethnic background.....

SJECTIVES OF INTERVIEW

he objective of this interview is -

. To have a general overview of the school - ie DESCRIPTIVE FACTORS

a - Demographic material

- student numbers
- ethnic composition
- Length of time students in Australia
- socio-economic background

b - students

- aspirations
- achievements
- cultural maintenance
- Characteristics of different groups
- Student behaviour - in class
  - towards each other

c - Teachers

- demography of staff
- cultural maintanance by teachers
- sympathy towards migrants and multicultural policy

d - School Administration

- council
- school hierarchy
- teachers meetings

e - School facilities

- layout of school
- adequacy / inadequacy of school facilities

f - The parents

- socio-economic
- involvement
- aspirations
- conflict / identification with school

g - The curriculum

- its emphasis
- its structure
- its importance to ethnic population

h - Sources of funding

- supplementary grants
- disadvantaged schools
- PEP etc

Power

I have to know as much as possible about your school - Could [illegible]

- To fathom - Knowledge of
  - the understanding of
  - and sympathy for
    the ethnic composition of the school

- To fathom - Knowledge of
  - understanding of
  - interpretation of
  - committment to
    Government policy in relation to multiculturalism

- To discover what Policies and practices have been suggested
  - by Governments
  - by the school
- What policies have been implimented
- Who has been implimenting them
- How do they take place
- What effect have they had
- What has been the reaction to these initiatives.
- Predictions for the future in the realm of multiculturalism

. Firstly I would like to know as much as possible about your school - Could ou tell me as much as possible about

- the demography of the school - eg.
  - ethnic composition
  - Length of time students in Australia
  - socio-economic background

- Students
  - aspirations
  - achievements
  - cultural maintainance
  - Characteristics of different groups
  - Student behaviour - in class
    - towards each other

- Teachers
  - demography of staff
  - cultural maintanance by teachers
  - sympathy towards migrants and multicultural policy

- School Administration
  - council
  - school heirarchy
  - teachers meetings

- School facilities
  - layout of school
  - adequacy / inadequacy of school facilities

- The parents
  - socio-economic
  - involvement
  - aspirations
  - conflict/identification with school

- The curriculum
  - its emphasis
  - its structure
  - importance to ethnic population

- Funding
  - Supplementary grants
  - disadvantaged schools
  - PEP etc

. Can you tell me what it is like being in a school containing so many — ifferent ethnic groups -
- What have you had to do differently
- what are the good points
- What are the bad points
See also question 1b)
See also observations)

- What documents has the school been able to obtain pertaining to ulticulturalism. ie policy statements - departmental memos - requests for tatistics etc.

- Could you tell me a bit about

  - what these documents are about

  - what you thinK of them

  - what they mean to the school

- Can you tell me a bit about
  - the policies and practices that have been implimented in the school n relation to mulitculutralism

    - Who is implimenting these policies

    - What effect have these policies had on the function of the school

-How have people reacted to the introduction of these policies - ie parents teachers - students - the community

- What predictions would you make about the future of multiculturalism at his school

ther comments

DOCUMENTATION

1- Demographic materials - ie ethnic census figures etc
- material relating to student achievement - eg past studies - HSC results
- staff lists
- Documents relating to the structure and the composition of the school council
- Documents relating to the timing of teachers and council meetings
- Any documents related to requests for funding in the area of multiculturalism - maps of the school
- reports defining the adequacy of school facilities
- any studies done of student families.
- copies of curriculum and its structure throughout the school
- Any hand books - past newsletters and magazines and other material commonly distributed at the school.

2 - Any documents relating to the ethnic nature of the school

3 - Copies of Government policy statements - departmental memos - and correspondendence relating to mulitculturalism

4 - Copies of any documents produced by the school in relation to multiculturalism

BSERVATIONS

. Were there any noticeable undercurrents in the conversation in relation to
- my work
- the staff
- the students
- parents
- the community
- The govenment
- others

. Did the respondent reflect -
- a Knowledge of
- sympathy for the ethnic community of the school

. Did the respondent refect -
- Knowledge of
- understanding of
- agreement with
- commitment to

vernment policy in relation to multiculturalism

. Did the respondent reflect a good understanding of the different facets of
:hool life

. What did the respondent reflect as to the general ethos of the school

. Other comments

. Issues

. Concerns

ERVATIONS

Were there any noticeable undercurrents in the conversation in relation to

- my work
- the staff
- the students
- parents
- the community
- The govenment
- others

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- agreement with
- commitment to

ernment policy in relation to multiculturalism

Did the respondent reflect a good understanding of the different facets of ool life

What did the respondent reflect as to the general ethos of the school

Other comments

Issues

Concerns

A STUDY OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - 4
LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ENGLISH

COVER PAGE

TEACHERS GENERAL

Code.....

Name.....

Date..... Sex.....

School.....

Status.....

Subjects teaching.....

Subjects qualified to teach.....

Academic qualifications.....

Place where academic qualifications were obtained.....

Other Qualifications .....

Length of time teaching.....

Other schools you have taught in.....

Other duties.....

Have you done any studies or inservices related to multiculturalism.

What were they.....

Place of Birth..... Of Spouse.....

Of parents M..... F.....

Other languages spoken.....

By parents.....

By spouse.....

Place where language learning took place.....

Situations where other languages are used.....

Do you use the language in the school -how.....

What do you consider to be your ethnic background.....

OBJECTIVES OF INTERVIEW

PART A

1. To gain as much information as possible about the function of the LOTE program at the school -
2. To discuss the effectiveness and the effects of the LOTE program
3. To discuss the nature of resources and funding given to the LOTE program

4. To discover what it is like to teach in the LOTE classroom. -
5. To discover more about the students involved with the LOTE program
   their - aspirations
   - achievements
   - cultural maintainance
   - characteristics
   - student behaviour - in class
   - towards each other

6. To gain as much information as possible about the position of NESB children in the school

7. To discover more about the parents of students involved with the LOTE program -
   - their - involvement
   - aspirations
   - conflict/idetification with the school
   - socio-econmic situation
   - cultural maintainance
   - feeling about the LOTE program

8. To discover the attitude reflected in the school towards LOTE, migrants and multicultural policy

9. To fathom - the knowledge of
   - understanding of
   - sympathy for
   the ethnic composition of the school

10. To fathom - knowledge of
   - understanding of
   - interpretation of
   - committment to
   Government policy in relation to multiculturalism

PART B
OBJECTIVES OF INTERVIEW OF TEACHERS of NESB

I. To discover the importance of an ethnic identity to the teacher

2. To discover the level of cultural maintainance by the teacher
- at home
- at school

3. Can you tell me what funding is available to the LOTE Program
- How adequate it is
- How adequate are the respources for the LOTE program

4. To fathom how others have reacted to the teachers ethnicity within the school

5. To discover what effects the teacher's ethnicity has had on his teaching at the school

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

PART 9

1. Can you tell me as much as possible about the LOTE program at your school

- What languages are taught at this school
- Why were these languages chosen and not others
- what children are included in the LOTE program - why
- What teachers are involved
- What is the curriculum
- what teaching methods do you use

2. How effective do you believe the LOTE program can be at this school

- Can children speak X at the end of the program
- Do children enjoy the program
- What is the effect of learning X on the children's
  - feeling of identity
  - conceptual development
  - ability to learn English

3. Can you tell me about the funding that is avaialble to the LOTE program

- Where does it come from
- What does it consist of
- How adequate is it
- How adequate are the resources available to the LOTE program
- How adequate is it

4.Could you tell me a bit about what goes on in the LOTE classroom - How seriously do children take LOTE learning -

- Do children of other ethnic backgrounds bring their prejudices with them into the ethnic classroom
- Do children of X background appear more open and confident in the LOTE classroom
- if I was to come in and sit in a class, where would the students be sitting, who would they be sitting next to, which students would be working hard, who would be wasting time.etc

5. Could you tell me a bit more about the students involved with the LOTE Program

their
- aspirations
- level of achievement
- cultural maintainance
- characteristics
- student behaviour - in class
  - towards each other

6. Could you tell me as much as possible about what it is like to be an NESB child at this school- eg
- obstacles preventing their achievement
- Prejudice - by students
  - by others
- conflict between home and school

7. Could you tell me as much as possible about the parents of the students involved in the program
- their - involvement
  - aspirations
  - conflict/identification with the school
  - socio-economic situation
  - cultural maintainance
  - How they feel towards the ethnic porgram

8. What do you think is the attitude of the school in general towards the work you are doing. Are they supportive of the work that you are doing?
- What are some of the frustrations of the job

9. Can you tell me what it is like being in a school containing so many ethnic groups
- what have you had to do differently
- what are the good points

(See also Questions 4, 5 and 6)
(See also Observations)

10. What documents have you read pertaining to the Governments policy of Multiculturalism - eg policy statements- departmental memos - requests for statistics etc.

Could you tell me about
- what these documents are about

- what you think of them

- what they mean to the school

11. Can you tell me a bit about

- the policies and practices that have been implimented in the school in relation to multiculturalism

- Who is implimenting these policies

- What effect these policies have had on the function of the school

- How have people reacted to the introduction of these policies - students - teachers - the community

- What predictions would you make about the future of Multiculturalism at this school

PART B
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR TEACHERS OF NESB

1. Can you tell me a bit about yourself - Where did you/your parents come from, how long have you been in Australia, why did you leave, etc

2. To what extent is your x background an important part of your identity - can you tell me a bit about what your x heritage means to you What does it mean to have an X background in Australia

3. Which is the important influence whn you act- your cultural heritage or values from outside your x group or both
eg Do you find that you have
separate groups of friends
celebrate different festivals
prefer different foods
dress differently
sometimes see things in a different way from others who are not of X backgound

4.How have you found that others have reacted to the fact that you are of X background - especially at this school

5. Can you tell me a bit about any other languages that you speak
- when do you use those language
- how good are you at speaking x
- how do other people react when you speak those languages
- can you give examples of how your ability to speak 2 languages has proved
- useful at the school
- a hindrance

6. What effects have you found that your X background has had on your teaching at this school - ie can you give examples of how your ethnic background proved helpful to your teaching at the school- perhaps you can give examples of where it was a hindrance.

DOCUMENTATION

1. Demographic materials- ie No of LOTE students etc

2. Materials related to the levels of achievement of students involved with the LOTE program

3. Copies of LOTE curriculums etc
4. Any material published be the LOTE department - either written by teachers or by students

5. Copies of any Government correspondence relating either to multicultural policy or to LOTE

6. Copies of any documents produced in the school relating to either LOTE or multiculturalism

7. Documents related to the funding of LOTE or other multicultural programs
8. Materials used in the school written in LOTE Or for LOTE students and parents

OBSERVATIONS

1. Were there any noticeable undercurrents in the conversation in relation to

- my work
- the staff
- the students
- parents
- the community
- the Government
- others

2. Did the respondent reflect -

- a Knowledge of
- sympathy for

the ethnic community of the school

3 - Did the respondent refect -

- Knowledge of
- understanding of
- agreement with
- commitment to

Government policy in relation to multiculturalism

4 - Did the respondent reflect a good understanding of the different facets of school life

5- What did the respondent reflect as to the general ethos of the school

6 - Other comments

7 - Issues

7 - Concerns

OBJECTIVES OF INTERVIEW

1. To gain as much information as possible about the function of the different committees to which the respondent is involved -
- the school council
- the Greek parents association
- the parents association

2. To gain a broad understanding of the decisions made by these institutions related to the concept of multiculturalism

3. To gain a broad understanding of the general feeling of the committee towards the school

4. To gain as much information as possible about the children of the respondent and their relationship to the school

5. To gain an understanding of the nature of cultural maintainance - including language maintainance present in the home and the acceptance of this by the children and the school

6. To discuss the nature of tolerance and conflict within the school as perceived by the respondant

7. To fathom what it is like to be a child at the school - ie - to discuss the nature of
- obstacles / bridges influencing access and success
- prejudice and tolerence and conflict between
  - students
  - students and teacher
  - home and school

8. To gain a broad understanding of the general feeling of the respondent towards
- the ethos of the school
- the teachers
- the curriculum
- the demography of the school

9 To fathom the - Knowledge of
- understanding of
- sympathy for

the ethnic composition of the school

10. To fathom - Knowledge of
- understanding of
- interpretation of
- committment to

Government policy in relation to multiculturalism

11. To fathom - Knowledge of
- understanding of
- intepretation of
- committment to

Activities, policies and programs implimemted in the school in relation to multiculutralism

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. COMMITTEES

Can you tell me what committees in the school you are on

- eg - the school council
  - The Greek parents association
  - The parents association etc

Can you tell me as much as possible about the way in which these committees work

- How are they structured
- What kind of people are on it
- The extent of involvement by -

parents
teachers
students

2. DECISIONS MADE BY COMMITTEES

Can you tell me as much as possible about the decisions made by these committees

- What kinds of decisions are made
- How are -

parents
teachers
students

involved in the decision making

- How much power have decisions made by these committees

3. What is the feeling on these committees towards the way others in the school are heading

- eg - its treatment of students, parents and others within the school
  - the school curriculum
  - amalgamation
  - other aspects of school life
- Would there be any changes that your committee would envisage to the future of the school
  - what kind of changes would they be
  - how would they be implimented

4. THE CHILDREN

Could you tell me as much as possible about the children you have at the school

- ie DEMOGRAPHIC DETAIL

How many children have you in the school
How old are they
What forms are they in
What subjects are they doing

ASPIRATIONS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

- What does the child want to do whan he is older

Is this a sensible idea on his part
How has the child been progressing in the school
Have you been pleased with his progress

FEELINGS TOWARDS THE SCHOOL

- How does the child feel towars the school - ie - is he happy to go to school
- Is he often ill, anxious, frightened, etc, because of school

THE CHILD AND THE SCHOOL

5. Can you tell me as much as possible what it is like to be a child at the school
   - What are some of the things that make it good for your child at the school
   - what are some of the things that make it difficult
   - What is the relationship between
     - students at the school
     - students and teachers
     - the school and parents
   - have you noted much prejudice, tolerence conflict etc in people's relationships towards each other
     - can you tell me any stories that would make these instances clearer to me

6. CULTURAL MAINTAINANCE

   A. Can you tell me a bit about yourself
      - Where did you come from
      - How long have you been in Australia
      - Why did you come to Australia etc
      - What do you consider to be your ethnic background

   B. Can you tell me a bit about the languages you speak
      - What languages do you speak
      - how good are you at speaking them
      - When do you speak them
      - How do other people react when you speak those languages

   C. How competent are your children at speaking those languages
      - when do they use these languages
      - How well do they speak them
      - Where do they learn to speak
      - Is their use of the language good enough

   D. What other things might you do because it is part of you ethnic heritage
      ie Do you - Keep seperate groups of friends
      - celebrate different festivals
      - prefer different foods
      - dress differently
      - see things in a different way to people who are not of X background

   E. What is the aititude of your children towards their ethnic background
      - Do they respect the things you feel are important
      - Do they always want to do these things
      - What happens in your family on these occassions

F. Who do you think should take responsibility for teaching these things about your ethnic language and culture

- the home
- the school
- the church
- the ethnic school

G. What is the place of the school in teaching about language and culture

- What is the school doing
- is it enough
- what else could it be doing

7. Can you tell me as much as possible about what it is like being in a school with so many different groups
How have you had to behave differently

- What are the good points
- what are the problems

8. What have you heard about the government's policy of multiculturalism

- What is it about
- Is it a sensible policy
- how does it apply at the school
- What is you feeling about this

OBSERVATIONS

1. Were there any noticeable undercurrents in the conversation in relation to

- my work
- the staff
- the students
- parents
- the community
- The govenment
- others

2. Did the respondent reflect -
- a Knowledge of
- sympathy for the ethnic community of the school

3 - Did the respondent refect -
- Knowledge of
- understanding of
- agreement with
- commitment to

Government policy in relation to multiculturalism

4 - Did the respondent reflect a good understanding of the different facets of school life

5 - other comments

6 - Issues

7.- concerns

OBSERVATIONS

THE HOME

1.- Describe the surrounding area
- where is the home situated
- the surrounding area
- its proximity to the school
- its proximity to other facillties

2.- Describe the internal appearance of the home

3. Describe the relationships within the family
- the behaviour between parents and children
- any signs of - conflict
  - harmony
- parental pride in their children etc

4. - In what language do parents and children communicate
- is it a language that they both use well

5. Does the parent maintain any non- Anglo cultural mannerisms
- eg. food
  dress
  mannerisms etc

How do children react to this
also use these mannerisms
ignore them
resent them

MAPPING SILENT NARRATIONS:

Racism and multiculturalism in a Melbourne school

1988 - 1998

Appendix Four

EDUCATIONVICTORIA
Achievement through learning

Department of Education

Metropolitan Region

The Hub Offices, 26 McCrae Street
Dandenong, Victoria, Australia 3175

P O Box 5, Dandenong, Victoria 3175

Telephone: (03) 9794 3555
Facsimile: (03) 9794 3645

Ms Ruth Arber
Faculty of Education
School of Graduate Studies
Monash University
Clayton 3168

17 November 1997

Dear Ms Arber

Thank you for your letter of 6 November 1997 outlining the research you will be undertaking at [illegible] Secondary College within the [illegible]ern Metropolitan Region.

Approval for your research has been granted through the School and Community Support Branch as is required.

I wish you well with your study.

Yours sincerely

[redacted]

GENERAL MANAGER (SCHOOLS)
SOUTHERN METROPOLITAN REGION

Attention:
Secondary College
Clayton, 3165

Dear

Please find enclosed the letter from the Department of Education, Victoria giving approval for the research project *Racism and anti- racism in Australian schools*. As you can see from the last paragraph of that letter, they see this study as of particular interest to the department.

As we discussed at our meeting the other day, I will attend a meeting of the school council in December to confirm their approval for this research. In all discussions with school members you have requested that the name of the research be changed. I thought that a title *Multiculturalism in Australian schools: ten years on* might be appropriate, emphasising the longitudinal nature of this study.

I will ring you towards the end of November to confirm these details and the date and time of the next council meeting, If you have any questions before this time I can be contacted on 9905 2885 or you can contact my supervisor, Professor Fazal Rizvi on 9905 9194.

Looking forward to beginning this research project at the beginning of 1998.

Yours faithfully

Ruth Arber

attach · doc

Attention: Mr.
General Manager (Schools)
Department of Education
Metropolitan Region

3175

Dear

Please find enclosed an outline of a research project *Racism and anti racism in schools* and a copy of the letter of approval given by the Education Department. The nature of this research project has been discussed with the school principal, and I am looking forward to beginning this research at the beginning of next year.

If you have any questions about this research I can be contacted on 9905 2885 or you can contact my supervisor, Professor Fazal Rizvi on 9905 9194.

Yours faithfully

Ruth Arber

EDUCATIONVICTORIA
Achievement through learning

Office of Schools

Department of Education

Rialto South Tower
525 Collins Street, Melbourne
Victoria 3000, Australia
GPO Box 4367 Melbourne
Victoria 3001, Australia

Telephone (03) 9628 2211
Facsimile (03) 9629 6049

School Community Support Branch
Level 2, 33 St Andrews Place
Melbourne 3002
Telephone (03) 9637 2346
Facsimile (03) 9637 2180

SOS 000321

28 October 1997

Ms Ruth Arber
Faculty of Education
Monash University
Wellington Rd
CLAYTON 3168

Dear Ms Arber

Thank you for your letter in which you request permission to conduct a research study in ' ' Secondary College titled *Racism and anti racism in Australian schools*.

I am pleased to advise that your research proposal is approved in principle subject to the conditions detailed below.

1. You obtain approval for the research to be conducted in the school directly from the principal. Details of your research, copies of this letter of approval and the letter of approval from the relevant ethics committee are to be provided to the principal. The decision as to whether or not your research can proceed in a school rests with the principal.

2. As a matter of courtesy, the school in which you intend to approach for your research should be provided to the General Manager (Schools) of the Southern Metropolitan Region in which these schools are located.

Attention: Dr. Kevin Kee
Manager, School Council Projects
School Community Support Branch
Department of Education
Level 7
North Rialto Towers
P.O. Box 4367
Melbourne, 3001

Dear Dr. Kee,

Re: Application to conduct research Project entitled Racism and anti racism in Australian schools

I formally request permission to undertake research within a particular state secondary college.

This research project, entitled *Racism and anti racism in Australian schools* seeks to critically examine the various practical, conceptual/theoretical and political approaches to anti racist education, developed in Australia since 1978, in order to develop a more systematic and coherent theory of anti racist education. An important part of this project is to seek to identify and interrogate the way multicultural and anti racism strategies are contended, intended, implemented and experienced in schools, with what historical antecedents and with what consequences.

Racism has been a central construct throughout Australia's post-settler history. During the last 20 years a series of legal, political and educational approaches to anti racism have been developed and implemented. Yet, recent writings have suggested that these approaches have not fully realised their lofty aspirations, have serious theoretical limitations and most seriously, share many of the same understandings which underpin the racist elements about which they are concerned. Education particularly has been understood as a central strategy within these academic discussions. However, little research has been undertaken within schools to trace out the history, form and consequences of these strategies. This project seeks to fill this void.

Please find enclosed with this letter the information required by your office. It is hoped that you will be able to help me in my request

Yours Faithfully

Ruth Arber

Department of Education

Office of Schools

Research in Schools

Re: Application to conduct research Project entitled Racism and anti racism in Australian schools

Name of researcher

Ruth Arber - B.Ec (Monash), Dip Ed (Monash), B.Ed(TESOL) (La Trobe), M.Ed (La Trobe)

Name of Supervisor

Professor Fazal Rizvi - Dip. Teach(Canberra), B.Ed.(Canberra), M.Ed.(Manchester), Ph.D.(London)

Research Institution

Faculty of Education
Monash University
Wellington Rd
Clayton

Who will the research involve

Parents
Teachers

Anticipated time constraints on each

40 - 60 minutes

Why the research is required

Over the last 20 years there have been many attempts to suggest appropriate strategies for developing good community relations in Australia. However, these strategies have often been problematic in that they have not fully realised their lofty aspirations, have serious theoretical limitations and most seriously, share many of the same assumptions which underpin the sometimes racist sentiments they seek to confront.

Education and schools has been envisaged as central to the implementation of many of these strategies. However, very few studies have been made to understand how racism and the strategies taken to ameliorate its effects have been understood, implemented and experienced in schools. It is hoped that the

identification and analysis of the history, form and effects of these strategies will provide important data to develop a more systematic and coherent view of anti racist education.

The contribution the study will make to education

Since the Second World War a diversity of immigration patterns and increasing globalisation has made understanding racism and the politics of difference essential. The development of a more systematic and coherent theory of anti racist education would provide an essential basis on which to develop relevant curriculum and pedagogy and underpin more effective strategies both for schools and the community generally.

The objectives of the study

To critically examine the various approaches to anti racist education, developed in Australia since 1978 in order to develop a more systemic and coherent view of anti racist education.

The major questions underpinning the study

1. What are the ways anti racism and multicultural policies and practices have been contended, intended, implemented and experienced within schools?
2. What are some of the historical antecedents which underpin those policies and practices?
3. What have been the consequences of those practices
4. What are the implications of these findings for defining future anti racism policy and practices?

Research methodology to be used

The research will take place in three ways:

1. Literature Review

A largescale literature review of recent academic approaches towards racism and anti racism.

2. Document search

A search of appropriate documents detailing current school policies and practices relating to multiculturalism and anti racism within schools.

3. Interview

A series of open ended interviews of between 40 - 60 minutes in length to be given to teachers and parents. These will be taped, transcribed and analysed. Copies of transcripts will be sent to respondents for their perusal.

The proposed sample population.

In order to identify and interrogate anti racism strategies from a variety of positionings purposive sampling techniques will be used to identify :

Teachers: between 10 and 15 teachers including respondents intimate with: the overall running of the schools, the implementation of specific multicultural and anti racism strategies, particular experiences as being ethnically marked or unmarked within the school and the day to day interaction of community members within the school.

Parents : between 10 and 15 parents including respondents intimate with: the overall running of the schools, the implementation of specific multicultural and anti racism strategies, particular experiences as being ethnically marked or unmarked within the school and the day to day interaction of community members within the school.

Considerations of confidentially issues

The name of the school and of respondents and contents of taped interviews will be known only to the researcher and her supervisor.

Endorsement of relevant research ethnics committee

Endorsement of the relevant Monash research ethics committee is being sought concurrently with this application

Copy of the relevant interview schedules

See appendix

Copy of relevant informed consent forms

See appendix

The intended use of the findings

It is intended that this material form the basis of my research thesis. This material will be placed in bound form and placed in Monash library. The findings may also be used in papers and other publications produced by the researcher.

Attention: Dr. Kevin Kee
Manager, School Council Projects
School Community Support Branch
Department of Education
Level 7
North Rialto Towers
P.O. Box 4367
Melbourne, 3001

Dear Dr. Kee,

Re: Application to conduct research Project entitled Racism and anti racism in Australian schools

Please find enclosed a copy of approval for my project from the Monash University "Standing Committee on Ethics in Research on Humans" granted 5/10/97. I would like to add this document to the application which I forwarded to you last month.

I look forward to your consideration of my request

Yours faithfully

Ruth Arber

Attention: Mr. [redacted]
General Manager (Schools)
Department of Education
[redacted]ern Metropolitan Region
PO Box 5
Dandenong, 3175

Dear Mr. [redacted]e,

Please find enclosed an outline of a research project *Racism and anti racism in schools* and a copy of the letter of approval given by the Education Department. The nature of this research project has been discussed with the school principal, Ms. [redacted] and I am looking forward to beginning this research at the beginning of next year.

If you have any questions about this research I can be contacted on 9905 2885 or you can contact my supervisor, Professor Fazal Rizvi on 9905 9194.

Yours faithfully

Ruth Arber

Attention:

Dear Ms.,

Ten years ago I completed a research thesis at your school where I looked at the way policies of multiculturalism were being understood, implemented and experienced in schools. Towards the beginning of 1998, I wish to initiate a second research project as part of the research for my Doctorate degree. This study seeks to critically examine the various approaches to anti racist education, developed in Australia since 1978, in order to develop a more systematic and coherent theory. This second study at your school would provide the basis for a longitudinal view of the school and the progress it has made in institutionalising its commitment to multiculturalism.

Racism has been a central construct throughout Australia's post-settler history. During the last 20 years a series of legal, political and educational approaches to anti racism have been developed and implemented. Yet, recent writings have suggested that these approaches have not fully realised their lofty aspirations, have serious theoretical limitations and most seriously, share many of the same understandings which underpin the racist elements about which they are concerned. Education particularly has been understood as a central strategy within these academic discussions. However, little research has been undertaken within schools to trace out the history, form and consequences of these strategies. This project seeks to fill this void.

I have already completed an extensive search of the literature and of relevant policy documents. I therefore propose to conduct the interviews at your school during the first half of 1998. Ethics approval for this research has been given by the Monash University Standing Committee on Ethnics in Research on Humans (SCERH) and approval with the Department of School Education is pending.

I will ring you next week to organise a time when I can meet with you to discuss this research further. If you have any questions before this time I can be contacted at 9905 2885 or you can contact my supervisor, Professor Fazal Rizvi on 9905 9194.

I am sure that you would agree that recent events surrounding the Hanson debate have made my research most timely. I fervently hope that you will be able to accede to my request.

Yours faithfully

Ruth Arber

Attention:

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Please find enclosed the letter from the Department of Education, Victoria giving approval for the research project *Racism and anti- racism in Australian schools*. As you can see from the last paragraph of that letter, they see this study as of particular interest to the department.

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I will ring you towards the end of November to confirm these details and the date and time of the next council meeting, If you have any questions before this time I can be contacted on 9905 2885 or you can contact my supervisor, Professor Fazal Rizvi on 9905 9194.

Looking forward to beginning this research project at the beginning of 1998.

Yours faithfully

Ruth Arber

Racism and education in Australian schools

Preamble:

Racism has been a central construct throughout the formation of post colonial Australia During the last 20 years a series of legal, political and educational approaches have been critiqued as ways to confront this. Recent writing has argued that these concepts have not fully realised their lofty aspirations, have serious theoretical limitations and most seriously, share many of the same understandings which underpin the racist elements about which they are concerned. Education particularly has been understood as a central strategy within those academic discussions. However, little research has been undertaken within schools to trace out the history, form and consequences of these strategies.

Recent British, American and Australian theorists suggest that anti racism be researched through a different approach informed by post structural, post colonial and feminist literatures. These writings suggest that as an almost empty construction, racism and therefore anti racism must be understood as part of a larger understanding of the way positionality and the construction of knowledge are embodied within 'wars of manoeuvres' between the discourses which frame human potentialities for understanding. Studies of racism and anti racism studies must therefore trace the way understandings about racism and therefore anti racism have become naturalised in body, space and time, if the ambivalent, contested and contradictory nature of multicultural and anti racism policies and practices are to be understood. A longitudinal study of racism and anti racism practices in schools would allow these understandings to be identified and interrogated as a first step to approaching anti racism strategy formulation particularly as it applies to schools

Task:

To critically examine the various theoretical, practical and political approaches to anti racism developed in Australia since 1978 in order to develop a more systematic and coherent theory of anti racist education.

Aim of the research:

To identify and interrogate anti racism strategies as they are contended, intended, implemented and experienced in schools; with what historical antecedents and with what consequences as a first step towards developing more systematic and coherent approach.

Why the research is required

Education and schools has been envisaged as central to the implementation of many anti racism projects. However, very few studies have been made to understand how racism and the strategies taken to ameliorate its effects have been understood, implemented and experienced in schools. It is hoped that the identification and analysis of the history, form and effects of these strategies will provide important data to develop a more systematic and coherent theory of anti racist education.

The school:

In 1988 an indepth study was completed of one particular secondary college as part of the research completed for my masters degree. This work defined and analysed the way in which multicultural policies and practices were being understood, implemented and experienced in schools.

Research at this secondary college was perceived as being particularly important. It was a school with a diversity of new migrants and students of NESB, which had set in place a large number of practices set in place to work with this diversity. Since then the policies and practices implemented within the school have changed markedly as have the way such strategies are understood both within schools and in the society at large . All of these have altered the way racism and therefore anti racism strategies are understood and can take place in important ways. A longitudinal study would provide a most exciting opportunity to trace the

way that these changes have taken place and what their consequences have been upon the way anti racism policies and practices have been understood and implemented.

Methodology

The research will take place in three different ways.

1. Document search

A search will be made of appropriate documents detailing current school policies and practices relating to multiculturalism and anti racism within schools.

2. Interview

A series of open ended interviews of between 40 - 60 minutes in length to be given to a teachers and parents. These will be taped, transcribed and analysed. Copies of transcriptions and early stages of the analysis will sent to respondents for their perusal.

Format:

The interviews will follow an open ended format. This means that the interviewer will be guided by a list of prepared topic ideas used to ensure that important areas for the research are discussed within the interview. These ideas will vary depending on the respondents position of knowledge within the school and according to material accumulated throughout other interviews and from the literature. The reflexive nature of this type of methodology allows the researcher and the respondent to follow avenues of conversation which seem important to the research. Teachers will be made aware of the open ended nature of this research procedure and can change the subject at any time.

Content:

The content of the interviews will revolve around the following concepts:

What form did policies of multiculturalism and anti-racism take in their contention, intention and implementation?
When were these policies introduced within the school?
How were they introduced?
What assumptions about racism and anti racism were reflected within those strategies?
What were the effects of these strategies?
What (if any) problems were implicit in their implementation?
What further actions are planned?
Why?

The interviews will be structured around a number of themes : context, the form of policy and practices, its historical antecedents and its effects; and these will explore the following questions.

Context:

What is the context of the school in which policies of multiculturalism and anti racism are being carried out
- The demography of the school: staff, teachers and students.
- The physical environment of the school: facilities
- The school curriculum: its emphasis, structure and importance to the ethnic population

How have these demographic factors changed over the last decade?

Perceptions of community

What is it like being a member of this school community?
- What are its good points?
- What are its bad points?
- How do community members get along?

In what ways have these feeling of community changed over the last ten years? What factors do you think have caused these changes?

Present school strategies
What policies and practices are currently being implemented within the school? When were they introduced? How? Who introduced them?
How are they influenced by Government policy? What other factors might have influenced the development of those policies?
In what ways have these policies and practices made a difference to the way events and understandings which take place within the school?
Would you change them? Why?

Suggested school strategies
What policies and practices do you believe should be implemented into the school to build good community relations? Why?
Would these policies and practices mean any changes to the school approach? In what ways?
If you had the power to change school strategies, how would you carry them out? Why?

Changes to community relations strategies
How have the community relations strategies changed at the school over the last decade? Why?
What caused those changes to take place?
Were these changes a good idea? How effective were they? Why?
is the school planning to make any further changes to school community relations policy?

Effects of strategies
What predictions would you make about the future of community relations at the school
How will these happenings be influenced by policies and practices carried out by the school?

Method:

Questions will be asked in ways which will allow the respondent, rather than the interviewer to speak as much as possible. They will be framed in ways which allow respondent to speak of material rather than abstract events. : *How well do you feel students, especially those from different ethnic groups, get along within the school? What strategies has the school put in place to encourage these relationships? Why did they introduce those? Have these strategies changed much over the last decade? Why? How effective do you think that they have been? Why? Do you think that they should be introduced differently, how?*

Document search

The document search will include the collection of such items as;

Demographic materials

Material relating to demographic details: ie ethnic census figures etc

Policy documents

Materials relating to the form of school community relations policies: ie Government policy statements, School policy documents, newletters etc

Any documents which show the how and in what ways community relations policies and practices have or are intended to be implemented within the school

Copies of any documents produced by the school in relation to multiculturalism or racism.

Curriculum documents

Any documents showing how and in what ways community relations policies had been integrated within the curriculum

Attenti. ı:

Dear Ms.,

Ten years ago I completed a research thesis at your school where I looked at the way policies of multiculturalism were being understood, implemented and experienced in schools. Towards the beginning of 1998, I wish to initiate a second research project as part of the research for my Doctorate degree. This study seeks to critically examine the various approaches to anti racist education, developed in Australia since 1978, in order to develop a more systematic and coherent theory. This second study at your school would provide the basis for a longitudinal view of the school and the progress it has made in institutionalising its commitment to multiculturalism.

Racism has been a central construct throughout Australia's post-settler history. During the last 20 years a series of legal, political and educational approaches to anti racism have been developed and implemented. Yet, recent writings have suggested that these approaches have not fully realised their lofty aspirations, have serious theoretical limitations and most seriously, share many of the same understandings which underpin the racist elements about which they are concerned. Education particularly has been understood as a central strategy within these academic discussions. However, little research has been undertaken within schools to trace out the history, form and consequences of these strategies. This project seeks to fill this void.

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I will ring you next week to organise a time when I can meet with you to discuss this research further. If you have any questions before this time I can be contacted at 9905 2885 or you can contact my supervisor, Professor Fazal Rizvi on 9905 9194.

I am sure that you would agree that recent events surrounding the Hanson debate have made my research most timely. I fervently hope that you will be able to accede to my request.

Yours faithfully

Ruth Arber

Attention: Mr. Bill Kelly
Southgate Secondary College

Dear Bill,

In 1988, I interviewed you as part of a research thesis implemented at your school, which looked at the way multicultural policies were interpreted and implemented in schools. Ten years later, I want to carry out a second 'follow up' research project as part of my studies towards a Ph. D. In this study I wish to examine the way you and your school have developed your thinking about multicultural education and the ways some of these policies and practices are now different. In this way this second study would become part of a longitudinal view of the schools practices in multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism has provided a central focus for Australian strategies for good community relations for the last two decades. However, very little research has taken place to discover what form these policies and practices take, how they are implemented and the effects they have. The focus for this research is to study best practice within real schools as a first step towards building a new and more coherent approach to multicultural education.

In order to carry out this research I wish to speak to 10 - 15 teachers as well as parents and school committee members. I hope to interview as many people as possible who were participants within the 1988 study as well as some new participants who are able to provide an overview of the school's strategies. The format of these interviews will be similar to that of the 1988 study. A series of open-ended interviews approximately 50 minutes in length are planned with the interviewees. In this kind of interviewing a series of focus questions are given which allow study participants to lead the discussion to the ideas they believe to be important. The transcriptions are then transcribed and sent back to the participants to check they are an accurate description of their views.

This research has the approval and support of Monash University, the Victorian Department of Education, Ms (Principal) and the Southgate Secondary College school council. The school council has delegated Ms. and Ms to meet with me regularly to

supervise the research. I am now writing to ask for your support. I would be grateful to you if you are able to take part in this study.

I will ring you next week to ask if you are interested to take part in this research. If you are agreeable I will discuss with you a time when we can meet for interviews to take place. If you wish to speak to me before this time I can be contacted on 9905 2885 or you can contact my supervisor, Professor Fazal Rizvi on 9905 9194.

Yours faithfully

Ruth Arber

Endorsed by

Principal

Attention.

Dear Gillian,

Two months ago I interviewed you as part of a study to research ways multiculturalism is understood and implemented at your school. The transcription of those interviews is now complete and I am sending you a copy of the transcript.

If you wish to make any comments or to make changes to the text you can ring me, send me a letter with your comments or send a photocopy of the transcript with your alterations. I can be contacted at the

Faculty of Education
Monash University
Wellington Rd
Clayton
Ph: 9905 2885

I will be most pleased to hear from you. However I do not want to impose further on your time. If I have not heard from you within the next two weeks, therefore, I will assume that you do not wish to correspond with me further about these interviews.

Thankyou so much for giving me so much of your time. It was most interesting to speak with you.

Yours sincerely,

Ruth Arber

Attention:

Dear Gillian,

Thankyou so much for giving me so much of your time at the interview I had with you the other day. It was most interesting to speak with you. The information that you gave me has been most useful for my research. The data collection period of the research is almost complete and the interviews are presently being transcribed. When this transcription process is complete I will be sending you the transcript of your interview so that you can check whether there are any comments you would like to make.

Thankyou again for your interest in my research,

Yours sincerely,

Ruth Arber

Racism and education in Australian schools

Preamble:

Racism has been a central construct throughout the formation of post colonial Australia During the last 20 years a series of legal, political and educational approaches have been critiqued as ways to confront this. Recent writing has argued that these concepts have not fully realised their lofty aspirations, have serious theoretical limitations and most seriously, share many of the same understandings which underpin the racist elements about which they are concerned. Education particularly has been understood as a central strategy within those academic discussions. However, little research has been undertaken within schools to trace out the history, form and consequences of these strategies.

Recent British, American and Australian theorists suggest that anti racism be researched through a different approach informed by post structural, post colonial and feminist literatures. These writings suggest that as an almost empty construction, racism and therefore anti racism must be understood as part of a larger understanding of the way positionality and the construction of knowledge are embodied within 'wars of manoeuvres' between the discourses which frame human potentialities for understanding. Studies of racism and anti racism studies must therefore trace the way understandings about racism and therefore anti racism have become naturalised in body, space and time, if the ambivalent, contested and contradictory nature of multicultural and anti racism policies and practices are to be understood. A longitudinal study of racism and anti racism practices in schools would allow these understandings to be identified and interrogated as a first step to approaching anti racism strategy formulation particularly as it applies to schools

Task:

To critically examine the various theoretical, practical and political approaches to anti racism developed in Australia since 1978 in order to develop a more systematic and coherent theory of anti racist education.

Aim of the research:

To identify and interrogate anti racism strategies as they are contended, intended, implemented and experienced in schools; with what historical antecedents and with what consequences as a first step towards developing more systematic and coherent approach.

Why the research is required

Education and schools has been envisaged as central to the implementation of many anti racism projects. However, very few studies have been made to understand how racism and the strategies taken to ameliorate its effects have been understood, implemented and experienced in schools. It is hoped that the identification and analysis of the history, form and effects of these strategies will provide important data to develop a more systematic and coherent theory of anti racist education.

The school:

In 1988 an indepth study was completed of one particular secondary college as part of the research completed for my masters degree. This work defined and analysed the way in which multicultural policies and practices were being understood, implemented and experienced in schools.

Research at this secondary college was perceived as being particularly important. It was a school with a diversity of new migrants and students of NESB, which had set in place a large number of practices set in place to work with this diversity. Since then the policies and practices implemented within the school have changed markedly as have the way such strategies are understood both within schools and in the society t large . All of these have altered the way racism and therefore anti racism strategies are understood and can take place in important ways. A longitudinal study would provide a most exciting

opportunity to trace the way that these changes have taken place and what their consequences have been upon the way anti racism policies and practices have been understood and implemented.

Methodology

The research will take place in three different ways.

1. Document search

A search will be made of appropriate documents detailing current school policies and practices relating to multiculturalism and anti racism within schools.

2. Interview

A series of open ended interviews of between 40 - 60 minutes in length to be given to a teachers and parents. These will be taped, transcribed and analysed. Copies of transcriptions and early stages of the analysis will sent to respondents for their perusal.

Attention:
Secondary College
Ave
3165

Dear Ms.

As we discussed at our last meeting I enclose here a clarifying statement to go with the agenda papers for your next council meeting to be held on the 23rd February, 1998. I believe this statement more clearly identifies the focus of my research and the way the study could be implemented within the school. I hope that time can be made at this next meeting to lay to rest any further concerns which the committee might have about this study.

Over the last decade Secondary School has become well known as a site of best practice for multicultural policies and strategies. The opportunity to implement a longitudinal study into your school would be a most exciting one.

I will ring you next week to organise a time when I can meet with you and discuss this research further. If you have any questions before this time I can be contacted at 9905 2885 or you can contact my supervisor, Professor Fazal Rizvi on 9905 9194.

Yours faithfully

Ruth Arber

Monash University

Faculty of Education

The way forward: strategies for multicultural education in contemporary Australian schools

Proposed research to be undertaken
Ruth Arber

Background

For the last two decades multiculturalism has provided a central focus for Australian strategies for good community relations. This commitment has recently been reconfirmed by the Kennett Government's November document: *Multicultural policy for Victorian schools* (1997) and the Federal Government's issues paper: *Multicultural Australia: the way forward* (1997). Schools and education provide a central focus for both these documents. However, little research has taken place to discover what form these policies and practices might take, why they might be implemented or what effects they might have. The focus for this research is to research best practice within real schools as a first step towards building a new and more coherent approach for Australian educational policy and practice in and for a multicultural society.

What the research is about

This research is about strategies: about finding what can be considered best practice for schools as they set about educating students for tolerance and cultural sensitivity within Australia's increasing cosmopolitan society. The task for the research is to examine the various approaches to multicultural education developed in Australia since 1978, in order to develop a more systematic and coherent theory towards multicultural education

Ten years ago a research project was implemented at Southbank Secondary School where I looked at the way policies of multiculturalism were being understood, implemented and experienced in schools. The data from this research informs part of my master's degree as well as several of conference papers and publications. The focus for this second research project is to implement a follow-up study of best practice within a real school: its history, form and effects. This second study would provide the basis for a more longitudinal view of the school and the progress it has made in institutionalising its commitment to multiculturalism.

What the research is <u>not</u> about

This research is about developing a systematic and coherent pedagogy for educating students in and for an increasingly cosmopolitan Australian society. The questions within the research emerge from the search for these strategies.

This research is not concerned, in any way, to evaluate the school or any members of the school community as being racist or as having any other particular attitudes or behaviours which might be seen as being racist, pathological or negative.

Why Southbank

Southbank Secondary College is an important focus for this research project because:

- The school is well known as a site for best educational practice in and for an Australian multicultural society

- The school is always and is already reworking its multicultural strategies in new and important ways

- The school was part of a research project set in place by the researcher 10 years ago, thus allowing the implementation of an important, unprecedented and long overdue longitudinal approach.

Who do I want to speak to

It is proposed to speak to 10 - 15 teachers and 10 - 15 parents within the school.
As much as possible these people should be participants from the 1988 study.
Other participants will be purposefully sampled to include those teachers and parents who are able to provide:

- an overview of the school
- an overview of multicultural and anti racism strategies implemented
- a broad representative sample of community groupings (especially ethnic groupings) within the school

Methodology

The research will take place in three different ways.

- Literature search

A largescale review of recent academic and Government approaches to multiculturalism is already underway.

- Document search

A search will be made of appropriate documents detailing current school policies and practices relating to multiculturalism within schools.

- .Interview

A series of open ended interviews of between 40 - 60 minutes in length to be given to a teachers and parents. These will be taped, transcribed and analysed. Copies of transcriptions will sent to respondents for their perusal.

Content:

The content of the interviews revolves around the following questions:

- What is the context of the school in which policies of multiculturalism are being carried out: demography, facilities, curriculum, relational
- What form do policies of multiculturalism take at the school: their contention, intention and implementation?
- How are they being introduced?
- What assumptions about multiculturalism are reflected within those strategies?
- What are the effects of these strategies?
- What (if any) problems were implicit in their implementation?
- What further actions are planned?
- Why?

Research safeguards

Safeguards to protect the school and its community members include the following:

- The name of the school and respondents and the contents of taped interviews will be made known only to the researcher and her supervisor.
- When it is necessary to speak of the school or any members of the school community they shall be referred to by pseudonym only and every effort will be made to disguise their identities.
- The research has been endorsed by the Department of School Education and by the Monash Research Ethics Committee and will conform with all procedures and restrictions laid down by these bodies.
- The nature of the research will be explained to each respondent and appropriate consent forms negotiated.
- It will be made clear that any respondent can withdraw form the research at any time

About the researcher

Ruth Arber
Has been a teacher of English and English as a Second Language at a western suburbs secondary college for nearly 20 years.

During this time she completed her Masters Degree in 1992 at La Trobe university. As part of this research she completed a study of multicultural strategies at Westall Secondary College in 1988.

Since that time she has worked extensively on projects related to the contention and implementation of multicultural policy and practice. These include:

- Research projects at Monash, Deakin and La Trobe Universities
- Published materials and papers (particularly for teaching journals and conferences)
- Workshops for both the CEO and the DSE.
- Membership of the DSE 'Community Relations Taskforce'
- Lecturer in sociology and the Politics of identity and Difference at both VUT and Monash Universities.

She presently has a scholarship to complete her Ph.D at Monash University.

Explanatory statement

Project title: Racism and anti-racism in Australian schools

My name is Ruth Arber and I am studying at Monash university for my Doctor of Philosophy degree. My research for this degree is under the supervision of Professor Fazal Rizvi from the Education Faculty of the Clayton campus of the university.

The aim of this research is to discuss strategies taking place in schools to combat racism as a way of finding a proper approach to education in an increasingly cosmopolitan Australia. I propose to ask teachers and parents about the way they think that multicultural and anti racism practices have been introduced into the school, why they have been introduced, what effects they have had and what additional steps might be taken. These discussions will take place as open ended interviews of about 40- 60 minutes in length. In this kind of interviewing, the interviewer uses as a guide sets of suggested topic ideas. These ideas are discussed in whatever way the interviewer and the respondent feel will allow as much material as possible to be collected for the research. The interviews will be taped, transcribed for analysis and returned to the respondent for authorisation. They will then be analysed and that material used as the basis for the research chapter. The interview transcripts, the school and the participants within the research will not be known to any persons except the researcher and her supervisor.

Participation in this task is entirely voluntary and if you agree to participate you may withdraw your consent at any time. Participating teachers will have the opportunity to study the content and formation of the case study in its initial research stages. They may edit from any publication any material that they believe is prejudicial to them.

If you have any further questions about this research or would like more information about the research findings please contact Ms Ruth Arber, School of Graduate Studies, Monash University, Clayton 3168. Telephone (03) 9905 2885.

Should you have any complaint concerning the manner in which this research is conducted, please do not hesitate to contact The Standing Committee on Ethics on Humans at the following address:
The secretary,
Standing Committee on Ethics in Research on Humans,
Monash University,
Wellington Road,
Clayton, 3168.
Telephone: (03) 9905 2052 Fax. (03) 9905 1420

Yours sincerely,

Ruth Arber

If you agree to participate in this study please send the signed informed consent form to Ruth Arber

Informed consent form

Project title: Racism and anti racism in Australian schools

I agree to take part in the Monash University research study. I have had the study explained to me, and I have read and understood the explanatory statement, which I retain for my records.

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate and that I can withdraw my participation at any stage of the project.

Name:.....(Please print)

Signature:..... Date:.....

The way forward: strategies for multicultural education in contemporary Australian schools

Teachers

Interview Schedule

Cover page

Code:.....(Nominated research name).....

Name:.....

Date:..... Sex.....

School:.....

Role within the school:.....

Subjects teaching:.....

Subjects qualified to teach:.....

Academic qualifications:.....

Place where qualifications were obtained:.....

Other qualifications:.....

Length of time teaching:.....

Other schools you have taught in:.....

Other duties within the school:.....

Have you done any studies or inservices related to multiculturalism? What were they?

.....

Place of Birth..... Of Spouse(if applicable).....

Of parents(Father)..... (Mother).....

Other languages spoken .....

By parents.....

By spouse .....

Place where language learning took place.....

Situations where other languages are used .....

Do you use the language in the school? how?.....

What do you consider to be your ethnic background?.....

The way forward: strategies for multicultural education in contemporary Australian schools

Teachers schedule

Brief explanation of the research, the methodology and the informed consent form so that the respondent can sign those forms

1. Can you tell me about the kinds of ways schools have changed between 1988 and now?

2. Can you describe to me the students you have at the school now and how they might differ from the students who were at the school last time I was here?

3. Can you tell me about the programs introduced more recently at this school in regard to multiculturalism and difference and how they have changed from what was happening earlier.

4. Can you tell me about any policy statements introduced into the school in relation to multiculturalism since 1988.

5. You have told me about the policies and practices which have been introduced into the school since 1988? Could you tell me about how and why these particular changes were made?

6. How effective have you found multicultural policies and practices to be in the school in 1998? What consequences have they had?

7. What are the aims that you believe are important for multicultural policies in 1998?
Have your ideas changed since 1988? Why? In what ways?

8. What are the objectives that you think should underpin multicultural practice in 1998?
Have your ideas changed since 1998? Why? In what ways?

9. What practices do you think would best carry out the aims and objectives of multiculturalism in 1988?
Have your ideas changed since 1988?` Why? in what ways?

10. Do you see multicultural aims and objectives as having limitations? What are they?

11. What do you see as the role of the school when instituting multicultural policies and practices? Are there some multicultural objectives which are best carried out by institutions outside of the school? How? Which ones?

12. What, if anything, have you seen as your personal role to help implement multicultural policy and practice? How effective have you been in carrying out these tasks? Why?

13. Can you tell me about how you define your particular identity?
What have you noticed about the way that others in the school define their identity?

14. How do you maintain your cultural identity?
What have you noticed about the way people within the school maintain their cultural identity?
Can you tell me what you see as being the advantages and disadvantages of people maintaining cultural characteristics in this way?

15. What effects have you found that differences between students, especially cultural differences within the school have had, especially on the way teaching and learning can take place within the school?
How do you think that these differences should be dealt with in the schools?

16. How do you think that moving between cultures can be an advantage or a disadvantage to the way teaching and learning can take place within schools.

17. What do you see as the effects of difference, on relationships between students and between students and teachers at the school?

18. Are there any more comments that you would like to make about the ways that you believe that multicultural policies and practices could best be understood and implemented in schools.

The way forward: strategies for multicultural education in contemporary Australian schools

Teachers schedule

Introduction:

Background of the research
Ten years ago I was at the school and to study how multicultural policies and practices were understood and implemented within the school. Now that I am here ten years later I want to look at how the understandings that I got from those last interview have changed between then and now as part of a process of understanding other and better ways of introducing multicultural policies and practices in schools

Methodology
The idea of this kind of questionnaire is that I listen and you talk- the questions are changeable. If something comes up that is really interesting, then we might follow up that line of thought
So the questions are more as pointers of the direction that the interview might take rather than as absolute and unchanging questions.

The explanatory statement and the informed consent form
Monash university asks that we make sure that we explain all these things at each interview and that each person signs that they understand what the interview is about. Before we start the interview could you read through this form. If you have any questions please ask me. otherwise could you please sign this form giving permission for this interview to take place.

Changes to the school - General

When I was here last the Labour Government was in power. In 1988 it had just put in place several important changes - ie VCE, amalgamation, Ministerial paper No. 6, only 1/3 of students stayed on until year 12. Since then there have been a lot of changes in the way that schools are run - ie especially schools of the future.
Can you tell me about the kinds of ways schools have changed between then and now?
-What are the main changes in Government policy since 1988 -
-What are the main documents which reflect these changes
- What effect have these changes had on the schools

Demographic change

When I was at the school in 1988 the population of the school was undergoing a large number of changes. Where the majority of students earlier had either been Anglo Australian or second generation students from Greece and Italy now a majority of students were recent arrivals coming especially from Vietnam and Cambodia.
Can you describe to me the students you have at the school now and how they might differ from the students who were at the school last time I was here?
What about international students.

Changes to multicultural programs: form

When I was at the school the last time it was felt that because of the changes in the demography of the school, the school needed to change the programs and practices implemented within the school..
A large numbers of most exciting programs and practices had been introduced.

ie.- Communication aides program/Parental involvement
- Multicultural weeks

- Languages other than English
- Bilingual programs
- Multicultural perspectives across the curriculum
- ESL

I know that you have developed these programs markedly since then.
Can you tell me about the programs introduced more recently at this school in regard to multiculturalism and difference and how they have changed from what was happening earlier.

Multicultural policy - Form

When I was here last the school did not have an official multicultural policy statement. I know that the school has just implemented a new policy statement.
What policies have been introduced into the school in relation to multiculturalism.

Multicultural policy and practice - history

You have told me about the policies and practices which have been introduced into the school since 1988?
Could you tell me about how and why these particular changes were made?
- Why were these particular changes made
- Who introduced them and why
- Were Government documents useful.

Multicultural policy and practice - effects

What about the policies and practices which you have noted have been introduced in the school. When I was at the school last time, teachers felt that multicultural programs had had some success. Parents had more access to schools, for instance, and students had the opportunity to learn about the cultures of other students. Others felt that these kinds of multicultural practices were token and did not really change much
How effective have you found multicultural policies and practices to be in the school in 1998? What consequences have they had?
Would things have been better had multicultural policies and practices not been introduced into the school?

The aims of multiculturalism

When I was at the school last time many teachers felt that central aims for multicultural policies and practices should include those of *bringing people together, to reduce barriers between people and to respect other cultures.*
What are the aims that believe are important for multicultural policies in 1998.
Have your ideas changed since 1988? Why? In what ways?

The objectives for multicultural educative practice

When I was here last time many teachers argued that central objectives for multicultural education should include those of *teaching students about others, allowing students to meet others, encouraging students to know more about their own languages and cultures, to teach about Australian culture and to bring parents more actively into the school community.*

What are the objectives that you think should underpin multicultural practice in 1998.
Have your ideas changed since 1998? Why? In what ways?

The practices for multicultural education

When I was here last teachers suggested many kinds of practices which could best accommodate the aims and objectives they had for multiculturalism. Some of these were implemented by the school - others were different?

What practices do you think should best carry out the aims and objectives of multiculturalism in 1988? Have your ideas changed since 1988? Why? in what ways?

The limitations of multicultural aims and objective

When I was here last time teachers felt that multicultural policies and practices were important but that they should have important limitations. For instance, they felt that retention of a diversity of cultures was a good idea but that this should not be at the expense of a core culture within the school. Similarly, they felt that students from different cultures should mix together but that some students were particularly difficult to mix with.

Do you see multicultural aims and objectives as having limitations. What are they?

Implementing multicultural policy and practice and the role of the school

When I was here in 1988 teachers disagreed about the role that schools should play when introducing multicultural practices. Some teachers felt that the school had a strong role to play in the implementation of multicultural policies and practices. Others felt that there were some multicultural objectives which were best carried out by institutions outside of the school.

What do you see as the role of the school in the institution of multicultural policies and practices. Are there some multicultural objectives which are best carried out by institutions outside of the school? How? Which ones?

Implementing multicultural policy and practice and individual action

When I was here last many teachers argued that they had particular tasks to implement multicultural programs but that they were not always as effective as they would like to carry them out within the school.

What, if anything, have you seen as your personal role to help implement multicultural policy and practice? How effective have you been in carrying out these tasks? Why?

Defining identity

When I was here last many people were concerned to define their own identity and the identity of others. Some teachers for instance, argued that they felt that they were Australian but they also felt that they could identify themselves in other ways. For instance, many students whose parents had came to Australia from Greece argued about the ways they could see themselves as Greek and the ways they could see themselves as Australian.

Can you tell me about how you define your particular identity?

Do would you describe your particular identity?

Would you describe yourself differently at different times?

Tell me what it is when you are saying you are .....?

What have you noticed about the way that others in the school define their identity?

Maintaining aspects of identity: cultural maintenance

When I was here last time many people argued that it was important to maintain certain language and cultural characteristics as part of the way that they wished to maintain their identity. For instance, many people from Greece argued that it was important that they and their children learned Greek language.

How do you maintain your cultural identity?

What have you noticed about the way people within the school maintain their cultural identity

Can you tell me what you see as being the advantages and disadvantages of people maintaining cultural characteristics in this way?

Cultural differences and teaching and learning

When I was at the school last time teachers felt that ethnic and cultural differences within the school changed the ways teaching and learning could take place within the school. For instance, they found that some groups of students had had very interrupted schooling whereas others had far better prepared for some subjects than Australian students.

What effects have you found that differences between students, especially cultural differences within the school have had, especially on the way teaching and learning can take place within the school? How do you think that these differences should be dealt with in the schools?

Are there any other things that you think that schools should do to particularly help with this?

Multi cultures and teaching and learning in schools

When I was here last time many teachers felt that moving between cultures was a disadvantage to learning. Others felt that understanding two cultures in this way was an advantage for those teaching and learning in schools.. For instance, many teachers argued that students were finding it difficult to bring together expectations from outside and within schools.

How do you think that moving between cultures can be an advantage or a disadvantage to the way teaching and learning can take place within schools.

Difference and its effects on relationships

When I was at the school last time teachers were unsure about how differences, especially cultural differences had changed relationships at the school. On the one hand they felt that students got on well together and that there had been very little conflict within the school related to difference. On the other hand they were concerned that some groups were remaining separate from mainstream school life or were leaving others feeling excluded.

What do you see as the effects of difference on relationships between students and between students and teachers at the school?

Are there any other things that schools could do to help deal with this?

Examine approaches to multiculturalism

Are there any more comments that you would like to make about the ways that you believe that multicultural policies and practices could best be understood and implemented in schools.

The way forward: strategies for multicultural education in contemporary Australian schools

Parents

Interview Schedule

Cover page

Code:.....

Name:.....

Date:..... **Sex:** .....

School:.....

Number of children at school.....

Names and ages of children.....

Occupation: .....

Level of education:.....

What?..... **Where?** .....

Other qualifications: .....

Are you involved in any kinds of school activities? eg council memeber, helping on canteen etc

Which ones?.....

Have you been part of any activities related to multiculturalism?.....

What were they?.....

Place of Birth..... **Of Spouse**.....

Of parents(Father)..... **(Mother)**.....

Other languages spoken .....

By parents.....

By spouse .....

Place where language learning took place.....

Situations where other languages are used .....

Do you use the language in the school? how?.....

What do you consider to be your ethnic background?.....

The way forward: strategies for multicultural education in contemporary Australian schools.

Parents schedule

1. Can you tell me about your children at the school. What children have you at the school and what do they do there?

2. What do your children want to do when they finish school? How helpful is the school in helping them to complete those aspirations? Are there things that you would like to change about the school system to help them to do this?

3. What things do you find most noticeable about the school and how different are they from what you expected? Are there things which should be done differently?

4. Can you tell me about your involvement at the school.. What things do you do at the school and how effective do you feel that you are able to be as a parent at the schools.

5. Can you tell me about your relationship with the school generally. How easy do you find it to approach the school? How easy do others find it to approach the school?

6. What about your children? Can you tell me about the way your children have been able to relate to the teachers and to the other students at the school? Are there things that the school could do to make these relationships take place more easily?

7. Over the last ten years since I have begun to study this school, this school has introduced many different policies in relation to multiculturalism and difference? Can you tell me about any of these policies and practices? Are there things that you think that the school should do?

8. What does multiculturalism mean to you? What are the things multicultural policies and practices should do?

9. Can you tell me about how you define your particular identity?
What have you noticed about the way that others in the school define their identity?

10. How do you maintain your cultural identity? Can you tell me about what you see as being the advantages and disadvantages of people maintaining their cultural characteristics in this way?

11. What effects have you found that differences between students, especially cultural differences within the school have had, especially on the way teaching

and learning can take place in schools. Do you think that these kinds of things should be taught at schools?

12. Can you tell me about the kids of activities that your children take part in out of school? Are these things very different from the kinds of things that they do for school? What are the kinds of things schools should do to help maintain these identities and what kinds of things should be done at home?

13. What do you see as the effect of differences, on relationships between students and between students and teachers at the schools?

14. Are there any more comments that you would like to make about the way that you believe that multicultural policies and practices could best be understood and implemented in schools.

MAPPING SILENT NARRATIONS:

Racism and multiculturalism in a Melbourne school

1988 - 1998

Appendix Five

WE ARE NOT AMUSED

It is no secret that Queen Elizabeth II has nothing in common with her First Minister. Since Margaret Thatcher won office 10 years ago, the Queen has often disagreed with her views. MURRAY HEDGCOCK reports from London on a right royal feud.

AT ABOUT 4PM ON FRIDAY MAY 4 1979, HER Majesty the Queen asked Conservative Party Leader Margaret Thatcher to form a new Government. Judging by the behaviour of Britain's first woman Prime Minister throughout the succeeding decade, she may have believed she was invited to take over the nation. For Thatcher has clearly persuaded herself she has personal super-status, almost to the point of matching the royal family itself. The result is that the relationship between the two most powerful women in Britain has long descended to the iciest depths.

The Prime Minister is so convinced of the rightness of her cause that she has even taken to using the royal "we" in conversation. When son Mark Thatcher became a father in March, the Prime Minister's enthused announcement to the media was suspiciously royal: "We are a grandmother," she exulted. And regular references to "my government" do not echo harmoniously around the corridors of Buckingham Palace, where the monarch is the only person in the land entitled to talk of government in such close, personal, all-powerful fashion.

One highly sensitive area in which Margaret Thatcher treads heavily on royal toes is in demonstrating concern for disaster victims. By tradition, it is members of the royal family who speed to the scene of great natural or man-made disasters, or to memorial services, or to hospitals where the injured recover. Britain has seen ▷

the home counties.

As well as stage-managing this sprawling event, Rutherford is also international chairperson of almost anything you can think of, including the Commonwealth Poetry Prize, and director of Dangaroo Press, one of our more adventurous poetry publishers.

□ □ □ □

SPEAKING of prizes, one of our most prestigious, the Mattara Poetry Prize, has June 1 as its closing date.

It's time to stop fiddling with your dactyls and get your poem or group of poems off to the Department of English, University of Newcastle, NSW 2308.

The judges are Michael Wilding, Judith Rodriguez and Paul Kavanagh and the first prize is $6000, with a further $2000 for a poet under 25.

□ □ □ □

WELL, they may be reading us more in France and Arhus and New York these days, but they're publishing us less at home, it seems. There was a drop of about 15 per cent in the number of Australian titles published last year compared with the previous year, despite the Bicentenary.

A bit of a fall-off in astrology, the occult, sex education and women's studies, but a huge rise in children's literature (the largest category in Australian publishing) and fiction. Australian fiction writers are still pumping out about a book a day.

the ultimate authority is *The Oxford English Dictionary*."

The *OED*, which traces vocabulary since 1150, is the foundation of English language scholarship and the touchstone for legal definitions and rulings. It shows how the different meanings of words have developed historically, using dated quotations from English literature as illustrations, and encompasses the increasingly international influence.

It is the new words, of course, that prove the most titillating. The biggest single block is computing, followed by words from medicine and politics.

"One of the strengths of computing language is that instead of plucking obscure words from Greek and Latin, ordinary words are used, like disk, file and data," Weiner says.

Glib political phrases seem to

term, and *designer* is used as an adjective to denote trendiness, as in designer-jeans and designer-stubble.

"The most prolific basin for the production of new vocabulary is the United States," says Weiner. "Most other countries don't export their language in the way Americans do through television and film.

"America, like Australia, is

OED, Oz does not — "We're working on that one," Simpson says by way of apology.

All the most famous infamous swear words are included, including the two naughtiest ones, which were tactfully omitted from the original version. Words to describe the body's excretory functions, like *piss*, also rate an entry because of their historical significance.

establishes an air of good humour and friendliness."

Slang comes in cycles: today's bon mot might be tomorrow's fashion victim. Australians, it would seem, are not highly respected for their slang. "Australia is considered to be the home of humorous, half-witted slang," Simpson says, bravely. "Bonza is taken to be daft and old-fashioned." Similarly, ex-

Simpson says: "One of your first jobs as a lexicographer is to read through books and newspapers to look for new usages, which does quite seriously colour your ability to read things easily.

"It is like the rites of passage. I think Golding is talking about the distortion that occurs during those rites. I certainly don't feel linguistically crippled, though."

The inexhaustible joys of English

THE OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY (2nd edition)
20 volumes 21,728pp, $3995

By LES A. MURRAY

THE *Oxford English Dictionary* is both the ultimate guide to the meanings and usages of English words and the supreme portrayal of English as it has developed over the past thousand years.

This makes it the greatest dictionary of all, since English, from being a pidgin cobbled together out of simplified Anglo-Saxon and Norse French, has come to be the world's new Latin, the most inclusive and international of languages and, after Mandarin Chinese, the one with the most speakers — and of course the most useful second language of any.

Apart from rumours I have heard of ancient Chinese lexicons in hundreds of boxed paperback volumes and based on rhymes, since ideograms have no alphabetic order, the *OED* is probably the most comprehensive of all dictionaries, more so even than the one that helped to inspire its compilation: the great German historical dictionary begun by the Brothers Grimm after they had collected and published their fairytales.

That one took longer to compile and write than the *OED*, appearing volume by volume from 1852 to 1960. By comparison, the *OED* was taken on by James A.H. (later Sir James) Murray in 1879 and finished in 1928, when the final fascicle was published and the 12 volumes of the first edition were complete.

In a way, the second edition of the *OED*, which has just appeared, is a bit like certain religious texts that are supposed to exist in their true form in heaven; their earthly editions are merely redactions.

The true *OED*, we may say, is now an elaborate computer program by means of which the entire text of the first editon and the four Supplements plus some 5000 new items were integrated and the results corrected and revised where necessary by the Oxford University Press team of lexicographers.

This program is the matrix of the second edition, and of future additions or editions. It can be added to continuously, and can, I imagine, produce printouts of any particular category of words and phrases.

In its printed form, the second edition comprises 20 handsome volumes set out in very much the same sober businesslike style as the first, so that once again some of the smaller typefaces are hard on aging eyes.

The new system of indicating pronunciation, using the international phonetic alphabet instead of Murray's more cumbersome and slightly less responsive symbols, is a real improvement. IPA is widely known and, *inter alia*, doesn't require foreign learners of English to know the weird subtleties of English spelling vis a vis pronunciation in advance.

An indication of the expansion the big *OED* has undergone is given by the fact that Volume 1, which used to contain all the words and phrases from A to the end of B, now goes only from A to Bazouki. That isn't a mistake by the way, merely a variant spelling of Bouzouki.

This is the only volume I've examined closely, but almost all the others have promising delimitations on their spines: I like III, Cham to Greeky, and XII, Pew to Prolusory, but XV, Scrab to Smewk fascinates me with its promise, and I long to dip into XVIII, Tarlatan to Tuzzy-Muzzy.

As before, the new *OED* presents a conspectus of English from the year 1150 to the present, which now means that it includes AIDS, diet cola, televangelist, perestroika and myriad other up-to-date terms.

Words that had died out in writing before 1150, as most of Old English did after the great cataclysm of 1066, are not included, but all that did survive are in, and their history is traced fully, however far back their origins lie. The *OED* is nothing if not a supreme feast of etymology.

The oldest author cited among the 2.4 million illustrative quotes seems to be King Alfred the Great, on my quick read-through, although older writers may have eluded my notice.

In thousands of cases, we can survey the whole life of a word from when it was coined by some classically trained schoolman to when another word usurped its place perhaps centuries later; in thousands more cases, we can trace a whole evolution of different senses, such as the dance of "nice" from its sense "silly" to that of "exact" to that of "narrow" and thence "pleasant", while always keeping a hint of the earlier meanings.

Worldwide pressure towards ever more complete de-colonialisation in the former European empires has emphasised what had long been a fact, namely that there are many Englishes spoken and written around the world, and no longer any one standard by which these can be ruled and relegated.

Dictionaries of Australian, of Caribbean, of African and Indian English have appeared in recent times, and before those there were Websters for American and Jamieson for Scots. Being a Scot himself, James Murray did not neglect the enormous, continuing contribution of northern and Scottish dialects to the common treasury.

In its own terms, though, the *OED* has always been above all battles about centre and periphery, because at the heart of the work Murray placed not a standard, such as the Academie had imposed on French, but the idea of a great reservoir of words and phrases common to all varieties of English.

The upper reaches of this common pool he called Literary, the lower reaches Colloquial, and five axes or pipelines labelled Scientific, Foreign, Dialectal, Slang and Technical fed both into and out of the central pool.

Since the *OED* above all else provides a detailed picture of the common core of the language, it itself, rather than any region or class or variant, is the headquarters of English, the place where the language is deposited and kept for the use of all.

At the same time, the modern regional and national variants of English aren't simply dialects feeding into the common pool along that one channel; each of them contributes along all five lines.

Australian English has contributed its own scientific words, such as dasyurid, funnel web, piturine, xanthorrhoea, Tasmanoid and triple antigens. It has brought its own wealth of foreign words, since we have to regard Aboriginal words as foreign, not to Australia but to English when it first met them: billabong, waddy, dugite, jackeroo, serang (that last one is Malay).

It has its own whole dialect of distinctive usages, quite apart from slang, in terms such as cut lunch, penalty rate, polocrosse, basic wage, backloading and traymobile.

Its own slang runs from Abo to ziff, and changes continually: what was once beaut, and more recently unreal or ace, is now radical. It has its own technical vocabularies: shearing board, fettler, dryblower, marblewood, ore flotation, agriculturist, dark cell — which last, by way of grim 19th century penology, brings us around to the sciences again.

It is not possible to fix the point along any of these lines at which the English language stops. Where to stop along them, like the job of deciding what belongs in the common pool of the language, is a matter for editorial judgment.

Sir James Murray exercised this pretty much alone, in the half of the first edition which he personally wrote; he died in 1915 during work on the letter S. For the second edition, a whole editorial board was involved, under the chairmanship of Dr R.W. Burchfield.

All interested readers will come across the odd omission, although I doubt they will find many outright mistakes. Under the various meanings for austral, the new *OED* doesn't list it as the name of the new Argentinian currency that replaced the inflation-wracked peso. A foreign word, perhaps, but I doubt the name of any legal currency can be wholly foreign. And we almost had the same term ourselves before both it and the royal were ousted in favour of the dollar.

The new *OED* has bagman in all its Australian senses except that of bookmaker, and among banana compounds it lacks both banana chair and banana prawn. Bastardisation is in, but not in its ugly Australian army meaning of painful initiation, and the Balmain Bug is absent.

Battleaxe block and bark in the sense of Aboriginal painting are omitted. Worst of all is the omission of banged up, in the sense of confined to a cell. For that, the perfect illustrative quote would be from John Mortimer's *Rumpole*: "Banged up in a cell with two psychopaths and a chamber pot."

Compared with the vast riches of this prime wonder of the world of scholarship, my little list above is small beer. For those who enjoy and bet money on statistical facts, the new *OED* contains just on 290,500 main entries, or about 15 per cent more than the first edition; these entries define and trace the pedigrees of a total of 618,500 words, word forms and phrases.

No other dictionary approaches this wealth, and yet not even it can tell you how many words the English language contains, and the editors would be the first to disclaim any such notion. Like any living language, English is inexhaustible.

Aborigines to vote on land council split

By JAMES MORRISON

A PLEBISCITE of traditional Aborigines in south-east Arnhem Land was authorised by the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Mr Hand, yesterday to gauge support for rebels who want to split from the powerful Northern Land Council (NLC).

But the poll of about 1600 Aborigines will not go ahead until the boundaries of the contested 28,000-sq km area are determined by an independent anthropologist — a process which could take months.

Sources close to the rebels yesterday described the move as "just another bloody delaying tactic".

The process will be further complicated by the shortage of acceptable candidates to set the boundaries. Many otherwise competent and suitable anthropologists are said to have been ruled out because they have worked in the past for either the NLC or the Central Land Council or publicly support the push by the rebels.

But it is understood that the Department of Aboriginal Affairs has drawn up a shortlist of four candidates who have gained the necessary experience by working for the Northern Territory Land Commissioner.

Mr Hand, who is acting on the recommendations of a departmental report described as one of the most comprehensive of its kind, told the five biggest communities in the area — Ngukurr, Bickerton Island, Numbulwar and the Groote Eylandt townships of Angurugu and Umbakumba — of his decision yesterday morning.

The elders have been fighting since September to split from the NLC, which they believe no longer represents their interests. Elders from Groote Eylandt have been seeking to break away from the NLC since 1977, but sources say this is the most substantial push they have seen.

The impetus for the split is the allegation that the chairman of the NLC, Mr Galarrwuy Yunupingu, exposed "secret, sacred and dangerous" material in a painting he presented to the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, at a sporting festival at the community of Barunga, 60km south-west of Katherine, last June.

Under section 21 of the Aboriginal Land Rights Act (1976), the minister for Aboriginal affairs has power to approve the establishment of a new land council if there is a "substantial majority" in favour of the proposal.

The only precedent is the establishment of the Tiwi Land Council in 1978, approved by the then minister for Aboriginal affairs in the Fraser government, Mr Ian Viner. No plebiscite was held on the Tiwi Islands because it was obvious the new land council was solidly supported by the people.

South-east Arnhem Land is different. There have been calls to exclude Ngukurr, with a population of almost 400, from the move because support for the split there is thought to be about 50 per cent. Therefore most of the debate over the boundaries will be centred on Ngukurr.

Solitary concentration . . . Mr Goward at dawn in uncrowded York Street, Sydney — Picture: DAVID OSBORN

Night owl flies into fortune

SYDNEY businessman Mr Russell Goward is Australia's highest paid night shift worker.

Last year his take-home pay from the graveyard shift was $5.5 million in dividends, all of which he pumped straight back into his company, Westmex Ltd.

Mr Goward, 35, makes a point of always being out of step with everything around him.

Life's rhythms and cycles are to be carefully heeded and then deliberately confounded.

A student of counter-cycles, Mr Goward gets up when most people are going to bed.

By 2am he is at work making deals over the telephone with associates in London where more than half of Westmex's diverse operations are located.

Under a single light in the attic floor of the city's West Pennant Hills home, he rationalises British industries. Before month he takes his bizarre ritual to London, where he again straddles the time zones to keep watch on his Australian interests.

He has made 37 trips to the United Kingdom in three years.

But Mr Goward never suffers jet lag. He moves in a time zone all his own.

Running 16km a day "clears the cobwebs away," he said.

"Back in 1972 I had to make a choice between business and athletics. I could have run at the Munich Olympics in the steeple-chase and I can still run a marathon in 2 hours 20 minutes.

"There is a time and place for everything. I decided to make business my career."

Westmex's diverse interests include chains, shoe and clothes manufacturers to the British working class, Scottish retailers and more eccentric lines such as model train companies and replica car makers.

Westmex buys into industries that other investors don't want to know about, turns them around and sells them at a profit.

Sometimes people lose their jobs at the hands of Westmex's corporate surgeons but Mr Goward said: "The net result is a more efficient company and in the end more employment.

"I'm not a charity, about Mr Goward's high salary perhaps a board of directors and financial

After receiving an economics/law degree from the Australian National University, he went to work for the merchant bank Hill Samuel in the corporate advisory department. But his big break came when he landed a job with the Brierley group.

After only 2½ years with Sir Ronald's Industrial Equity Ltd (IEL), he became chief executive.

Despite 2½ successful years at the helm, ideological differences between master and pupil became irreconcilable and Mr Goward resigned in 1986 amid huge publicity to take over Westmex, then a fledgling resource company.

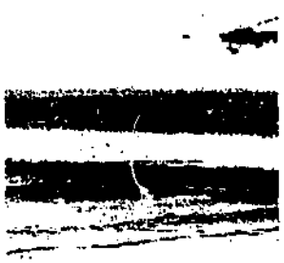
"I respect and admire Ron," Mr Goward said.

"He taught me a lot of a lot in those early years. But I was never totally comfortable with his philosophy for IEL.

"He is in the death business. He goes to the patient when he is ready to die. He takes and strips

THE LAND FIGHT

Nature rhythm Lake E



Lake Eyre from the air

From Page 1

inevitably return to its parch cracked, parched state. From th will blow the sands that over th years have spread inland to creat the vast regions of the Simpson an Tirari deserts.

The arrival of waters from Cooper Creek, bringing the Queensland monsoonal rains, will intensify th proliferation of fish life — bon bream (excellent eating), hardy heads, gudgeon and perch.

Most of the fish, like many of th pelicans, lured by the lake's fish hope and beauty, are doomed to slow, painful death.

Lake Eyre is in the centre of th driest and most arid region of Aus tralia. It has an average annua rainfall of less than 127cm, but an annual evaporation rate of abou 2.5m (20 times greater than its rain fall) and maximum shade tempera tures of 50C to 55C, with the highes reported reading of 61C.

The lowest places on the beds o the lake's two sections are abou 15m below sea level in the north lake and 13.5m in the south. Trapped, th river water and groundwater must as it has in the past, quickl evaporate.

Already, surf beaches have taken shape, filling their allocated space i a jigsaw of time that has formed a forbidding, beautiful landscape. Small breakers hone in from the large swell that takes shape at the end of the lake's 100km fetch.

This year, as has happened very occasionally in the past, monsoona rain depressions have moved fur ther south than usual, bringing ap preciable falls to the arid deser areas. The desert sands have been saturated, filling interdune corridors and dry lakes.

Ray to rule on aliens

A GROUP of 11 Bangladeshi illegal immigrants were remanded in custody for a week when they appeared in a West Australian court yesterday.

The men are being held in a lock-up in the north-western town of Broome.

A Broome Customs officer said the remand order was granted while the Federal Minister for Immigration, Senator Ray, decided on the best course of action.

The men were caught in Western Australian waters.

Greiner's green signal to stem train drain

Mr Greiner . . . poll pledge

NSW

By JENI COOPER

ALTHOUGH the Premier, Mr Greiner, has made some politically tough decisions in recent weeks, the hardest is yet to come.

The Government has to make uncompromising decisions on the embattled State Rail Authority (SRA), which loses about $3 million a day and has an overall debt of $1.2 billion.

An international transport consultancy, Booz Allen Hamilton, has been busily investigating the SRA since December and, says the Minister for Transport, Mr Baird, has found it is run virtually like a Third World operation

The consultants found the fare collection system to be outdated and inefficient, its accounting system one of the worst in the world, internal organisation virtually non-existent and the authority functioning like an anonymous bureaucracy.

The Government subsidises every suburban trip on the NSW rail system by $2.50 on average, and even the shortest country trip is subsidised by $125.

Since taking office 12 months ago, Mr Greiner and his ministers have worked to reduce inefficiencies and debt in many areas of management.

Last year, State charges were dramatically increased — some by 100 per cent — to help reduce the State's overall debt of $46 billion, and the Government has embarked on a speedy asset sales program.

Mr Greiner is not afraid to make a tough decision, shown last week when he increased water rates by $100 a year to help clean up Sydney's beaches.

And he announced this only two days after raising petrol tax by 3c a litre to improve the State's crumbling road system.

But now the Premier and Mr Baird have to work out ways to introduce even sterner decisions to sort out the SRA.

If the Government decides this is all too difficult, it will destroy its credibility in its campaign to be seen as good financial managers.

The key to the Government's unpalatable task is in the Booz Allen Hamilton report, to be released in the next week or so.

The report says those commuters surveyed would not object to paying higher fares if the service improved.

So it is not surprising that release of the report will coincide with news of improvements to the SRA's service, such as upgrading cleanliness, attacking graffiti and improving train punctuality. Stations will be given a facelift, security will be improved and commuters will have easy access to local train managers to voice complaints.

There is no doubt that after these improvements Mr Greiner will raise fares, which, in line with an election promise, will not exceed the rate of inflation at 7 per cent.

But the Government has to spend money to save money.

If the SRA is marketed better and services can be seen to be greatly improved, reform, no matter how radical, will be much less painful for the bread-and-butter voter.

Media keep Fitzgerald pot boiling

Queensland

By SYBIL NOLAN

APRIL, the month of change, has driven a squall of unwelcome publicity to the doorstep of the Fitzgerald Commission.

It began two weeks ago with an almost humourous article on the front page of one Sunday newspaper in Brisbane, suggesting that public servants feared their office toilets had been bugged by investigators from the commission and that there were concealed cameras in their canteens.

It continued in a front-page article in another Sunday newspaper suggesting that the commission's investigators used "strong-arm tactics" to interview public servants in a manner both "rigorous" and "unlawful".

In the intervening week between those stories, matters related to the commission featured large in the headlines, partly because of the Ahern Government's announcement that it would legislate to end Sir Terence Lewis's tenure as Queensland police commissioner

On Friday, the Brisbane Sun ran a front-page "exclusive" story under the headline Bagman Lays It Up, suggesting that police bagman Jack Herbert, still under protection, was leading an open-chequebook lifestyle at the expense of Queensland taxpayers.

On Saturday, by an ironic coincidence, a photograph of Herbert's erstwhile friend, Sir Terence, stared sorrowfully from the front page of the Courier-Mail, [illegible] police chief [illegible] he was [illegible] done by.

By Monday, he [illegible] assuring the ABC's prime time current affairs program, AM, that [illegible] doubted he had any chance of getting a fair trial if he were charged as a result of corruption allegations to the inquiry.

A spokesman for the Fitzgerald Commission denied the Herbert cheque-book story, saying it was based on "anonymous lies". The commission's investigative chief, Mr Gary Crooke QC, said the commission did not employ unlawful investigative means. And the special prosecutor, Mr Doug Drummond QC, chose to ignore Sir Terence's assessment of his chances of a fair trial.

Since the very first press interview he gave after the start of the inquiry's sittings, Commissioner Fitzgerald has maintained that public support for the inquiry and its findings was an essential ingredient in the formula for fighting corruption.

Secret

The last thing he and his team, once dubbed "The Untouchables", must want are convenient pegs for those who oppose reform to hang their opposition on.

Mr Fitzgerald has time and again foreshadowed his fear of this. In the dying minutes of hearings last December, he commented: "There are very real risks associated with the period about to ensue, both leading up to the presentation of the report and the time needed thereafter for its implementation . . ."

It was an open secret among [illegible] media this week that a representative of Four Corners, the ABC television program whose investigation of corruption in Queensland [illegible] the main catalyst for the setting up of the Fitzgerald inquiry, was in town to take a closer look at local media coverage, post-inquiry.

Tasmania

Not damming but waving

By BRUCE MONTGOMERY

FOR most of this century Tasmania has exploited the heavy rainfall in the mountains of the west and north-west to develop a hydro-electricity power grid based on damming rivers and creeks in natural valleys to create lakes.

The water stored in the lakes is allowed to escape through a tunnel containing a turbine. When the turbine is turned by the water, electricity is produced.

The nature of hydro power generation has never been contentious in Tasmania. What has been contentious is the land that is sacrificed below the surface of the newly-formed lake.

This week, the Tasmanian Government announced, in a most peculiar way, a new direction for the Hydro-Electric Commission (HEC) — wave power.

The HEC has told the Government that, after five years of investigations, it is ready to issue a contract for a wave power generating station on the west coast of King Island, which lies to the north-west of the Tasmanian mainland in Bass Strait.

Instead of damming a river or [illegible]

Nationals tip scales towards reconciliation

Victoria

By ROSEMARY MULLALY

LAST September, the Deputy Premier of NSW, Mr Murray, was a special guest at the Victorian National Party's election campaign launch at Warragul.

A quick review of his short speech provides a timely reminder of the importance of unity in politics.

"Many years ago in NSW, the Liberals and Nationals allowed policies and organisational differences to cloud the issue as to who the real enemy was," he told the party faithful.

"We consumed much time and money fighting each other while Labor went its merry way.

"However, in recent years, the Coalition really came together, and it was this cohesion and common direction that convinced the electorate we deserved to be the Government."

Sharing the platform with Mr Murray that night was the then leader of the Victorian National Party, Mr Peter Ross-Edwards, who enunciated the Nationals' policies, taking care to deal with the unity issue.

tions with the Liberals. It is about the joint Senate ticket agreement the Liberals want so badly. It is about the Federal Coalition's decision to support wheat deregulation. It is about making difficult decisions, taking the long-term approach and supporting the new man on the platform, Mr McNamara.

It the conference, when it finishes today, has approved the Senate ticket deal and avoided a damaging row over wheat, then its sensible long-term approach will put the National Party more than halfway down the track to the vital coalition agreement.

The problem, however, lies with Liberal Party members who are still blind to certain political realities.

Years of [illegible]ering

This [illegible] Party's failure

In May 1983 the tune was different: "Obviously, if we have not got the numbers to form a government in our own right, (coalition) is a very real option."

By August 1983 he had changed his tune again: "Stable government and the opportunity to implement policies on behalf of Victorians lies best with single-party government."

There was no coalition going into the 1985 State election, and throughout the 1988 State election Mr Kennett continually claimed that not only would there be no coalition but the Liberals would win an extra 15 Lower House seats to win in their own right.

But despite the years of futile bickering, it now seems that in the midst of conservative turmoil across Australia, the lessons might just have been heeded. The Liberals have given their in-principle support to a coalition, mostly because they need the joint Senate ticket agreement in return. Quid pro quo.

It will be many months before any Victorian coalition agreement is signed, but it [illegible]

Copping it just for being a kid

Western Australia

By MARK IRVING

THE initiative of a police sergeant in a small town in the far north of Western Australia has created a dilemma for civil libertarians in the [illegible]

reduction in petty crime and

Questions of fraud threaten model for self-determination

Aboriginal spending under new scrutiny

By BRIAN WOODLEY

THE questionable expenditure of some employees has jeopardised a publicly funded multi-million dollar network that, for the first time since European settlement, had seemed to offer a genuine model for Aboriginal self-determination in Australia's most populous State

The extent of internal misuse of funds, some unintentional, some allegedly fraudulent, is quantified in documents on the NSW Aboriginal Land Council (NSWALC) provided to *The Weekend Australian* at a time when the council faces a political battle for survival

Aboriginal leaders acknowledge that the mishandling of public money in some of the 130 councils affiliated with the NSWALC was a serious problem until about two years ago, but say it has diminished to isolated incidents, most happening through ignorance of audit requirements rather than criminal activity

Documents on the extent of police investigations, verified by detectives, show that by late last month more than 1200 criminal charges had been laid against more than 30 people in the course of police investigations into 17 local councils.

Most of the charges were laid before mid-1987 but are still the subject of court proceedings.

The details come at an awkward time for Aborigines, who are campaigning against attempts by the NSW Government to dismantle the NSWALC and replace it with a commission under the direct control of the Premier, Mr Greiner.

The Government claims changes are necessary partly to overcome disquiet over the way public money has been spent since the NSWALC was established under the Land Rights Act, 1983.

Its proposed legislation is outlined in a Green Paper issued two months ago. Public submissions to the paper close on Monday, and the Government expects to introduce its Bill to Parliament in about three months.

Aborigines are confident they will halt the Bill's passage in the Legislative Council but, at least during debate in the Legislative Assembly, the issue will effectively put Aborigines under scrutiny throughout Australia.

Aboriginal land rights laws operate only in NSW, under a State Act, and in the Northern Territory, under a Federal Act. The aspirations of Aborigines in other States, where NSW might have served as a model, could be set back for years by the political assault on the credibility of the NSW structure.

The NSWALC, with nearly 500 staff, is the second biggest employer of Aborigines in NSW. Its 13 regional councils have a combined budget of $35 million a year, mainly from State funds.

Mr Greiner . . . new legislation

Mr Bayles . . . 'hidden agenda'

starved of funds at present because they cannot satisfy auditors about the state of their past accounts.

All adult Aborigines with connections to the State are entitled to take part in meetings of the local councils. The 1986 Census counted about 60,000 Aborigines in NSW. The NSWALC estimates a further 30,000 live in NSW but were not counted as Aborigines by the Census.

The land council's main source of money, about $35 million a year, comes from 7.5 per cent of the land tax collected annually by the NSW Government. Of this, some is invested in a statutory fund (the NSWALC has about $70 million in the bank), about $2 million is used in administration, and the rest is filtered through the councils for the purchase and operation of land and assets.

Part of an estimated $1.2 billion directed to NSW Aborigines during the past decade, the land-tax funding base has given much to the State's indigenous people. Mr Greiner's Government suggests the amount could have been much higher.

Apart from land and housing purchases, including farmland where stock is being raised and crops grown, councils have invested with diversity: tourist attractions, shopping centres, motels, caravan parks, cattle stations, farms, fishing boats, shares and bank accounts.

Many are the pride and self-esteem flowing from a new-found ability to control their destiny.

The NSWALC chairman, Mr Tiga Bayles, said allegations of misspending should be confined to the period between 1983 and 1986, when inexperienced Aborigines found themselves in charge of money that had to be accounted for under a difficult, foreign process – much of which had been chronicled in critical annual reports to Parliament by the State Audit Office.

"There is a difference between fraud and misappropriation, which is merely using funds for purposes not authorised under the legislation," Mr Bayles said. "That doesn't necessarily imply frauds. In most cases Aboriginal people have used the funds for what are considered, in Aboriginal terms, appropriate expenditures."

He said the imperfections in accounting were a "smokescreen" being used by the Government to shield the real reasons for its move against the NSWALC. These, he said, were to reduce and control its money, loosen Aboriginal security of tenure over land, and destroy a system that "gives us power, union and solidarity".

"He (Mr Greiner) wants Aboriginal people to be dependent on outdated assimilation policies of the past" under the One Australia policy of the Federal Opposition Leader, Mr Howard.

The Green Paper has been produced by Mr Paul Zammit, the parliamentary secretary assisting the Premier on Aboriginal Affairs. It proposes repealing the 1983 Act and replacing it with a new one to provide for an Aboriginal Affairs Commission, appointed by and responsible to the Premier, which will "absorb and streamline" the office of Aboriginal Affairs, the NSWALC and its 13 regional Aboriginal land councils

Other important features include a new method of financing, and more flexible controls over land purchase and tenure – both of which have been interpreted by Aborigines as meaning less money and less land.

A host of reasons – ranging from perceived fragmentation to duplication of activities under the current structure – have been advanced on behalf of these changes. Some emanate from a background that has disturbed the Audit Office since the inception of the NSWALC six years ago

Concerns over accounting came to a climax in 1986 when the Auditor-General, Mr K.J. Robson, questioned a number of payments by land councils which he considered ultra vires, or beyond the jurisdiction of what the Act permitted. These included financial assistance to election candidates, travel to a United Nations conference, and grants to other Aboriginal groups.

A State Crown Law Office opinion was prepared, which considered Mr Robson's interpretation of the Act was unduly restrictive.

'Greiner wants to wreck the system that gives us

Vic Senate deal moves step closer

By ROSEMARY MULLALY

THE prospects of a joint Senate ticket agreement in Victoria greatly improved yesterday.

Technically though, its future still hangs in the balance this morning after an arduous and highly emotional debate at the National Party's State conference at Warrnambool, west of Melbourne.

The National Party Leader, Mr Sinclair, will face a largely hostile audience this morning when he addresses delegates on the Coalition's support of wheat industry deregulation and he may even face a censure motion from irate farmers.

The conference heard that the Leader of the Liberals and Federal Opposition, Mr Howard, would personally support National Party amendments to the Government's wheat legislation, but a debate on the issue today is likely to embarrass Mr Sinclair and his deputy, Mr Bruce Lloyd.

Supporters of the joint Senate deal tried desperately late yesterday to defuse tension over the Coalition's wheat deregulation decision and convince delegates that a vote against the agreement would threaten National Party leadership, conservative electoral chances and any future coalition.

Mr Sinclair did not speak during the debate, but moving the motion, federal party president Mr Stewart McDonald said the agreement was an essential step toward the goal of achieving government both federally and in Victoria. Several State MPs repeated his call during the debate.

But speaking in Brisbane, Mr Howard said it "would not be the end of the world" if the agreement did not get passed by the Nationals conference.

The motion approves a joint Senate ticket deal and closer co-operation at the next election. A late addendum said the conference recognised the Senate agreement was linked to a future coalition in Victoria.

ing was within the inquiry's terms of reference.

The Minister for Police, Mr Pickering, said yesterday the police inquiry, which would report to a coronial inquiry, nal community backlash

The Opposition spokesman on Aboriginal affairs, Mr Laurie Ferguson, called for suspension of the officers involved and the Deputy Leader

Police is wanted in connection with the shooting on Monday of Detective Constable Alan McQueen, 26, and a Probationary Constable

her he was dead. She first heard the news on television.

Ms Eatts was expected to return home to Mr Gundy and her 11-year-old son Bradley on the day of the raid.

had been sleeping in a bed opposite Bradley told how one officer had pointed a gun at both him and the boy after kicking open the door.

It was not until several

there and I heard one of them say, 'I thought it was him, he was about the same size'"

Editorial — Page 20

Doreen Eatts and son Bradley . . . 'we want answers'

A pioneer feared by crazed cameleers

By RUSSELL GRIMMER

A JOURNAL kept by one of Australia's pioneer explorers at the turn of the century graphically details the revenge killing of Aborigines, the shooting of a crazed Afghan cameleer and desperation as starving and thirsty explorers searched in vain for gold in the Gibson Desert.

The journal is now in the hands of the explorer's nephew, Mr Frank Hill, 66, of Heathcote in central Victoria. It is one of several under study by a West Australian postgraduate student, who describes it as the most comprehensive account in existence of the life of an outback explorer.

Using the journal, the student, Mr Mark Chambers, has located marked trees and food dumps left by the expedition. He expects to meet members of the Hill family next month who wish to retrace some of the steps of the explorer, known as Uncle Harry, and apologise to the Aborigines for his behaviour.

Mr Hill attributes Uncle Harry's killing of Aborigines, in what is now the Warburton Mis-

Frank Hill thumbs through the journal, and below, Uncle Harry as a young man — Top picture: BILL McAULEY

east of Coolgardie. Norton confided in Merton and a syndicate was formed, with funding of $2000 from engineers of "some of the the biggest mines of the Coolgardie-Kalgoorlie areas".

The journal records that Uncle Harry's second-in-command was H.V. Smith, with Frank Merton, Charles Norton and Joe Gillio as prospectors and the ill-fated Shanawas as camel driver.

"I leapt from my bed, right upon him, surely a superhuman effort, but not before he had the revolver drawn," says Uncle Harry.

"I felt his revolver pressing at the back of my head. One comes to close quarters with death often enough in these wild places, where one is face to face with the barren desert, but one plays the game on one's own free will.

Wage greed will raise hell: Kelty

By EAN HIGGINS, TRACEY AUBIN and PAUL MOLLOY

AUSTRALIA faced "one hell of a mess" and the loss of hundreds of thousands of jobs if industrial greed led to a wages blow-out, the ACTU secretary, Mr Bill Kelty, warned yesterday.

In a clear admonition to workers in key industries who have threatened to reject his award-restructuring blueprint, Mr Kelty attacked a culture in which Australians would "rip one another apart and get the most that we can in a given market position".

Mr Kelty's warning, delivered to a NSW ALP fundraising function in Sydney, came as the ACTU struggled to plug cracks emerging in its grand design to provide moderate wage increases offset by productivity improvements.

In a powerful assault on critics of his program, Mr Kelty said a selfish wages free-for-all would mean "no basis for reform based on consensus".

Mr Kelty told journalists after his speech that he was concerned about Thursday's decision by a mass meeting of Qantas maintenance tradesmen to rebel against a generous award-restructuring package which union leaders and the ACTU had been pioneering for months.

"Essentially they're saying the increases are not enough," Mr Kelty said.

But he made clear he intended to press ahead with the Qantas plan, saying he thought it unlikely the ACTU would withdraw it as one of the special cases it was presenting to the national wage Bench of the Industrial Relations Commission.

It was clear yesterday that the ACTU and the Federal Government were nervous over whether their wage tax pact would be accepted on the industrial battlefront.

Apart from the Qantas vote, the strategy — involving phased wage increases of $30 per week and tax cuts averaging $20 — is under strain on a number of fronts including:

DISSATISFACTION among metal workers over their place in Mr Kelty's award-restructuring blueprint, which would set a new rate for the base tradesman of $407 per week. While this is about $27 above the present base rate, metal union leaders say workers in fact receive about $440 per week through over-award payments.

MOVES by the union covering domestic airline pilots to seek wage rises well in excess of the wage tax plan, including an open threat to abandon the central wage-fixing system and embark on a campaign of industrial action.

REJECTION by a Telecom union of an award-restructuring package which would have provided workers with rises of around $45 per week.

- Moves by the ACTU president, Mr Simon Crean, to establish a new South Pacific trade union organisation were marred yesterday by an apparent boycott from unions affiliated with the socialist bloc World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

Mr Crean, interim chairman of the South Pacific and Oceanic Council of Trade Unions, is trying to forge a link between socialist and Western-affiliated unions in the region for the first time for nearly 40 years.

- A national training summit of Australia's ministers for labour and education agreed yesterday to substantial reforms to the country's employment training.

Meeting in Canberra, the ministers agreed to establish a National Training Board to set skills standards for workers by January 1.

Edited by MARIA PRERAUER

FILMS

hispers hate in e night

...e, Melbourne from ...States. Universal ...ucers: Edward R ...man. Director ...lay: Eric Bogosian ...the play Talk Radio ...ed Savinar and the ... The Life and Mur... ...hen Singular. Pho... ...rdson. Production ... Running time: 108

Eric Bogosian
Ellen Greene
John C McGinley
Alec Baldwin
Michael Wincott

...ILLIAMS

...tral figure in ...one's new film – ...almost the only ...is Barry Cham... ...alkback host in ... who regularly ...sults his listen... ...e foolish enough ...tion and engage ...m.

...night – unshaven ... has a broken ...ares a bed (pre... daylight hours) ...ung producer. He ...n cant and syn... ...n, and chain... ...nouncing the to... His tirades are ...a cosy, darkened ...is admired by a ...ves and technic... ...tly observe his ...ces through the ...ooth.

...ith the outside ...d through a bat... ...s and telephone ...e takes his calls. ...t there – at least ...which listens to ...ngularly unlovely ...rld teeming with ...tics, rapists and ...azis, Jew-baiters ...ery kind, the de... ...stripping detritus ...city.

...the eccentric and ...re represented as ...s them all: in a ...m. They are, after ...f his wealth and

...ings of station ...be high – despite, or perhaps because of, the infrequency of commercials – we must assume that crazy and b'go.ed people are plentiful in Dallas. And since Barry's show is about to go national, we can take it that in Oliver Stone's opinion there is an even larger pool of paranoia in other United States cities. None of this says much for the moderation and good sense of the American people, but Stone's films have rarely set out to reassure us – and *Talk Radio* is in many ways his own bitter and pessimistic work.

Barry is a purveyor of "shock broadcasting" – a mixture of furious rhetoric and offensive provocation. On the rare occasions when callers get a word in edgeways, Barry ridicules their opinions. He has a ready line in coruscating banter – being as garrulous and intemperate, though not nearly as funny, as the Robin Williams character in *Good Morning Vietnam*.

How we react to Barry is a matter of taste. Personally I would have no hesitation in switching him off, and I have no doubt that if anyone behaved like Barry on an Australian talkback show the station would soon be out of business. But if American listeners are more masochistic in their preferences, they are also, it seems, more intolerant.

In 1984 a group of neo-Nazis murdered a Denver talk show host called Alan Berg, who repeatedly drew attention to the activities of anti-Semitic propagandists. Berg's death was the subject of a book by the journalist Stephen Singular, and later prompted a stageplay, *Talk Radio*, by the actor/writer Eric Bogosian who played the lead in the New York stage production and is seen here again in Oliver Stone's film.

It is a chilling performance, unsparing in its portrayal of manic arrogance and demented self-absorption. Filmed mainly in dark, claustrophobic close-up, the camera swirling in slow circles around Barry and his desk, *Talk Radio* creates a mood of nervy, imprisoning tension. Hate calls are cheerily and contemptuously rebuffed; threatening letters and offensive parcels are delivered to Barry's desk as he speaks, and an extended flashback sketches the beginnings of his career and the break-up with his disillusioned wife.

For all his anger and indignation, Barry is essentially a man without principles. On the big issues – freedom of speech, opposition to bigotry and repression – he is usually on the side of the angels. But he can be as ruthless as any redneck caller in shutting off hostile opinions.

The central dilemma for liberals – and democratic governments – is to decide how much freedom should be given to hatemongers and rabble-rousers to ferment conflict and vilify minorities. There is a difference between free rights of assembly for unpopular groups and free air-time for racist psychopaths. There is no sign that Barry has ever confronted this dilemma, and no sign that Stone's film has faced up to it either.

The shortcomings of the Australian media are of a different kind. As yet we have no Barry Champlains, nor any Nazi hit squads either. My problem with talk shows is not their intrusiveness or their demagoguery so much as their tedium and triviality. The only genuine demagogue I can remember on Australian radio was the late Eric Baume, whose regular column in a Sydney afternoon paper bore headlines like "I would flog the rapists".

Eric, alas, is no longer here to amuse us. But Oliver Stone shows no signs of flagging. Most of his films (including *Wall Street* and *Platoon*) have dealt with serious social issues – war, corporate morality, media ethics. They are the sort of films routinely labelled "controversial" – "heavy message pictures.

They are slick, gutsy and professional; they force us to think, even when we are not quite sure what to think, or what their maker wants us to think. Often they are strident and superficial; sometimes hysterical, sometimes false. But they are never dull. The more one thinks about it, the more it seems that Barry Champlain and Oliver Stone have a lot in common.

Intemperate talkback host Barry Champlain (Eric Bogosian): as ruthless as any of his redneck callers

Pleasing touch of the Irish

DA (PG)
Academy Twin, Sydney. Longford Cinema, Melbourne, other States later. Director Matt Clark. Screenplay: Hugh Leonard, from his play Da and his book Home Before Night. Producer: Julie Corman. Executive producers: William R. Greenblatt, Martin Sheen and Sam Gregg. Photographed by Alan Kivlin. CBC. Edited by Nancy Nuttal. Recital Music: Elmer Bernstein. Running time: 105 minutes

Da	Barnard Hughes
Charlie	Martin Sheen
Drumm	William Hickey
Young Charlie	Karl Hayden
Mother	Doreen Hepburn
Dev Charlie	Hugh O Conor
Pallbearer	Hugh Leonard

I DON'T know about you, but I'm likely to look kindly upon any picture that begins with a scene in which one of its main characters is wearing a T-shirt inscribed with the words "I Survived Catholic School".

Da is a movie that contains much that will appeal to any Australian viewer of recent Irish descent. Based on a play that was a smash hit on Broadway 10 years or so ago, it tells the story of Charlie Tynan (Martin Sheen), a successful playwright in America who goes home to Dublin for his father's funeral.

He then finds, without any surprise, that the old man reappears in spirit form to bully and tease and cajole him.

Most of the film is shown in flashback to demonstrate how the playwright and his father's love-hate relationship evolved over the years.

Barnard Hughes, who plays Da and played him on Broadway, is possibly more familiar to Australian audiences as the crusty old patriarch from a truly abominable American sit-com called *The Cavanaughs* that the ABC foisted on us a little while back. His Da, bravely enough, is written and performed as a narrow, crabbed, somewhat stupid man and Hughes resists any temptation to overwhelm us with charm in this role.

Unfortunately, he might as well have been on screen alone during his scenes with Martin Sheen, who is a graduate of the Desi Arnaz School of Dramatic Art, where an actor is wont to shout and make his eyes bulge when called on to express emotion.

Like John Hargreaves in *Emerald City*, you do not believe, also, that this man is capable of writing anything more taxing or creative than the family shopping list.

Much more interesting and convincing are Hughes's scenes with his adopted son as a small child and as an adolescent. Playing Charlie as a young man, newcomer Karl Hayden makes a good try at reproducing an Irish accent.

Naturally, the filmmakers have opened out this play for the screen, which lessens its dramatic tension somewhat; but on the plus side we are treated to numerous picture postcard shots of Dalkey, which to anyone who has their roots in Ireland is one of the most beautiful little towns in the world. If green is your favourite colour, you'll love this film.

– CHRISTINE CREMEN

Sombre, slice of S

LITTLE VERA (PG)
Mandolin Cinema, Sydney, until May 10 as part of XVIth Soviet Film Festival. Melbourne and Canberra seasons: no information as yet. Other States: to be advised. Russian title: Malenkaya Vera. Mosfilm production. Director: Vasily Pichul. Screenplay: Maria Khmelik. Music: Vladimir Matleski. Art director: Vladimir Pasternak. Running time: 130 minutes

Vera	Natalia Negod
Sergei	Andrei Sokolo
Father	Yuri Nazarov
Mother	Ludmila Zaitsev
Viktor	Alexander Negrev

By CHRISTINE CREMEN

JUDGING by its latest exports the Soviet film industry is preoccupied these days by young people and their problems. Last year's Sydney Film Festival featured a curious Latvian documentary about teenagers who vandalised a train after a rock concert. The sombre tone of this shock-horror expose was intriguing to Western viewers who probably found these Soviet delinquents about as threatening as Donny and Marie Osmond compared with our own adolescents.

The 1989 Soviet Film Festival opening night picture, *My Name is Harlequin*, also looks at disaffected youth, though mostly from a rather romantically indulgent male point of view. But there's another feature in this year's program which tells the story of a troubled teenager and which has much more than curiosity value. It does not feature a character who is a cross between a latter-day James Dean and Marlon Brando's Wild One; and has my personal recommendation for being one of the best films I've seen this year.

Vera (Natalia Negoda) is a young girl who lives with her family in a small shabby flat in some unnamed Russian industrial city. She's just left school and when the movie begins we see her being nagged by her father to continue her studies at college. But Vera is more interested in pop music and making love with Sergei (Andrei Sokolov), a handsome student a few years older than she whom she meets at a rock concert.

So far, *Little Vera* sounds like a Soviet version of a typical Molly Ringwald movie, and Natalia Negoda has been the victim of a tacky international media campaign

Natalia Negoda as Vera

Abandon guilt, enjoy the junk

CAT WOMEN OF THE MOON (PG)
Valhalla Cinema, Sydney
Production and cast details not available

By CHRISTINE CREMEN

TEN years ago, the American magazine Film Com-

As often as not, the women in these sagas are fierce warriors – such as Amazons and Valkyries – who battle male invaders almost to the death, until they are overcome by passion and willingly lay down their spears.

During the 1950s, Hollywood turned out more than 200 stories about lost worlds inhabited by man-hungry hollywoods and scantily-clad

Act snares foreign owners

In the first of a fortnightly series on property legal matters, MATTHEW CROCH * takes a look at the rules governing overseas investment in Australian property

Mr Crouch . . . rules wider than first indicated

THE now common practice of government by press release, used by the Federal Government to introduce new rules in relation to foreign acquisition of Australian real estate, may mean some investors have unwittingly broken the law.

On October 30 1987, the Treasurer, Mr Keating, announced new rules by press release. It was not until April this year, 18 months later, that legislation was passed (the Foreign Takeovers Amendment Act).

The rules apply retrospectively to the date of the announcement yet are wider than first indicated.

Theoretically, therefore, foreigners who have acquired an interest in Australian land since October 30 1987 and who have not complied with the new Act, will be subject to the severe penalties provided for non-compliance.

These penalties are fines of up to $250,000 for a corporation and $50,000 and two years' imprisonment for an individual.

In addition, the Treasurer can order the foreigner to divest themselves of the land.

The legislation requires a foreign person to notify the Treasurer of their intention to acquire an interest in Australian urban land.

A foreigner acquires such an interest upon signing a contract or option agreement for obtaining an interest in land.

A foreigner may enter into such a contract or option without actually getting approval, provided it is conditional on Treasury approval.

Once notified, the Treasurer can examine the proposal and prohibit it if he decides that the deal would be contrary to the national interest.

The Treasurer can approve proposals with or without conditions as he sees fit.

Who are these foreigners who are caught by the "new" rules? They are persons who are not ordinarily resident in Australia. In respect of foreign nationals, this means a person who has not been in Australia for at least 200 of the past 365 days, or people such as visa holders who have a limited term of stay in this country.

Companies and trusts are caught if foreigners have sufficient voting power or shareholding. Australian citizens living overseas are also caught and have to get approval prior to acquiring land — though the Treasurer has said that the policy would generally be to approve proposals by Australians.

The rules apply to all land in Australia except land used exclusively for primary production.

The policy covers not only ownership of land but also includes interests acquired through leases or licences giving rights to occupy for a likely period of more than five years, company title shares, profit-sharing arrangements relating to land and interests in companies or trusts. 50 per cent or more of the assets of which are interests in Australian urban land.

The new scheme is remarkable not only because it allows for retrospective imposition of fines, imprisonment and divestiture orders but because the legislation itself is much wider in its scope than the original decree led us to believe.

For example, the October 1987 statement said that acquisition from a real estate developer of dwellings under construction would be exempt.

There was also to be an exemption for commercial or industrial property where it was to be used for the normal business activities of the foreign individual or company concerned.

These and several other exemptions have not been included in the legislation and are at present caught by it.

Regulations are clearly needed to rectify these problems and other unintentional results of the legislation — for instance (as the Treasurer acknowledges), that migrants need approval to buy a family home in their first 200 days as new Australians.

Some might say it's about time. Perhaps the legislation is a reaction to the controversy in recent years over large-scale acquisitions of Australian land by foreign interests.

Others might ask: "It's all up to the Treasurer anyway; why bother with complicated rules?" The impact of the legislation will largely depend on the policy adopted by the Treasurer and his advisers at the Foreign Investment Review Board — but what is "contrary to the national interest" is likely to remain elusive.

The statement of policy was included in the announcement of October 30 1987. Given the quite glaring differences between that decree and the legislation itself, only time will tell whether these policies are carried out.

For the future foreign investor, the legislation is a real source of concern. First, there is the difficulty that a vendor will often not wish to enter into a contract which is conditional on the foreign buyer getting Treasury approval for the deal. Nor may they want to wait for that approval.

Delays and missed opportunities will undoubtedly result. Treasury has shown that it can respond quickly in straightforward cases — and the rules give it a period of 30 days (extendable) to respond.

Auctions are also a problem as there is rarely, if ever, scope for making a bid conditional on approval.

Recent foreign investors who did not comply with the legislation (even though it was not in force) will be even more concerned.

Such persons may even have complied with the terms of the original announcement yet because the Act itself is much wider than the announcement, they're liable to fines, imprisonment or divestiture orders.

The Treasurer may not take a hard line in such cases although a breach of the Act has occurred.

** Mr Crouch is a partner with the Sydney firm of solicitors, Bartier, Perry and Purcell*

BFK forecasts upward pressure on North Sydney rentals

By THERESE SPRUHAN

A RECENT report by Baillieu Knight Frank (BKF) ranked Sydney's north shore as the fourth largest commercial area following the central business districts of Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane.

The north shore office market includes North Sydney, Crows Nest-St Leonards, Chatswood, Pymble and Hornsby. During the past five years almost 500,000sq m of office space has been built.

The report outlined commercial development on the north shore and concluded:

North Sydney: A significant feature of the North Sydney office market is the lack of land left for development, which will force developers to consider redeveloping sites that contain older-style buildings.

BKF expects there will be future undersupply in North Sydney which will create upward pressure on rentals.

Crows Nest-St Leonards: With several substantial developments which include high levels of car parking, the report says this area will continue to grow as a significant office centre. It predicts the present yield range of 7 per cent to 8.5 per cent will remain stable.

Chatswood: After the explosion of office space supply and demand in Chatswood in 1987, BKF reports there is now a period of consolidation. During the past 18 months the total office sector stock increased by more than 90 per cent to 186,934sq m.

Hornsby: There are $200 million worth of developments either recently approved or before the Council.

Neutral Bay-Mosman: This area is emerging as an attractive location for advertising, media, computer and publishing tenants, the report says.

MAPPING SILENT NARRATIONS:

Racism and multiculturalism in a Melbourne school

1988 - 1998

Appendix Six

Cemetery art reflects living culture

CATHERINE TAYLOR

THE National Gallery of Australia's prized collection of 200 Aboriginal hollow log coffins will travel overseas for the first time next month to feature in a European tour of contemporary Australian indigenous art.

The artworks, known as the Aboriginal Memorial, were commissioned for the bicentenary in 1988 and represent a war cemetery commemorating the indigenous Australians who died defending their land against white settlers.

"This is a big day. This is a big event. This is a big decision," said NGA director Brian Kennedy at a gathering to announce the exhibition.

The Aboriginal Memorial will be shown by itself at the Olympic Museum in Lausanne in July before joining a second group of contemporary Aboriginal artworks travelling to St Petersburg and Madrid. The works will return to the NGA to coincide with the beginning of the Olympic Games in Sydney in September next year.

"This is the most significant exhibition of Australian art to travel from this country. People who have eyes and a brain connected to them can see Aboriginal art stands with the best of art anywhere in the world," according to Kennedy.

The two parts of the exhibition — which features the work of Fiona Foley, Tracey Moffatt, Emily Kame Kngwarreye, Rover Thomas, John Mawurndjul and Nym Bunduk — a group of initiation sculptures made in 1962 and the Aboriginal Memorial, "(tackle) the Australia of today and what Australia might be tomorrow", Kennedy says.

For Djardie Ashley, a noted bark painter and chair of Bula'bula Arts Centre at Ramingining in Arnhem Land — the local artists co-operative that produced the Memorial — the tour offers a chance to "understand our history and culture". "Here you see something very special," he says. "Our art is not just for looking at; it has meaning. This memorial is for all the dead Aboriginal people all over Australia. In some parts of Australia, people have lost their songs. In this memorial, we sing for all those people, too."

Unique: artists Djardie Ashley, left, and Bobby Bununggurr with the Aboriginal Memorial, which goes from Canberra to Europe

Picture: RAY STRANGE

> ‘In some parts of Australia, people have lost their songs. In this memorial, we sing for all those people, too’
>
> DJARDIE ASHLEY

The hollow log coffins are a traditional burial method in Arnhem Land communities. When a person dies, their body is ritually painted and mourned before being allowed to decompose. Months or even years later, the bones are reclaimed, painted with ochre and placed inside a decorated hollow log.

The logistics of moving the Memorial — housed at the NGA for the past decade — are immense. Gloria Morales, conservator of the Aboriginal collection, has spent more than 12 months preparing the poles for the trip. "It's a huge job," she says. Some of the logs, made from iron wood and eucalyptus, weigh more than 100kg and require three people to move them. The delicate ochre pigments are easily damaged and must be delicately handled to reduce the risk of smudging or cracking the surface. Morales has overseen construction of separate metal frames and containers to hold each structure.

Morales says the valuable poles will be split into two consignments when they travel to minimise the danger of damage or loss.

Djon Mundine, senior curator of Aboriginal art at the National Museum of Australia who conceived the idea for the Memorial in 1987, says taking a national treasure overseas always excites debate. "Once you lose those treasures, they are gone. You can't re-create or reproduce them." But Mundine says it is important to show the best of the nation's Aboriginal art. "All Aboriginal art is, in its best sense, created for an event, a ceremony. In 1988, you have this time context when something is created for an event, rather than a standard exhibition you send away."

Wally Caruana, senior curator of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander art at the NGA, estimates taking the exhibition on tour will cost more than $1 million. "You must take the very best you have if people are going to sit up and take notice," he says. "This is an installation that is unique. Artistically, it's a major statement."

The exhibition forms part of the 1999 Olympic arts festival Reaching the World. Dr Lowitja O'Donoghue, a member of the Indigenous advisory committee of the Sydney Organising Committee for the Olympic Games, says the exhibition is ideal for "letting people know we have a living culture".

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Minister
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figures

mid-May.

The Government introduced the rebate, which offers fund members up to 30 per cent off, in January after coverage had plummetted to 30.1 per cent, or 5.676 million people — and after its less generous Private Health Insurance Incentive Scheme failed to stem the exodus.

Cheque's in the Mailman: The winning portrait yesterday, with the subject and the artist, Eveline Ploeg — Picture: ALAN PRYKE

Preamble a war of word

RICHARD McGREGOR
❑ Chief political reporter

JOHN Howard says he is willing to make changes to his constitutional preamble, but indicated yesterday he would not bow to opposition demands to include a reference to prior Aboriginal "custodianship" of Australia.

The Prime Minister said he did not object personally to "custodianship", but maintained that the concept could alienate people who worried it went "too far" on the issue.

Mr Howard's comments follow the agreement between Labor, the Democrats and the Greens on an alternative document that threatens to torpedo the Prime Minister's initiative.

"I am willing to look at changes but I am not willing to propose something that will lose support in other sections of the community," Mr Howard said on Adelaide radio. He said he did not believe that "custodianship" implied ownership of land, but that "a lot of people of goodwill are concerned about that and I respect their views".

Mr Howard conceded that the stand-off could see the preamble question excluded from the November referendum, something that republicans would heartily welcome.

"If (the opposition parties) say, we either have exactly what we we want on indigenous people, or we have no preamble at all, there will be no preamble because you can't have it without it being passed by both houses of parliament," he said.

If the Senate rejects the preamble, Mr Howard must wait at least three months before putting it to a referendum, a timetable that does not fit the November vote on the republic.

There remains a glimmer of hope for a compromise, with the substitution of another word with a similar meaning in the place of custodianship.

However, after some early signs of compromise, Labor now appears to be hardening against any change that could accommodate Mr Howard.

Labor legal affairs spokesman Robert McClelland said yesterday there was "no reasonable basis" for excluding custodianship.

"In the absence of any proof that a significant group of Australians hold this opinion, one is entitled to question the genuineness of the Prime Minister's statements on this issue," he said.

"Any dictionary will show that the concept of custody is not the same as ownership."

The now-you-see-it, now-you-don't rise

MICHAEL BACHELARD
❑ Workplace relations writer

THE lowest-paid workers will receive only $1.74 of the $12-a-week rise they were awarded in yesterday's living wage case, a leading economist says.

The Industrial Relations Commission awarded $12 to workers earning $510 a week or less, and $10 for those earning above $510, but the director of Access Economics, Chris Anderson, said the net increase would be a fraction of that amount.

The rise, which applies to workers not covered by enterprise agreements, takes the minimum wage above $10 an hour for the first time and covers 2 million workers.

Mr Anderson claimed those awarded $12 would receive just $1.74, and those given $10 gross would get just $1.45 after they paid out a third in tax, and lost half by reduction in family benefits.

"We have a long history of trying to help people at the low-income end through the wage system, and we keep shooting ourselves in the head," Mr Anderson said.

"It's not a smart way to help people — if you want a smart way to help people, you look at tax credits."

Commission president Justice Geoff Giudice said the pay rise was warranted in the context of good economic performance, strong productivity growth, high levels of investment and low inflation.

Continued — Page 4

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Inside *Second edition*

First word

However much Mr Howard may say the States will win with a GST, I cannot believe this will be the case for the occupants of those States.

Craig Glass
Hobart, Tas

Letters — Page 14

The dollar

US65.32¢	+US0.06¢
Y77.80	+Y0.11
Eu0.6158	+Eu0.0044
40.48p	+0.18p
TWI 58.0	+0.3
All Ords 3104.9	−17.8
Gold $US282.80	+$US0.50

Marketplace — Page 30

Weather

Adelaide	Cloudy periods	17
Brisbane	Fine	25
Canberra	Shower or two	14
Darwin	Fine	30
Hobart	Fine	15
Melbourne	Mainly fine	17
Perth	Fine	27
Sydney	Showers, windy	17
Townsville	Fine	27

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the year ended December 31. — Page 21

— Associate Professor Carole Ferrier, Letters, Page 14

es in for the skilled

Grayson receives a welcome at Perth airport yesterday

Picture: ROSS SWANBOROUGH

r Ruddock said that while oria and Tasmania had ed for larger immigration rams, all of the States, with exception of South Aust- had failed to take up locally nsored skilled migrants.

here is the perfect oppor- ity for State premiers who n to have a view on these ters to be able to demon- te that there is a pool of ly skilled people wanting cess Australia," he said.

ting Opposition immi- ion spokesman Martin guson said Mr Kennett ld only have credibility en the Victorian Govern- t fulfills its existing quota ring in skilled migrants".

Migrant family wins the 'lottery'

CANDICE SILVERMAN

FOR English couple Louise and Michael Grayson, emigrating to Australia had been a lifelong dream.

The couple and their 17-month-old daughter, Lorna, were greeted at Perth airport yesterday by relatives who had made the journey nine years before and were now sponsoring the young family's new life.

Mr Grayson has a bachelor of technology, in electronic engineering and Mrs Grayson holds a child-care certificate, a British qualification recognised in Australia. They said it had been difficult to gain an immigration visa and had spent the past nine months filling out forms.

"We went to a couple of immigration consultants and they did a quick assessment on us and they didn't reckon we'd make it," Mr Grayson said.

"They seem to cut back on the amount of people who come in each year and the point tests get harder and harder. I think they are pushing for more skilled people and we had to prove ourselves worthy."

Mrs Grayson's mother and stepfather, Lindon and Graham Menz, sponsored the Sussex couple, offering Mr Grayson a job with their local construction company.

Mrs Menz came to Australia in 1990. She described the points system that specifies age, family and skill levels of the applicant as one which seemed more a lottery than good management.

"I don't know what the requirements are really," she said. "Some people have no end of trouble when they seem to have all the requirements."

Media diversity less if liberalised

IAN HENDERSON
Economics correspondent

MEDIA ownership diversity would be halved, and the influence of existing proprietors doubled, if restrictions were abolished, parliamentary library research has found.

The study comes as debate over the future of the media intensifies, with:

THE Productivity Commission inquiring into a need for stringent regulation of broadcasting, including the limits on cross-media and foreign ownership, and:

THE three biggest commercial media interests — News Limited, publisher of *The Australian*, PBL Ltd and Fairfax — signalling they want the rules changed.

The library report undermines a key argument used to support liberalising media laws, concluding that new technologies — such as the Internet and pay TV — have failed to diversify ownership in a highly concentrated industry.

"The three pay TV companies offer 56 channels, but only one of these is an Australian news channel — Sky News Australia," researcher Kim Jackson said, pointing out that this channel was jointly owned by News Limited, PBL Ltd and Television's Seven Network.

Mr Jackson said: "The Internet's main contribution to media diversity has been to increase the possible influence of the print media by improving its household access.

"This could be seen as a reason for retaining the cross-media rules rather than abandoning them."

Some 30 of the 100 most popular Australian Internet sites are controlled by one of the big two newspaper groups, one of the three main commercial TV networks or the ABC, Mr Jackson's research shows.

He also said all nine news and media sites in the top 100 were in the hands of the same six established media groups.

Mr Jackson rejected the increasingly popular claim that, as the boundaries blurred between traditional media and new technologies, the current ownership restrictions were rapidly outdated.

"The distinctions between current Internet services and broadcasting are still quite clear — the former are delivered interactively through a unique connection to an individual household, while the latter are broadcast to anyone who has the necessary receiving equipment," he said.

"The fact that television broadcasters may gradually move into the household data market is not in itself a reason for abandoning the cross-media rules.

"The abolition of the rules would reduce possible media ownership diversity by an average of 53 per cent or, to put it in simpler terms, it could double the influence of the existing proprietors."

ATSIC pressed to explain $2.7m flop

NATALIE O'BRIEN

FEDERAL Aboriginal Affairs Minister John Herron has launched an investigation into the collapse of a Perth printing company just weeks after the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission put $2.7 million into the venture.

Senator Herron said yesterday he had instructed the Director of the Office of Evaluation and Audit to examine ATSIC's procedures and actions in providing funding for an Aboriginal group to acquire a 50 per cent stake in the project.

He said reports about the failure of the printing company "raised very serious questions".

"In particular, I have requested the director report to me on the procedures followed by ATSIC ... the accuracy, appropriateness and timeliness of the actions of ATSIC ... the accuracy of advice provided to ATSIC," he said in a statement.

The printing company, Presspower, was placed in receivership two weeks ago, two months after ATSIC financed the Bangaculla Ruby Aboriginal Corporation's $2.7 million purchase of half the business.

ATSIC provided a loan of $2.2 million and a grant of $500,000 to the corporation, which was buying into the business in a scheme to provide employment for up to 50 Aboriginal people.

News of the collapse brought an "astounded" response from West Australian senator Ross Lightfoot, who told ABC radio he was "staggered that so much money can be lost so quickly".

"ATSIC, in terms of commercial dealings, is incompetent ... and they should not be allowed to handle taxpayers' funds by themselves," Senator Lightfoot said.

ATSIC's West Australian media manager, Damian Bourne, yesterday welcomed Senator Herron's intervention.

"Any assistance that the receiver can get in getting to the bottom of this situation is to be welcomed," he said.

Mr Bourne said the decision to fund the corporation's venture was made after careful consideration and because "it looked like a goer".

"Every step of the way, their proposition, their figures were scrutinised by independent valuers, independent auditors and independent business agents," he said.

Mr Bourne said concerns about the loan, that were raised by ATSIC's Canberra office, had been addressed before the funding was approved — a process which took more than a year.

"The reason it took so long was we had to be cautious, check every step of the way," he said.

"I believe we have fulfilled that process pretty carefully."

THE AUSTRALIAN

Friday, April 30, 1999

Nicholson 30.4.99

Yearly quotas stifle debate on migration

ONE in four Australians was born overseas. So it is curious that most politicians are reluctant to enter wholeheartedly into the immigration debate. True, some research has indicated that recent migrants themselves are among the most critical of suggestions that Australia lift its migrant intake. This may reflect an irrational fear that the benefits of living in Australia might be reduced if more people were allowed in, but the view should not predominate in discussion of the benefits of migration.

Two years ago John Howard justified a 10 per cent cut to immigration on the basis of his long-held belief in the link between high immigration levels and high unemployment. He maintained the cuts represented a more balanced immigration program and he remained "utterly and completely committed" to a non-discriminatory immigration policy. How the Prime Minister's approach gels with yesterday's announcement of new immigration targets by Philip Ruddock is unclear. The Immigration Minister has foreshadowed a 2000-place increase in the target with the possibility that a further 5000 places will be made available as a contingency reserve under the Skills Stream, which will have its eligibility criteria adjusted to allow a more flexible approach to the selection of skilled migrants. Mr Ruddock made no secret that this parsimonious increase was a direct sop to the strong calls by industry and some State governments for a rise in skilled migration to meet very evident demand.

This is not an esoteric argument. For much of the past decade there have been gaping holes in Australia's capacity to meet employment needs in the metal fabrication, computer services and construction industries. This has occurred despite depressingly high levels of unemployment, only now showing real signs of improvement. The employment shortfall in selected industries has been exacerbated by the severe reduction in apprenticeship training and the curtailing of retraining schemes which occurred with the election of the Coalition in 1996.

It will come as no surprise to Mr Ruddock that Jeff Kennett believes both sides of politics are running scared on the migration issue. The ALP's commitment to developing a population policy that looks at a number of factors, including immigration, will help improve the quality of the debate. The Victorian Premier's advocacy of an increase in intake to 130,000 a year, with the potential of lifting the population to 28 million in 60 years, points in the right direction but ultimately his figures are arbitrary.

What is desperately needed is some coherence in the development of immigration policy. The debate should be more than just a yearly rant when new immigration targets are released. Australia is a wealthy country with the Government proud of its economic management compared with other nations in our region. An increase in immigration of a miserly 2000 places — albeit with a commitment to be flexible on humanitarian applications if the need arises — scarcely sends a welcoming message to any potential migrants. Australia has been built on migration. It is now one of the most polyglot countries in the world. We need to be far more accepting of migration's real benefits for our country.

The SES needs

YOUR editorial Hail disaster effort needs review (28/4) was an unfortunate and unconstructive piece. There were many accusations that failed to realise the situation. The first was that the State Emergency Services made an "inadequate assessment". Thousands of residents were slow to report damaged homes to the SES — they were discovered by SES doorknocks. If people do not report damage, of course it will take the SES some days to discover damaged homes.

"Army personnel should have been brought in much earlier." Hindsight is always 20/20. SES chief Major-General Hori Howard was acting in good faith. Whether brought in sooner or later, the vast majority of crews doing the work were SES. The army wouldn't have made much difference to the operation's completion time.

"Call-receiving equipment was antiquated". Many SES units run on an annual budget of around $15,000. Inadequate funding means there is no central call centre — residents contact individual units for help. Of course the Electricity Authority in Perth could deal with a million calls in a day — their budget is far greater than the NSW SES.

SES is the combat agency for the two disasters that cost the community the most — floods and storms. However, it receives a fraction of the funding allocated to the Rural Fire Service which deals with the third most costly disaster. Without money the SES cannot perform to its full potential.

"There is public disquiet at the management of the relief effort." Of course there is. If you have 20,000 damaged homes and around 250 emergency crews

Over the top

AM I alone in this? I have an impending dread that one evening I will turn on my TV set and

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IN 1993 the Kennett Government incorporated the Department of Energy and

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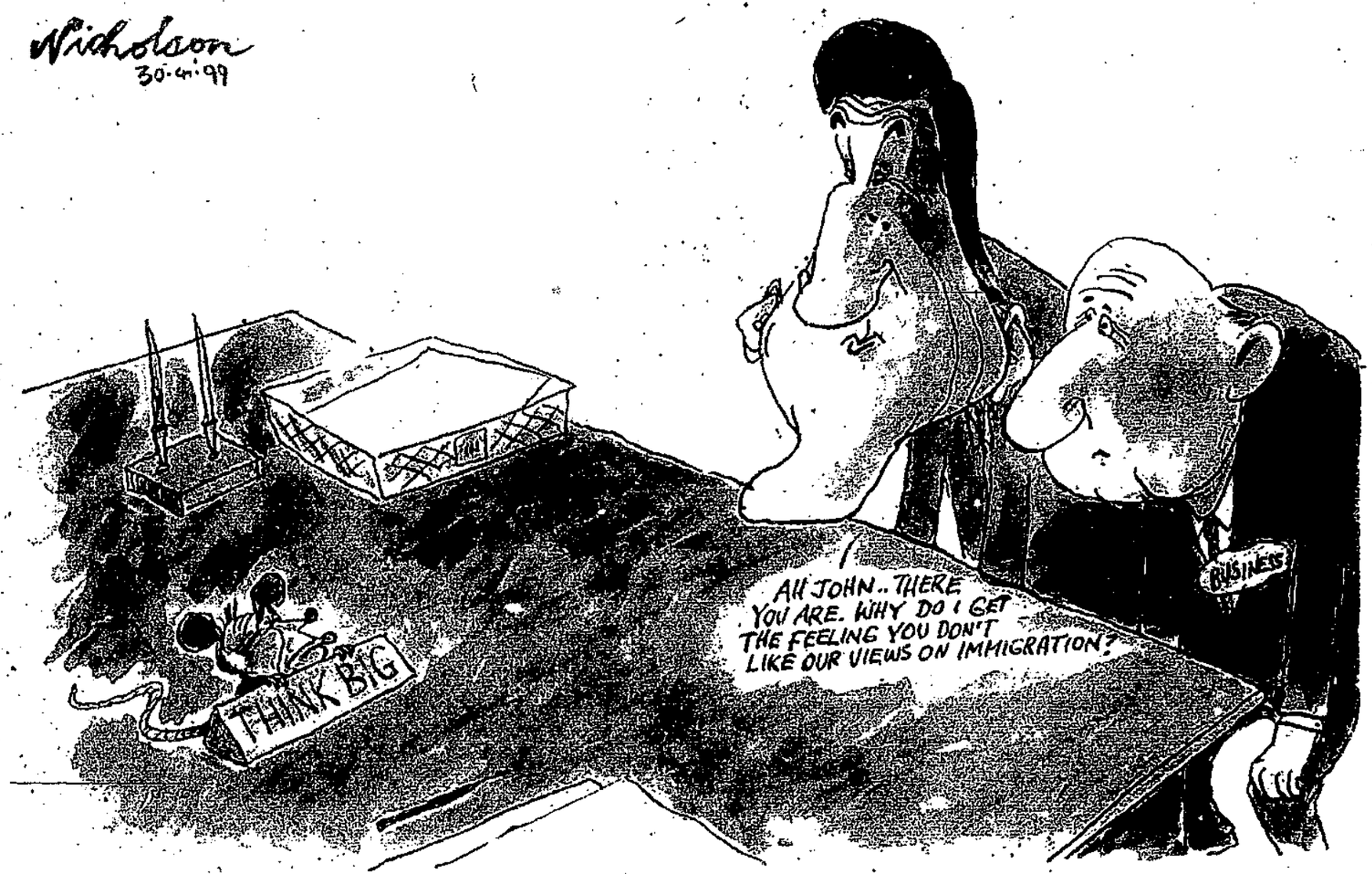
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR



The SES needs more money, not critics

NOW editorial Hail disaster "Call receiving equipment with most farm jobs taking neglected to acknowledge some response operation is of little

Terrorist 'recruiting for holy war'

BENJAMIN HASLEM

VICTORIAN police fear international terrorist Osama bin Laden is recruiting Melbourne Muslims to fight in a holy war.

Interpol has been asked to investigate Hamoud Abaid Al Anezi, who entered Australia last month on a Saudi passport.

Police yesterday told of their concerns about Mr Al Anezi during a bail application in Melbourne.

Mr Al Anezi, 22, and four other men have been charged over an aggravated burglary at a home in Melbourne's north on April 19.

Detective Sergeant Graeme Sayce told the Melbourne Magistrates Court Mr Al Anezi had been carrying a Yemeni passport and a second Saudi passport in another name at the time of his arrest.

He said two of the assault victims, Sinan Gedik and Ahmed Hussain, had told police they were bashed with wooden clubs over their refusal to be recruited as terrorists.

He told the court the five accused had shouted "you must come with us, you must join us" during the assaults in Thomastown.

The four other men were Iraqi nationals granted protective refugee status.

"Mr Hussain and Mr Gedik allege the motive behind the attack is their refusal to join a fundamentalist Muslim terrorist organisation set to be run by Osama bin Ladan," Sergeant Sayce said.

"Mr Gedik alleges Mr Al Anezi has travelled to Australia for the purpose of recruiting other Muslims to join Bin Laden in a jihad or holy war... in Kosovo and Chechnya."

The US Federal Bureau of Investigation suspects the millionaire, Bin Laden of ordering the bombings against US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania last August.

Sergeant Sayce said one of the victims alleged Mr Al Anezi had claimed he was wanted in Saudi Arabia or elsewhere in the Middle East "for acts of terrorism".

"Checks are being run by Interpol," he said.

The two victims, who had been at home with their wives and children at the time of the incident, were now in hiding after receiving threats they would be burnt alive.

Police had spoken to other members of Melbourne's Muslim community about the terrorist allegations.

But witnesses had refused to make sworn statements because they were "terrified" of what might happen to them if they provided information about their knowledge of Mr Al Anezi.

Ahmad Ar Ayad, from the Islamic Society of Victoria and a friend of the four local accused and the two victims, told the court he had no knowledge of terrorist recruitment.

Those charged over the burglary and assault are: Al Anezi, Issa Mahdi Al Khazali, 34, Khalil Al Qaragooli, 28, and Mustafa Al Jaf, 29, all of Preston; and Firas Khadir Hussain, 23, of Reservoir.

Magistrate Clive Alsop refused bail but stressed his decision had nothing to do with the men's political beliefs.

Patients go in where doctors fear to tread

WHEN Avis MacPhee was diagnosed with breast cancer in July 1992, she was offered three treatment choices — two traditional regimes of chemotherapy or the chance to participate in a clinical trial.

Ms MacPhee, who works in medical research, had no fear of choosing the trial and became the third patient to join a test of high-dose chemotherapy being conducted at Royal Melbourne Hospital.

She reasoned that the other treatments had been around women get offered access to clinical trials," she said.

"I do not think it's a problem of convincing them to participate. I think it is that they are not being offered to them. The problem lies with the doctors."

The women said there was no complete list of all the trials being conducted in Australia and, for most women, no way of finding out about them unless their doctors told them.

Ms Lockwood said low participation rates were also due to many women being treated

MAPPING SILENT NARRATIONS:

Racism and multiculturalism in a Melbourne school

1988 - 1998

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