Exploring new discursive spaces: Multiculturalism and Education for Sustainable Development (BUR08652)

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Abstract:
This paper tracks Australia's relationship to the migrant Other via an examination of contemporary multicultural policy. By analysing the political and social conditions that enabled a national, and bipartisan policy of multiculturalism to emerge as formalised national policy during the late 1960s and early 1970s, this paper 're-problematises' the processes that shaped an articulation of race, ethnicity and the migrant Other. The paper focuses particular attention on the parallel narrative at work within multiculturalism as it first grappled with, and later came to embrace an evolving social experiment framed within the discourse of social justice. The paper addresses the post September 11 environment where multiculturalism within a traditional social justice framework fails to provide as clear a road map for educators. The paper argues the emerging area of Education for Sustainable Development provides pre-service teacher education with a productive node and fresh discursive possibilities to regain political/pedagogical traction for a human rights agenda.

Key words:	Education for Sustainable Development, Pre-service Teacher Education, Multiculturalism, September 11

Introduction

The post September 11 geopolitical landscape superimposed upon a rising awareness of notions of sustainability provides fertile ground for rethinking multiculturalism as a social ideal. The tensions inherent within this emerging discursive space open novel windows of interpretation, and provide multiple political perspectives on this 'dangerous new world'. This shift in collective psyche – shared, perilous and under siege – has generated intense debate concerning personal and national security while at the same time highlighting anxiety concerning the sustainability of current social, economic and agricultural practices. Significantly, it is this space that has generated resurgent elements of popular nationalism and anxiety over the erosion of 'core' national values.

Such shifts are particularly evident when they converge upon singular focal points such as the un-integrated Islamic Other and 'its' potential threat to the essence of the Western nation state. From riots in Paris to uprisings on the southern beaches of Sydney, there is every indication that this is a global phenomenon that has a real and tangible impact across a range of policy areas, particularly as nations scramble to 'shore-up' domestic and international security. Policy upheavals of such magnitude generate new national/governmental priorities with their attendant winners and losers. Priority shifts mean funding shifts. While military and intelligence sectors have anticipated and received unprecedented injections of funds, other initiatives not as patently reactive and longer term and complex, such as the promotion of social harmony, are losers in this new order. Put bluntly, many nations have not managed the influx of large displaced populations yet are paradoxically in retreat from the very ideas that can assist them. Multiculturalism – already under attack from neo-liberal economic models that drive radically alternative agendas to social justice – is likely to be further eroded by nationwide cultures of fear transfixed upon notions of the un-integrated Islamic Other.

There is every indication that Australian multiculturalism as a cornerstone of the national policy agenda is well into its final stages of collapse for the remnants of Australian multicultural policy are already aligned more squarely with economic rather than social ends, and there are strong grounds for concluding the decline of multiculturalism as a high ground of social betterment. It is clear that the gloss has been lost from the very term 'multiculturalism', for it is increasingly expunged from government documents along with expressions such as "race" being 'softened to "culture"'.

While 'social justice' has provided a useful discursive node for organising the social and cultural foundations of multiculturalism within schools and pre-service teacher education, the challenge now is to rethink the vocabularies and discursive spaces through which to engage educators with issues to do with social equity and human rights. This paper maps the antecedents of this challenge by tracking the management of Australian ethnicity, migration and its relationship to the Other. In doing so the paper analyses the emergence of multicultural policy, indicating how certain practices have enabled the state to exercise sovereignty over an increasingly diverse population and thus how the state has manipulated the rationalities and sensitivities that produce notions of cultural and ethnic 'Whiteness' and 'difference'.

The first section of the paper overtly positions the historical context of Australian immigration showing how this constitutes a non-normative political technology that masks the unique domestic articulation of race, ethnicity and the migrant Other. This work foregrounds practices of the newly federated Australian State engaged in a contradictory mode of governance in relation to social diversity that simply ignored indigenous issues as a

national priority. It demonstrates how conservative constrictive immigration regulation (enshrined in the infamous 'White-Australia' policy) was sanctioned at the same time that government ministers were heralding the liberal foundations of a newly formed constitution. The paper moves on to analyse the political and social conditions that enabled a national, and bipartisan policy of multiculturalism to emerge during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Important here is the manner in which embryonic notions of cultural pluralism were increasingly formalised as national policy. The paper draws attention to the parallel narrative at work in schools and universities as they first grappled with, and later came to embrace this evolving social experiment. This section of the paper highlights how progressive education became engaged with the discourse of social justice in framing multiculturalism. The final section of the paper addresses the post September 11 environment where social justice and multiculturalism no longer provide the same road map for educators. The paper suggests that proponents of multiculturalism would be wise to reposition the principles of cultural pluralism within the emerging and more politically palatable policy domain of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD). ESD, it is suggested provides new discursive possibilities, particularly for teacher educators as they seek to regain political/pedagogical traction for a semi-dormant human rights agenda.

Migration and an evolving relationship to the Other
Any discussion of multicultural policy in Australia must locate its analysis of how notions of race, ethnicity and the migrant 'Other' have been constituted over time. Accounts of Australian migrant history are disputed, with considerable contestation over indigenous history and, in particular, how the period of white colonisation should be represented (see for example Macintyre and Clark 2003). The following discussion begins with the story of white migration to a country already home to the Indigenous people, including around 660 language groups. Predating notions of *White Australia* as a national ideal are the multiple waves of migration that began in 1788 with the use of Australia as a penal colony and the mass clearing of British gaols that eventually saw over 160,000 convicts transported to the colonies. The initial arrival of small numbers of free-immigrants in 1790 was followed by numerical spikes of migration that coincided with the Irish famine in 1840s (see O'Farrell 1987), the gold rushes during the 1850s and 1860s which resulted in up to 50,000 new arrivals per year; as well as during the 1880s and 1890s with ethno-specific migration such as Chinese, Japanese and Afghan workers employed in particular occupations such as the market garden, pearling and camel industries (see Markus 1994, Kabir 2006). Despite such diverse sources of migration over the 1800s, by 1901 when the colonies united forming the Australian nation at Federation, the dominant cultural group controlling positions of power remained predominately an Anglo-Celtic ruling elite with UK migrants numbering 679,200 from of a total of 852,400 overseas born migrants (ABS 2006).

The formation in 1901 a newly federated Australia brought with it an undercurrent of sentiment that explicitly set out to ensure Australia would remain under the control of British descendants. Kabir (2006) goes as far as to state that certain polygenism theories linked to 'race' lineage, Social Darwinism, economic concerns and "a range of other eugenic, hygienic and cultural fears amongst whites all contributed to calls for the total exclusion of 'coloured' people" (p.195). The apparatus used to enact this nationally became the *Immigration Restriction Act of 1901*, which notably was the first piece of legislation the new Australian Parliament enacted after Federation. The legislation, subsequently known as the *White Australia Policy*, became a guiding principle of Australian migration for the next 60 years and served as an effective administrative mechanism to enhance and maintain power over the production of knowledge structures related to race. The White Australia Policy was critical in

articulating for the first time an emerging fear that not only could the 'uncivilised other' take over the country via military invasion, but also "that through the pressure of sheer numbers, the uncivilised others slowly end up penetrating the place and their different cultural forms and norms slowly end up 'polluting' colonial society and identity" (Hage 2003, p.52). The historical, political and cultural legacy of this policy cannot be understated for "White Australia provided the very basis upon which national unity was articulated and national identity experienced" (Carter 2006, p.318).

In its most simplistic form, the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 sought to ensure that migrants to Australia were European and preferably of British heritage stating:

> The immigration into the Commonwealth of the persons described in any of the following paragraphs of this section (hereinafter called "prohibited immigrants") is prohibited, namely:—
> (a) Any person who when asked to do so by an officer fails to write out at dictation and sign in the presence of the officer a passage of fifty words in length in an European language directed by the officer" (*The Immigration Restriction Act* 1901 copy cited ABC 2006)

The effect of the policy meant that it was all but impossible for non-Europeans to immigrate to Australia due to the 'dictation test' that enabled a Migration Officer to use any number of European languages to ensure 'unsuitable' applicants were unsuccessful in their attempt to enter the country. It is important to note that the policy had overwhelming domestic support with pockets of resistance emerging from mainly from foreign governments – most notably that of Great Britain. The British resistance however, was pragmatic rather than ideological, for they were attempting to avoid disrupting ongoing trade negotiations with China and Japan and also worried about unrest within the ethnically diverse Commonwealth of Nations (Zelinka 1996). The fact this policy remained on the statute book until 1958 stands as testament to the fact that while the White Australia Policy produced in Althusser's (1971) terms 'subjection' via 'ideological state apparatuses (p.136) – it importantly also "worked to ingrain –in a population already predisposed to believe it – the racial causal logic that links White racial identity with high civilised standards of living" (Hage 2003, p.54). The levels of support for the Immigration Restriction Act were clearly linked to the emergence of an overarching notion of Australian 'Whiteness' that has been secured and reproduced as both normative and invisible with implicit institutional support such as from the powerful labour movement who maintained the policy was needed to exclude cheaper Asian labour from competing for wages in the manufacturing industry (see for example Hollinsworth 1998 and Markus 1994). The Immigration Restriction Act can therefore be seen to be an embodiment or translation of a nuanced national perspective "embedded in social ritual, [and one where] ideology [is] given a material existence that is at once a distortion and implicated in the production of this distortion" (Youdell 2006, p.516).

Although the 1930s depression saw migration from Britain slow as a means of population growth the end of Second World War marks a radical shift in the sourcing of migration growth and one which continued unabated until the second half of the 1960s. Given impetus by the massive number of European displaced war refugees, this period is commonly referred to as one of *Assimilation* (Jayasuriya 2003), where "immigrant cultures were devalued and ignored and immigrants were dispersed both geographically and throughout existing institutions in the community" (Muetzelfeldt 1992, p.308). Importantly in terms of education, adult and child immigrants were required to abandon their culture and language and

'assimilate' as quickly as possible into the dominant Anglo-Celtic culture. Within schools, their developed a prevailing deficit model centred on the issue of linguistic deprivation of migrant children and education in general devalued cultural and linguistic links to the child's homeland (Hollinsworth 1998). In the face of such a large influx of cultural and linguistic diversity, education was soon positioned as a defensive tool that could ensure Australia remained a homogeneous English speaking country with strong links to British heritage (Hollinsworth 1998). Pressure to reform the White Australia Policy was further eroded as the flow of migrants from Britain and northern Europe decreased and the government was forced to accept migrants from southern Mediterranean countries such as Greece and Italy (Jayasuriya 2003). In addition, the UN began to target the apartheid policies of South Africa resulting in more attention being drawn to Australian immigration policies and thus causing escalating internationally embarrassment. By 1960s, the vocal and radical student movement added to the pressure by calling for an end to existing racist immigration policies. Subtler, but nonetheless powerful influences can also be observed as Australia began to expand its economic and strategic alliances throughout Southeast Asia (Jayasuriya 2003). Importantly, this period witnessed the abolishment of the infamous dictation test in 1958, and by 1965, there were strong sentiments within both major political parties pushing to abolish the increasingly ideologically unacceptable White Australia Policy (Markus 1994).

During this period the education sector played a major role in promoting the dominant Anglo Celtic culture through interpreting the provision of additional services to migrants as problematic in that they were both superfluous and divisive (Jayasuriya 2003). Migrant children – despite in many cases not speaking any English – had been forced to rapidly integrate into mainstream schools with little or no additional support provided. By 1965, sentiment had shifted to the point where child-centred educational philosophy began to sway many teachers into insisting changes be made to migrant education (see for example arguments used by Karmel 1973). Increasingly, those involved in education were uncomfortable with the prevailing conditions for migrant children particularly after Ronald Henderson raised the profile of poverty in 1966 (see Saunders 1998) and later gave bureaucratic legitimacy to these concerns with the release of the *Henderson Poverty Report* in 1975 (Henderson 1975). In 1967, the Victorian government also recognized the issue by taking the radical decision to introduce the first withdrawal English as a Second Language (ESL) classes. The *Karmel Report* (1973), *Schooling in Australia* followed and added to the debate by arguing assimilationist policies not only disadvantaged immigrants, but also were wasteful in preventing the immense pool of potential migrant talent from contributing to society. In this context, education was increasingly positioned as a critical element in allowing Australia to successfully move from the existing policy of 'assimilation' to one of 'integration'; where non-dominant cultures could participate on more equal terms and 'integrate' into the mainstream. In 1970, the *Child Migrant Education Program* (CMEP) emulated the Victorian example by providing nationwide funding to schools that allowed migrant children to withdraw from class and receive specialist ESL lessons (Department of Education: Victoria 1997). In addition, the CMEP provided funding for in-service training to raise awareness amongst teachers and to provide resources and guidance of migrant related issues.

Education and the Emergence of Multicultural Australia
Although the date multiculturalism became national policy is still debated, it is clear that 1973 was critical for the new Labour government made a series of concrete decisions that laid the foundation for the multicultural roadmap that followed. It was in 1973 for example, that Mr Al Grassby the Labour Minister for Immigration released the critical reference paper

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entitled *A multi-cultural society for the future*. At this time the government also made the critical decision to remove race as a factor in immigration policy by,

- legislating that all migrants, of whatever origin, be eligible to obtain citizenship after three years of permanent residence
- issue policy instructions to overseas posts to totally disregard race as a factor in the selection of migrants and
- ratify all international agreements relating to immigration and race.

(DIMA website 2006)

With the White Australia Policy now officially obsolete, broader ideological and legal trends began to focus policy makers' attention on equality and access across the whole educational sector. Schools for the first time began to focus their attention on new culturally-derived notions of equality and for the first time positioned ethnicity as an identifiable marker of disadvantage within their student cohort. The critical factor promoting this change was that minority ethnic groups within schools were seen as competing for social rights leading to educational policy targeted equal opportunity (see Davidson 1997 and Borowski 2000). With multiculturalism promoted as the best way to address the 'life-chances' of minority ethnic groups, it is possible to observe the move from ideology to tangible practice in the form of large injections of funding targeting 'access' within government schools and universities (Jayasuriya 2003). Significantly, in 1974, the *Committee on Teaching Migrant Languages in Schools* was established and federal funding was directed to the area of promoting community languages as a means of enhancing tolerance (SRNSW 2006).

During the short period from 1972-1975, a clear shift is evident as the schools moved from the previous integrationist policies towards policies that valued different cultural and linguistic traditions under an overarching context of unity. Despite the change to a conservative government in 1975, commitment to the promotion of multiculturalism within schools remained strong. Education during this period can be seen to play a slightly different role with a change in emphases from the previous focus on minority rights to a new doctrine of cultural pluralism constructed upon the foundations of culture and ethnicity (Jayasuriya 2003). Schools rather than concentrating on the 'life-chances' of their students began to concentrate on their diverse 'life-styles'. In addition, schools were encouraged to operate within a new understanding of culture and ethnicity that "was tilted towards the symbolic aspects of culture such as an emphasis on cultural maintenance for enhancing self esteem, rather than those pertaining to the satisfaction of the material aspects of living" (Jayasuriya 2003, p.5).

The *Galbally Report* which reviewed and evaluated post-arrival programs and services for migrants was released in 1978 and positioned schools at the front line of the successful promotion of multiculturalism within the broader the community (Galbally 1978). The notion of using schools to campaign and disseminate the benefits of multiculturalism was strengthened in 1978 when the Commonwealth Schools Commission recommended the formation of a new federal Committee on Multicultural Education (CME). The CME became instrumental in providing funding for the subsequent Commonwealth Multicultural Education Program (MEP), which coordinated the allocation of support to state and territory education departments (Castles et al. 1988). Importantly, the MEP made it possible for education departments to develop new programs in non-English languages that targeted migrant students' learning and retention of their mother tongue. Additionally, the MEP provided funding for second language and bilingual education programs, helped develop strategies for

an across the school curriculum perspective of multiculturalism and encouraged innovative projects such as those encouraging the participation of parents from language backgrounds other than English within the school (Castles et al. 1988). This paper suggests however, that the most fundamental aspect of change attributed to Galbally Report was that education systems were simply required to place an emphasise on multicultural education policies targeting all children, rather than purely those of non-English speaking backgrounds (NESB).

The basis of the Galbally Report which shaped what became the orthodox ethnic/identity model of Australian multiculturalism, was promotion of the four guiding principles of equality of opportunity, the right to maintain and express one's culture, promotion of ethno-specific services, and self help or voluntarism for migrants (Galbally 1978). This episode of multicultural evolution between 1975-1983 is likened by Jayasuriya (2003) to be a period of *Liberal Multiculturalism* and impacted at the level of school curriculum through the promotion of a 'whole school approach' to notions of cultural identity, equality and social cohesion. Evidence of this influence can be seen through the emergence of school-wide celebrations of ethnicity that were often in the form of festivals, more widespread provision of specialised ESL services and the targeting of multicultural support staff to specific schools with high percentages of migrant children (Castles et al. 1988). The emphasis on languages other than English (LOTE) into the classroom was extremely important because although non-English languages had been recognised as critical by most educators, they had not been integrated into schools' mainstream curriculum or practices in a systematic way. Importantly, the LOTE component of the 4-10 year curriculum remains a key component of contemporary attempts by schools to develop and enhance intercultural skills and awareness (for example see Education Queensland 2006). However during the 1970s, such changes to school practices and the curriculum, although welcomed by many teachers and parents, were in reality merely interpreted as peripheral to the main task of schooling (Department of Education: Victoria 1997).

The next major shift in how schools engaged with multiculturalism occurred from 1984 to 1995, and coincided with yet another change in federal government. This period referred to by Jayasuriya (2003) as *Managerial Multiculturalism* saw the ongoing process of multicultural policy refinement continue. The *Jupp Report*, which reviewed migrant and multicultural programs and services is a critical marker in this new period for it delineates a fundamental shift from earlier notions of affirmative action and a move towards notions of equitable multiculturalism in the form of equality of treatment and fairness (Jupp 1986, Jayasuriya 2003). Inherent in this change was the underlying ideological repositioning of multiculturalism into what Borowski (2000) terms a policy that enabled the consequences of diversity to be managed in the interests of the both the individual and society. This period achieved valuable additions to the school curriculum in the form of multicultural kits for primary schools and the specific allocations of teacher aid support targeting the children of migrants. Possibly a more fundamental change however, was that schools needed to realign their interpretation of multiculturalism from a philosophy of migrant settlement into a new regime that embraced contemporary notions of economic rationalism and the productive dividend generated by ethnic groups (Jayasuriya 2003).

The final phases of multicultural evolution, beginning in 1996 is argued by Jayasuriya (2003) to have continued the process of refining the underlying tenets of managerial multiculturalism. Of note in this process is a subtle shift away from the overt targeting of 'access' to a more holistic attempt to combine the consequences of diversity at both the level

of the individual and society as a whole. In concrete terms, the federal government now outlines four principles that underpin Australia's multicultural policy:

1. Responsibilities of all - all Australians have a civic duty to support those basic structures and principles of Australian society which guarantee us our freedom and equality and enable diversity in our society to flourish
2. Respect for each person - subject to the law, all Australians have the right to express their own culture and beliefs and have a reciprocal obligation to respect the right of others to do the same
3. Fairness for each person - all Australians are entitled to equality of treatment and opportunity. Social equity allows us all to contribute to the social, political and economic life of Australia
4. Benefits for all - all Australians benefit from the significant cultural, social and economic dividends arising from the diversity of our population. Diversity works for all Australians. (DIMA website 2006)

In terms of schooling it is possible to argue that Multiculturalism had evolved to the point where it contained as much an economic imperative as it did a social or ideological undercurrent of social justice. Indeed as far back as 1987 it is possible to see Lo Bianco linking the national policy on the learning of languages in schools in terms that highlighted the relevance of 'language' to understanding customers, markets and as a means of promoting Australia's economic, national and external policy goals (Lo Bianco, 1987). More recently in Queensland for example, government publications outlining the state's position on multiculturalism allocate in a third of the document to the trade benefits of the policy (see Department of Premier and Cabinet, 2001).

Although all states and territories currently embed multicultural aspects within their curriculum, the contemporary educational focus varies considerably from state to state with possibly the most explicit programs found in Victoria and New South Wales. In the case of Victoria for example, principals and school councils must ensure their school policies are consistent with multicultural legislation and are reflected in schools documents with the Codes of Practice of staff, students also compliant with the legislation (Victorian Schools Online 2006). Victorian schools are also required to exhibit a commitment to multicultural policy by ensuring their curriculum, leadership and management practices promote and affirm principles of multiculturalism. In such cases schools must demonstrate that they have made staff and students aware of the legislation and monitor their school environment so as both to promote and preserve aspects of diversity and cultural heritage (Department of Education: Victoria 2006, DOEM 2006). Many schools outside the state of Victoria not only attempt to model appropriate practices and sponsor climates of mutual cultural respect, but also make available translations of school documents, policies, newsletters and student end of term reports (see for example WESS 2006).

ESD as a new discursive domain for multiculturalism
The previous sections of this paper have demonstrated that, at the semantic level multiculturalism enshrined the ideals of Australian ethnic diversity, while at the level of policy, contemporary multiculturalism became an unfinished and somewhat disappointing social, economic and cultural experiment. Despite a 30 year history of multicultural policy attempting to address ethnic inequality under the umbrella of social justice, teacher education has had problems finding and defending as institutionally sanctioned space, multicultural curriculum within pre-service courses. The emergence of ESD presents Faculties of

Education across Australia with a new and increasingly politically legitimate space from which to move a more progressive agenda. Nonetheless, the dilemma faced by teacher educators remains consistent with that faced by teachers since the 1970s; explicitly, how to promote social and economic gains for non-dominant ethnic groups yet avoid the trap of trivialising ethnicity, reducing it to what McConnochie et al. (1988) describe as '"the spaghetti and dance" variety (p.185). While the core dilemma remains consistent, the component parts of the problem are complex for education it appears is unwilling to wean itself away from the 'folkloric' traditions of multiculturalism as these practices are heavily entrenched in the day-to-day cycles of curricula and the school calendar. Schools are also well versed in using the discourse of social justice to rationalize and substantiate their multicultural programs.

Put bluntly, the once powerful tenets of social justice have taken a battering by contemporary geopolitical shifts that raise *race*, *religion* and the *unintegrated Other* as semiotic markers of fear. When forced into unfamiliar political/ethical locations, teacher educators have not dealt well with emerging 'cultures of fear' (Furendi 2002) as evident in their inability to produce curricula that focuses on events such as 9/11 and the subsequent *War on Terror*, the impact of the Bali bombings in October 2002, a domestic refugee/asylum crisis and the Cronulla riots of December 2005. In the Australian context, this 'shift' has been made more powerful in that it became a cornerstone of domestic politics during the years of the Howard government (Hage 2000, 2003, Gale 2005). Added to this, are powerful neo-liberal economic philosophies that devalue and undermine the doctrine of social justice. This paper suggests ESD as a new discursive space can provide teacher education with core curricula that facilitates critique of what Hage (1998) maintains is Australia's unique relationship between 'Whiteness' and national belonging or in Bourdieu's (1973) terms cultural capital linked to both class and location. Nonetheless ESD as a discursive 'space', must provide opportunity for discursive 'practice' for this process to unsettle historically and culturally shared sets of disciplinary rules that generate binary oppositions between the Other and identified reference points of Australian identity. This is a deep-seated change for what it means to be a contemporary teacher; the implications of which flow on to how this space is produced within teacher education programs. Possibly the greatest impact will be on the national stage, as graduating teachers move into schools armed with new understandings of 'Who gets to say what about whom and why?' (Tripp, 1990).

This task is fraught with difficulties. How for example, if social justice no longer has the political traction to pursue a multicultural agenda, do 'culture-sensitive' teacher education courses begin the task of fleshing out the ethical and practical implications of the non-environmental aspects of ESD; aspects that can sit uncomfortably across cultures? How then, do 'culture-sensitive' teacher education courses begin to document the marginalized unintegrated Other, in ways that can subvert the prevailing culture of fear, yet not collapse difference into familiarity? Such questions have profound social, political and ethical dimensions, which, in turn, have implications on the 'how to' of teaching and the degree to which teachers can and should purport to explain different subject positions in the complex landscape of cultural and religious identity politics. Clearly these questions go to the core of teacher professional standards and it is worthy of note that the most recent teacher professional standards from the Queensland College of Teachers are closely aligned to a new regime of measures and accountability that holds the potential to both enable and yet constrain notions of 'teacher quality'. While this new set of standards overtly makes reference to the value of diversity, the vast majority of the standards are constructed around technologies of teaching such as designing, planning and implementing with a clear emphasis

on literacy, numeracy and ICT. While Indigenous education and understandings are foregrounded in the document, in reality little space is provided within the over one hundred indicators that purport to judge the quality of teachers.

Importantly within the context of this paper, ESD is already positioned within standards dealing with diversity and to a lesser extent sustainability. It must be stressed that several of the above mentioned contemporary teacher professional standards do make space for 'attitudes and values', and it is here lies the potential to align multiculturalism with ESD. While the term 'embedding' has been overused and has hence lost much of its currency, the phrase embedding possibly best moves us closer to a 'whole of systems' approach that incorporates new pedagogies and new partnerships within ESD. In line with this overall goal, the Faulty of Education at Queensland University of Technology is trialling a 'Whole of Faculty' approach to ESD that is structured around understandings of sustainability and appropriate pedagogical approaches to promote sustainable living that are reflected in unit content as transdisciplinary themes. In short, this is an attempt at recognizing, analysing and formalizing in per-service teacher pedagogy, recognition that a secure and durable relationship must exist between human activities that advance economic, political and social development on the one hand, and those activities that protect and preserve not only the natural world but the conditions within that world that allow for human activities aligned with a social justice agenda.

Conclusion

This paper has presented an analysis of the manner in which Australia has woven its own discursive construction of race and the Other with issues of nationalism and collective identity. It has been argued that the politics of race has a long history that in part was addressed under the marker Australian multiculturalism and its relationship to education. The paper began by discussing the historical context of Australian immigration and the conditions which led to Australia producing a unique policy driven, yet socially constructed version of ethnicity and the role of the migrant Other. Education has been complicit in this process, and this paper has attempted to analyse the role of education in the move from notions of assimilation to one that actively promoted and encouraging notions of racial equality and cultural diversity.

The final section tapped into the post September 11 context that brings to bear new sets of issues connected to how students negotiate cultural borders, and in doing so, how such boarders potentially inscribe and position their relationship to the dominant culture. This paper has suggested educators must begin to explore and develop new sets of analytical tools offered up within the emerging area of ESD, for ESD provides teacher education faculties with a new conceptual kit that allow pre-service teachers to move beyond folkloric tradition and notions of multicultural policy driven compliance. ESD as a conceptual kit includes the role of ethics and new roles for human rights that tap rich political, philosophical and socio-cultural stratum. By drawing on lines of reasoning that sit outside the social justice rubric, educators are presented with the space to scrutinize unfolding social and cultural events in ways that regain political, ethical and moral traction. The paper does nonetheless recognise that merging ESD and multiculturalism constitutes working new forms of analysis into an already crowed teacher education curriculum. Although some disciplines already possess the theoretical 'territory' to engage with issues such as Cronulla, the challenge for all teacher educators is to position their practice within a more fluid understanding of ESD that includes combating social and economic dimensions that sit outside the normal environmental aspects of ESD.

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