

Multicultural Capital in Middle Schooling

Cristina Poyatos Matas, Griffith University, Queensland, AUSTRALIA

Susan Bridges, The University of Hong, Hong Kong, CHINA

Abstract: This paper introduces the new notion of 'multicultural capital', drawing on economic theory and sociology to illuminate empirical data from middle schools. This paper identifies five types of capital (physical capital, human capital, natural capital, social capital, and cultural capital) from the literature. Further, the authors integrate these five types of capital with notions of "culturally problematic" and "interculturally proactive" schools (Hickling Hudson, 2003) to assist the assessment of multicultural assets of schools. This qualitative, exploratory study reports three major findings. First, each school has its own unique multicultural capital and this influences whether a school can be described as "culturally problematic" or the degree to which it is "interculturally proactive". Second, principals and teachers play an important role in the conceptualisation of a school's multiculturalism. Third, analysis indicates that the multicultural capital of each school influences the pedagogic choices made thereby affecting how the school enacts what we see as a form of multicultural education. Finally, the article acknowledges the study's major limitation, which is the small size of the sample and its urban nature. Therefore further research is recommended to continue the discussion on multicultural capital initiated here.

Keywords: Multicultural Education, Capital, Middle Schooling

Introduction

AT THE BEGINNING of 2007, the Australian government changed the name of the "Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs" to the "Department of Immigration and (Australian) Citizenship". The change was symbolic of an underlying ideological shift that occurred in the context of a heated debate within Australian policy circles and the media, regarding definitions of 'multiculturalism' and its relevance to Australian policy. This policy debate has included calls to revise the models of the 1980s and 1990s (Brändle, 2001). Sixteen percent of Australian residents speak a language other than English, using a pool of about 200 different languages (Pauwels, 2007, p.107) with this diversity arising from Australia's immigrant heritage. Both federal and state policies in Australia recognise the key role of human and social capital in national success (Poyatos Matas & Bridges, 2005). However, researchers argue that these resources are currently being wasted (Pauwels, 2007). The *Group of Eight* (2007), a body representing Australia's leading universities, have fuelled the debate by arguing "If Australia discovered untapped oil and gas reserves it would be considered foolish to ignore them. Yet Australia does ignore its language resources" (p. 7). In their national position paper entitled *Languages in Crisis: A rescue plan for Australia* (Group of Eight, 2007) they explain the extent of the reduction in role of languages and the multiplicity of cultures. They argue that Australians need to work together towards a comprehensive

policy, a national policy on languages, which truly embraces the benefits for Australian society of multilingualism and the learning of languages. The position paper posits that if a national policy on languages is not created, "then Australia will jeopardize its political security, its cultural harmony and its economic and educational competitiveness." (p. 8). Understanding how best to contribute to the development of interculturally sensitive citizens is central to Australia's regional and global success. This is reflected in the research agenda of national research institutions such as the Australian Research Council that includes "understanding our region and our world" as one of their research priorities. The questions then are: how do we best understand these concepts of human and social capital in order to gain national benefits; and, of specific concern to this research, how can this be done in the field of education?

In the last thirty years, researchers from a range of disciplines have developed typologies to assist understandings of the concept of 'capital'. In this paper, we draw upon literature in economic theory and sociology to explore five types of capital. The exploration of and focus on these five types is a logical extension from previous analysis (Bridges & Poyatos-Matas, 2006) which examined a) frameworks of multicultural education and b) the enactment of the principles of "productive diversity" (Cope & Kalantzis, 1997; Kalantzis & Cope, 1999). Our prior data analysis regarding multicultural education frameworks highlighted the multiple ways capital was seen as contributing to the school as a



“social system” (Banks, 2003, p.11). Data analysis relating to productive diversity highlighted the positive exploitation of cultural resources in school management. This prompted us to explore more closely notions of ‘capital’ and how they may be enacted in multicultural contexts in middle schooling.

From Multiculturalism to Global Citizenship

It is not as if economic imperatives have not already influenced the concept of multiculturalism (Bridges & Poyatos Matas, 2005, 2006). Citizenship is becoming a fluid concept with many individuals identifying increasingly as “trans-national” and with nations identifying as tightly networked with others in a global system of social, political and economic interdependency (Mitchell, 2003). As a result, the provision of multicultural education with a strong languages policy can play a major role in helping students to develop as strategic global citizens. Nowadays, global citizens need to be able to deal with the reality of the information technology era and the networked knowledge economy that has become an important influence in educational reforms in many countries in the world (Cheng, 2004).

Over the next decades most developed countries will become more ethnically and linguistically diverse (Leigh, 2006). While a contested term, Mitchell’s (2003) comparative study found that ‘multiculturalism’ has functioned in many western nations as a national narrative providing coherence and legitimising difference into a single project of nation formation. While applicable to the Australian narrative of nationhood, policy definitions of multiculturalism from 1992-2006 reflected a movement from mostly humanist notions to include explicitly economic principles (Poyatos Matas & Bridges, 2005). This shift to an economic argument was supported by the productive diversity movement (Cope & Kalantzis, 1997, Kalantzis & Cope, 1999), which made explicit the perceived relationship between global movement, language, cultural diversity and economic benefit. Recently, Australia has seen a shift in emphasis from fostering diversity towards promoting integration and responsibility (Elliot, 2006; Hart, 2006), a movement mirrored in Canada, England, and USA (Mitchell, 2003).

Rethinking Culture and Languages in Education

In the field of education, the economic imperative has been tied to theoretical developments in the teaching of culture with intercultural education promoted in Australia, the USA, England and Canada as “not a middle-class luxury, but a contributor to a favorable trading climate” (Hill & Allen, 1998, p.

32). However, we know very little about the role that schools’ capital (physical, natural, human, social and cultural) may play in educators’ notions and choices of multicultural education. School-based curriculum decisions reflect extreme polarities with some schools obtaining International Baccalaureate (IB) accreditation with compulsory language components and some removing languages from school curricula entirely. The teaching of languages in schools and universities is currently viewed as being in crisis across Australia partly due to economic reasons (Martin, 2005).

Across mainstream schooling, changes in the philosophy and practice of multiculturalism in education are taking place. The changes range from the use of educational approaches and techniques to induce a tolerant and “multicultural self” (one who is able to work with and through difference, and conditioned to believe in the positive advantages of diversity in constructing and unifying the nation) to promoting the “strategic cosmopolitan” (motivated not by ideals of national unity in diversity, but by understandings of global competitiveness, and the necessity to strategically adapt as an individual to rapidly shifting personal and national contexts) (Mitchell, 2003, p. 388). Such a shift creates a new challenge for the teaching of culture and languages in schools in the 21st century.

Schools are agents that can promote transformative social change in learning communities to support culturally and linguistically diverse nations. Critics of traditional approaches to multicultural education in the USA have noted that the simplistic “tourist” approaches of teaching “others” (Jennings & Potter Smith, 2002) are rarely transformative. Paccione (2000) found that the main factor contributing to the commitment to multicultural education was the promotion of transformational awareness. Other studies from the USA found that while inter-ethnic contact does lead to improved race relations and decreased levels of prejudice, they also acknowledge that little is known about what aspects of integrated environments are important for creating change (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000 in Zirkel & Cantor, 2004). Interculturalists in the USA and Australia express similar concerns citing approaches that objectify the target culture rather than creating intersubjective identities (Bennett, Bennett & Allen, 2003; LoBianco, Liddicoat & Crozet, 1999). Overall, it is argued that some approaches to multicultural education can have better results than others, as they can influence the learners (both those in the hegemonic centre and those on the marginalised rims) in a transformative way.

A Focus on Middle Schooling

Middle schooling is an important stage of education because it is the transition between the primary school and the secondary school. It has been found that this transition has a real impact in student achievement (Jones, 2002; Carrington 2006). In the 1990s, Australia recognized this importance and introduced the first wave of middle years' reforms. In a 2002 review of Australian and international literature and policies relevant to middle schooling, Carrington (2002) reported that "for the middle years to achieve and sustain improved student outcomes, particularly for target groups, there must be a coordinated refocusing and alignment of curriculum, pedagogy and assessment, along with a continued focus on the needs of early adolescents" (p. 5). Furthermore, the paper argued that early adolescents need support in preparing them for "the complex and changing skills and knowledges necessary for successful participation in civic and social life" (ibid, p.5). In a society in which different cultures coexist and interact this makes multicultural education an important part of the learning experience of children. However, what are the elements that may contribute to the multicultural education approach adopted in the middle years of schooling?

The five main types of capital contributing to production identified by researchers in economic theory and sociology in the last 30 years can be seen as complementary. *Physical capital* (Hicks, 1974) refers to non-human assets made by humans, such as buildings, machinery and other things that could contribute to the production of further goods. *Human capital* (Becker, 1994) represents the skills and experience in people that contribute to producing economic outputs. *Natural capital* (Jansson *et al.*, 1994) represents the stock of renewable and non-renewable resources that nature provides, as well as the ecological processes that governs their existence. *Social capital* (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988) is the pre-existing socio-cultural trust and reputation; it is anything that facilitates individual or collective action. Finally, *cultural capital* (Throsby, 1999) represents the influence that cultural phenomena have on human progress generally and on economic transactions.

In recent years, the notion of capital in education has been widely discussed, in particular the notion of social capital (Bryson, 1996; Buitelaar, 2002, Field, 2005; Heliwell & Putnan, 1999; Monkman *et al.*, 2005; Morgan, 2000; Noguera, 2004). Overall, these studies acknowledge the impact that social capital can have on learning and social access and how these, in turn, can contribute to social capital. In this paper the authors explore issues of the five categories of capital described above in middle schools, and introduce the new notion of 'multicultural capital' while investigating the types of multicultural approaches chosen by the Australian schools participating in a small-scale study.

The Study

The qualitative study that gave rise to the notion of 'multicultural capital' in middle schoolings, described here, was conducted in Brisbane, Australia, and commenced in 2003. The principal of a small, one-teacher school approached the authors to explore the possibility of collaborating with his school to enrich the multicultural learning experiences of his students. The term that the Australian principal used to describe his school was "mono-cultural". This was the case of a one-teacher school willing to increase the multicultural awareness of its student population and willing to seek the best way to approach it. We subsequently analysed the literature and policies focusing on multicultural education and intercultural communication in the middle years of schooling (Poyatos Matas & Bridges, 2005). Then, we mapped operating local models of multicultural education through school website searches and identified schools promoting effective multicultural education from their public self-representation and awards received. As a result, five primary schools (Years 1-7) were selected from a large metropolitan area and invited to participate in the study, in addition to the school that initially approach us. Thus, the schools were explicitly selected for their multicultural strengths, as compared with a school self-identified as one with a weakness in this area. A total of 25 educators including one teacher aide, 18 teachers and six principals, participated in the study (See Table 1).

Table 1: Participant Profiles and Data Collection

School/ Time of data collection	Participants
School A (Feb, 2005)	Principal and 3 classroom teachers
School B (Mar, 2005)	Principal and 3 specialist teachers (English as a Second Language, Human Relationship Education, LOTE *)
School C (Apr, 2005)	Principal and 2 specialist and support teachers (LOTE*, Equity)
School D (May, 2005)	Principal, 4 classroom teachers and 1 curriculum leader
School E (May, 2005)	Curriculum leader and 4 classroom teachers
School F (May, 2004)	Principal, 1 part-time specialist teacher (LOTE) and 1 teacher aide.
* Languages Other Than English (LOTE) – a curriculum teacher of additional languages	

Socio-cultural data were collected during school visits from February to July, 2005. These data consisted of school documents and teacher interviews. School documents included brochures, newsletters, policies, and curriculum plans, in addition to the web pages previously analysed. Focus group interviews were conducted with key stakeholders (principals, curriculum leaders and teachers) in the selected primary schools. The interviews explored the five schools' enactments of their multicultural approach, however they also gathered data on the 'multicultural resources' or 'assets' used by the participants. This allowed the authors to theorise about the notion of multicultural capital with the support of empirical data. As a result, this paper presents initial explorations on how physical, human, natural, social and cultural capital may be seen as elements of a higher notion that has been termed as 'multicultural capital'.

Situational subjectivity in the current study is acknowledged; it is a natural weakness of exploratory research. Situational subjectivity is that subjectivity that each researcher may have experienced, depending on the personal aspects that arise for that researcher when undertaking a research project at a particular time and place (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). To combat the subjective nature of research, the written records and transcripts of interviews were read through several times by the research team, separately and collectively, to get a general idea of the data collected and to discuss our subjectivities in interpretation.

The qualitative data analysis tactics suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994) were used in this study to interpret the data, and to build a logical chain of evidence resulting in the conceptual and theoretical coherence of the findings. The techniques include: noting patterns, identifying themes (that is, searching for recurring patterns in the data), seeing plausibility

(that is, making sure that the findings make sense), clustering (that is, inductively forming categories relying on aggregation and comparison), counting, making contrasts and comparisons, noting relations between variables; and finding intervening variables where possible (*ibid*, pp. 245-276). Conclusions were drawn and reviewed on an ongoing basis (Freebody, 2003; Gay, 1996; Silverman, 1998; Stenhouse, 1997; Yin, 1989). The principals and teachers participating in the study provided information on: their local contexts and the challenges and affordances offered by these; their philosophy on 'multiculturalism' or 'cultural and linguistic diversity' as they relate to education; their strategies and their resources for promoting intercultural understanding. In the following section, the results of these investigations into the notion of multicultural capital are discussed with the support of the empirical data collected from the six Australian middle schools participating in the study.

Data Analysis and Results

The concept of multicultural capital started to emerge in the authors' research after the initial analysis and interpretation of the data while writing about the connection between current theoretical frameworks and concepts of 'multiculturalism', 'multicultural education' and 'productive diversity' (see Bridges and Poyatos Matas, 2006 for further information). Relevant to Australian schooling were Hickling Hudson's (2003) notions of "inter culturally proactive" and "culturally problematic schools". She characterised culturally problematic schools as:

- monocultural with an ethnocentric and postcolonial perspective;

- uncritical;
- perpetuating assimilation rather than valuing diversity;
- promoting assimilation rather than valuing diversity;
- exhibiting a wide range of discriminatory practices;
- expressing racism and ethnocentrism inherited from the colonial period in all facets from the curriculum to community engagement; and
- having ‘cultural cliques’ in the student body with little intercultural interaction and sometimes with high levels of inter-group hostility. (pp. 3-5)

“Culturally problematic” schools tend to have an approach to multicultural education that is curriculum-based focussing on studying “the other”. They may promote the simplistic “tourist” approaches of teaching “the others” (Jennings & Potter Smith, 2002) which is criticised by interculturalists. In contrast, an “interculturally proactive school” adopts positive strategies that promote intercultural understanding and value diversity. These schools are characterised as:

- actively engaged in curriculum renewal and design to incorporate teaching and learning opportunities that promote intercultural understanding;
- valuing parent and community dialogue to enhance communications and productive networks;
- adopting a critical approach to teaching with strong language learning programs;
- promoting first and second language acquisition through supporting home languages; and
- engaging teachers in professional development activities that support critical and intercultural practices.”

(Hickling Hudson, 2003, pp. 5-6).

“Interculturally proactive” schools can be seen, therefore, as embracing the diversity of their school population and encouraging a strong sense of multicultural identity. The small-scale study described here found evidence of school-based practices that reflected most of the features above. However, whether they could map neatly onto an either/or binary was less clear with evidence of different degrees to which a school could be seen as culturally problematic or interculturally proactive. As a result,

the authors became interested in trying to pin down more closely the constituent elements that may contribute to a school’s intercultural proactivity. In an attempt to document this phenomenon, the authors engaged once more with middle schooling empirical data, however this time using theories of capital to help them to find a suitable theoretical explanation for the different degrees of intercultural proactivity observed in the schools. By re-examining the data set from the perspective of five capital theories, the authors aimed to move forward from the work on multicultural education and productive diversity (Bridges & Poyatos Matas, 2006) to establish a theoretical framework that could help to understand multicultural education in Australian middle schooling.

A Multicultural Capital Analytical Framework for Middle Schooling

As noted above, the multicultural capital analytical framework developed as a result of this study was influenced by recent theorising of notions of ‘capital’ in economic theory and sociology. As a result, the different elements of the schools’ physical, human, natural, social, and cultural capital that contributed to their multicultural capital were analysed and are described in detail in the following section. Supporting examples from the empirical data are provided for each element.

Physical Capital Contributing to a School’s Multicultural Capital

Physical capital (Hicks, 1974) refers to non-human assets made by humans, such as buildings, machinery and other things that could contribute to the production of further goods. These are the “tools with which to work” (Mankiw, 2004, p. 541) The analysis of the empirical data collected from the six participating schools shows how the physical capital of the school contributed to its multicultural capital. In this way, the following three factors were identified as contributing to the school’s multicultural capital:

a) Having commercial multicultural learning resources. This means books and any other material resources (including those written in other languages) in the school that can help to develop multicultural awareness and support intercultural communication in the school.

<p>School E Teachers Turns 90-94</p>	<p>G: There are general things in the library as far as literature and things like that H: I think there is a lot more in our library then there is in others. F: In the junior school there’s quite a few LOTE big books that they bought up for particular cultures when they were studying that so that they’ve accessed those other sorts of resource.</p>
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b) Having computers and Internet connection available to access multicultural resources. It is interesting to note that this was not mentioned by all the participating schools, in fact almost half made no reference to the internet, focusing instead on printed materials.

c) Having multicultural resources developed by the teachers. The two schools identified as more interculturally proactive were found to have a tendency to develop their own multicultural education resources, some of them using internet resources.

School E Teacher Turn 89	M: It's mainly teacher-generated resources, there's very little outside that I think relate to us.
School D Teacher Turn 18	I use to use the Internet to cut and paste and re-word things and re-write things and put it together in an information sheet that they could read and then also use other kids to help them as well, like we were doing like our note-taking activity, we'd use a lot of group work, lots of small group work so that these kids, you know it could be someone with a learning disability, an intellectually impaired kid, three ESL's whatever would (work) with me while the others were working on something and we'd soon go through it that way. But yeah the Internet was good and especially for pictures and photographs of things that you wanted to explain but couldn't find a book.....yeah

Human Capital Contributing to a School's Multicultural Capital

Human capital (Becker, 1999) represents the skills and experience in people that contribute to producing economic outputs (Mankiw, 2004, p. 542). Human capital can be evaluated because it is "the stock of useful and valuable skills and knowledge accumulated by people in the process of their education and training" (Nordhaus, 2005, p. 250). In the school context, this category of capital can be defined as the knowledge, skills and experience of those contributing directly to the multicultural learning experience of the students (that is the principal, teachers, admin-

istrative and other staff). The human capital factors contributing to the multicultural capital of a school include their multicultural and intercultural communication knowledge, as well as language skills (gained through their own cultural heritage, education, and/or living in other countries). Five human capital factors were identified in the analysis of the school data collected from the interviews and focus groups.

a) The school principal and/or some of the teachers have multicultural experiences and/or background. Many of the participants reported overseas and local experiences with diverse languages and cultures as reflected in the personal narrative below:

School B Teacher Turns 17 and 25	I've been an ESL teacher about the same as Carole*, 25 years um only 5 of those years have I taught in a mainstream classroom um and then when my children went to school um I got interested in the ESL kids at their school and um kind of fell into ESL teaching. Here at this school, I started last year. This is my second year. My role in the school is to teach the ESL children in the mainstream class situation, so that once they exit Carole's program they come into mainstream and that's where I pick them up and help them with mainstream learning and also I take new arrivals who um come from non-refugee backgrounds because they don't fit into Carole's program I forgot to mention that I have spent two years in Cape York in an aboriginal community as well, teaching aboriginal children English as a second language.
* Pseudonym	

b) The school principal, teachers and support staff speak or have been exposed to other languages than their native language. Overall, the principals

interviewed displayed high levels of awareness for other languages. Some of them were bilingual or had studied other languages.

School B Principal Turn 68	And I'll often talk to her [administration <i>staff born in former Yugoslavia</i>] before I talk to a parent about a particular issue to find out is there anything I need to know that could be culturally sensitive for this family and she's very helpful in that regard. We have an Arabic speaking aide as well, and we are trying to get an African speaking... We have bilingual teachers as well. I'm bilingual.
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c) Teachers are empathetic and culturally sensitive due their own diverse learning backgrounds.

Participants with multicultural experiences or background found they were better positioned to under-

stand what students from a culture different to theirs were experiencing, partly because they have “walked with the shoes of others”.

School B Teacher Turn 84	...a lot of teachers have travelled and been overseas and had to survive in a non-English speaking environment, and for them to have to reflect on that, when you couldn't communicate in that language in that other country, that's how those kids are feeling now, to be surrounded by a language you're not familiar with and how lost you were ...
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d) Multilingual and multicultural staff are valued, actively recruited and trained to facilitate communication with students and parents from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds.

Schools that were seen as “interculturally proactive” recognised that a multicultural mix in staffing was critical to supporting a multicultural ethos.

School E Teacher Turn 72	Well I think that the principal made decisions... about the staffing ratio themselves, making sure there is always a multicultural mix even amongst the staff that's been fairly strategic in what she's done. Our learning support teachers are probably as Aussie as they come, so probably in our support teachers no, we've got an Aboriginal teacher's aide that works with some of our students.
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e) Teachers have gained the pedagogic knowledge needed to implement critical multicultural approaches that promote multicultural awareness.

For many participants, the teachers' expertise in multicultural education had developed from both

personal teaching experience and in-service training in curriculum development initiatives such as “Productive Pedagogies” (The State of Queensland, Department of Education, Training and the Arts, 2004)

School E Teachers Turns 186-188	<p>A: I know with little kids it's always easy to hook them in through personal stories and that would probably be one of the most I'd start the interest by.... I'd be bringing in my photos and showing maps and generating interest through art and literature going to the cultural artefacts and reflecting on them.</p> <p>B: Even older kids are interested in hearing your stories too, they like hearing that, and they want to share their stories as well.</p> <p>C: So there's that productive pedagogies of narrative and using narrative so I'd probably start reflecting on cultural artefacts of a culture something they can get involved in and feel some affiliation with...</p>
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Natural Capital Contributing to a School's Multicultural Capital

Natural capital (Jansson et al., 1994) represents the stock of renewable and non-renewable resources that nature provides, as well as the ecological processes that governs their existence. Three natural capital factors were identified when considering the contribution of this category of capital to the multicultural capital of schools.

a) The demographic composition of the school. It was obvious that the geographic location of the

school was a major influence in the demographic composition of a school. This study found that the demographic composition of schools changes organically over time. In this way, in the same way that renewable stock depends on ecological processes, the nature of multicultural demographics in schools depends very much on migratory movements linked to the different political and economic movements and migration policies developed by different governments. Additionally, processes of urban renewal were seen as impacting school demographics.

School E Teacher	Well things have changed over the years so when I came here it was predominantly working class Anglo-Saxons and then the greater population were Greeks....in the 60's and early 70's that was growing up as a child. And then I also did a prac [teacher education practicum] here and there was still a predominantly Greek population living.
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Turns 6 and 8	around here and still that Anglo-Saxon working class population and when I started teaching here I noticed a gradual change, especially in the 90's it was starting to get to be a very yuppy sort of, I don't know if I should use that term, but it was starting to be more of a professional background um also I noticed as well, I should go back as a result of the Vietnam war and different wars we would often get different ethnic groups coming over so when we had the was a war in Cyprus we had kids from Cyprus coming here when we had Vietnam war was over and even during we had a lot of kids hat were boat kids that were refugees from there. And um we've had a few Bosnian kids as well haven't we, so we've had children who have come from very traumatic backgrounds as far as that's concerned. As well as um you know a stable of kids living around here from different ESL backgrounds. And now as the area is changing as well and um real estate is going up that's changing, we're getting a lot more professionals coming here, even higher professionals like doctors and people like that, who are bringing their children here but are really at a certain age where then they can take them off to private schools.
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b) The ethnic and cultural background of the students and their parents. Participants noted how much easier it was to teach with a multicultural approach when many parents and students came from a diverse range of ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

For example, children had more positive attitudes to learning a Language Other Than English (LOTE) in the school because they had already been exposed to other languages and cultures in their own homes.

School B Teacher & Principal Turns 89-90	T: This has been the easiest school that I have taught LOTE at because the children have come from so many different backgrounds that the children really seem ready and willing to accept yet another culture and another language P: Many of the students are already bilingual so Italian is a third language which is why we introduce Italian here from preschool because the 75% or so of our school that is not bilingual is behind the eight ball. Australia is one of the few monolingual countries in the world and we do introduce Italian from preschool ...
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c) The local communities with which the school may network to enrich the multicultural experience of the school community. Although, as one of the principals explained, community involvement was becoming more problematic due to regulatory requirements for volunteers in schools. The

Queensland Government Commission for Children and Young People and Child Guardian Act 2000 (2007) requires that volunteers obtain a blue card (demonstrating police records clearance) to be given permission to visit schools.

School C, Principal Turn 66	Teachers look outside the school for resources, to see what's outside the school too, to see what is available outside the school that they can access and parents and community members that they can get to the school. Although that is becoming more challenging because the, I guess the blue card system has been tightened up again. It's... I guess become problematic in terms of getting people to come in.
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Social Capital Contributing to a School's Multicultural Capital

Social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) is a term used to refer to the pre-existing socio-cultural trust, networks and reputation of an organization. Coleman (1988) advocates that the social capital of an organization is anything that facilitates individual or collective action. Moreover, it has been discussed that social network capital is affected by the types of social network ties that an organization has established. In this way, an organization can benefit from having strong network ties as well as weaker ones. Weaker network ties can provide indirect access to a greater diversity of re-

sources (Granovetter, 1973). In this way, Williams (2005) argues that "diversity represents strength because it provides access to a wider variety of opportunities and perspectives on issues and problems" (p. 232). In the context of schools, it was found that a school's social capital contributes to its multicultural capital through the strategic use of the school's reputation and the use and establishment of strong and weak multicultural network ties to facilitate and enrich multicultural education. Five main social capital factors were identified in the data as contributing to the multicultural capital of the participating schools. These were:

a) The use of multicultural and multilingual children and parents in the curriculum and their so-

cial networks. The study found that schools with limited multicultural social make-up cannot benefit from the teaching and learning opportunities that having a diverse student make-up can provide. Overall, our study agreed with Hickling Hudson's earlier work (2003). We found that a school that is mainly monolingual and predominantly from Anglo-Saxon descent is more likely to be culturally problematic due to the lack of capital resources to draw upon. In addition, the data analysis in our study shows that the social capital of the interculturally proactive schools came from a diverse range of cultural backgrounds. The cultural origins mentioned participants included Aboriginal, Samoan, Tongan, Maori, Thai, Vietnamese, Chinese, New Zealander, French, Central American, Bosnians, Serbians, Pakistani, South African, Zimbabwean, Korean, Cypriot and Taiwanese. Some of the interculturally proactive participating schools also indicated that their students belong to different socio-economic backgrounds. In some cases, children were found to come from diverse environments, from low-rental accommodation to the high-end of the property market, from traditional families to single parent families and same sex partner families.

b) The use of a school community liaison to network with local communities. This is one of the strategies that Hickling Hudson (2003) mentioned as contributing to creating interculturally proactive schools. Although, we have to acknowledge that none of the participants in this study reported holding the formal position of a school community liaison officer, many administrative and teaching staff liaised with community members through activities such as creating bilingual newsletters and translating for parents.

c) Offering students the opportunity to learn other languages as well as the official language of the school. The study of foreign languages is described in Australian schools as learning a LOTE, that is, a "Language Other Than English". It was found that the schools participating in the study offered between one and three different languages other than English. In the schools that were more interculturally proactive it was found that the LOTEs made available to students were linked to the natural multicultural capital of the school. This was partly due to the influence of the parents.

School C, Teacher Turn 22	Like the P&C (<i>Parents and Citizens support group</i>) pay for the lion dance for Chinese New Year, They pay for the dragon dance, lion dance things like that, and as far as I know the parents are very supportive in LOTE, especially the Chinese language, and they even ask for starting the Chinese language from preschool, yeah they ask for that.
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Overall, the study identified that making available the study of other languages contributed to the social capital of the school because it lead to improving the socio-cultural networks of the school, as well as its intercultural communication.

d) Making community language programs available in the school. This has been identified as a

strategy that could help schools become interculturally proactive (Hickling Hudson, 2003). However, the school data analysis found that only one of the schools participating in the study mentioned having access to a community language school, and that this was not a sustainable option for financial reasons as the following quote shows.

School C, Principal Turn 67	We had a French community language school running in our school.... We had quite a number of students that would come in on an afternoon and do French but the organization who was doing it said to the families... well instead of paying week by week... we want you to pay upfront now and we want you to pay for a whole term and it was quite expensive for a whole term and they all pulled out, that it so... I think they ended up with one enrolment....
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e) Bringing professional external multicultural expertise into the school. This can be done through providing in-service teacher training in the form of workshops. This has the potential of contributing to

increasing the value of the human capital of the school as it provides further education and training for the school staff. Principals were found to play a major role in the development of staff in this area.

School B Principal Turn 18	We just have to do ongoing PD [<i>Professional Development</i>] on cultural awareness stuff. I mean not everyone that works at this school is at this end of the spectrum ...
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The professional development opportunities provided to teachers was seen by the participants as a way to facilitate collective action (Coleman, 1988). These

learning opportunities were viewed by staff as helpful in increasing their multicultural awareness levels and their adoption of critical pedagogy strategies.

<p>School B Teacher Turns 85 and 87</p>	<p>It was powerful then on that note when Mary * did that in-service on the pupil free day and she is from a Greek speaking background and she and one of the other teachers are from the same back ground so she took the class as though we were in Greece, she gave us Greek papers, so that was very powerful too...So when the other Greek speaking girl got the answer right she was fussed over and everyone else was sitting there thinking, "Yeah right" and after 10 mins people were really uncomfortable and she gave the full lesson in Greek and then we were picking up little bits and having little successes so then she built on that eventually but it was great...</p>
<p>* Pseudonym</p>	

Cultural Capital Contributing to a School's Multicultural Capital

Cultural capital (Throsby, 1999) is a term used to represent the influence that cultural phenomena have on human progress generally and on economic transactions. Cultural phenomena are typified as paintings and posters in buildings, gardens, music, art, food and any other form of cultural production that could expose people to help them to increase their multicultural knowledge. In the school context,

this type of capital was found to enrich the multicultural learning experience of the school community. The data analysed show that five cultural capital factors contributed to the multicultural capital of an interculturally proactive school.

a) The display of multicultural artifacts in building spaces. This is done to share and value multiculturalism. Interculturally proactive schools in this study used the building spaces to display multicultural artwork and messages promoting intercultural communication.

<p>School B Teacher Turn 133</p>	<p>Parents have helped with mural decorations and paintings in different cultural motifs</p>
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b) The use of music in the school grounds to increase multicultural knowledge and exposure. The principals and teachers of the interculturally proactive schools showed that they were always

trying to find ways to expose their students to the multicultural society in which they live. For this purpose different artefacts were used including music, as one of the principals explained:

<p>School B Principal Turn 142</p>	<p>We are trying to get different music ... last month Italian, before that Irish now Chinese. We used to stick to the same thing - - Enya ...- but know we change. ...Just talking candidly about the music... we used to use a different version of Advance Australia Fair for assembly</p>
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c) The use of classroom spaces to create opportunities to display multicultural knowledge and learning products. In some cases we saw schools

sharing their work with the wider community, as the following principal noted:

<p>School B Principal Turn 160</p>	<p>We entered the Christmas tree decoration competition of our district and we won. We had lots of different symbols from different cultures on the tree and boxes wrapped up with "Merry Christmas" in different languages. We won because the organisers of the competition said "many of the people were surprised that multiculturalists celebrate Christmas" and that's a direct quote</p>
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d) The use of external buildings and spaces that display cultural capital relevant to the multicultural world. This can enrich the multicultural learning experience of children. Overall, it was found

that interculturally proactive schools utilise external cultural capital resources, with the following school using ethnic clubs and art galleries:

School E Teachers Turns 109-119	<p>M: Both the art gallery we go to quite a lot too so generally the institutions we go to them and they do tours. We did a few years ago the Story Place exhibition... at the time I was in year 2 and I was doing an indigenous unit and that was an excellent support for us doing that.</p> <p>F: We did Seniors Week a couple of years ago in a big way. We were working with Multicultural Affairs and they came in, and seniors from across a whole range of cultures did performances and our kids tutored them in some things so we treated it like an exchange learning day. Then last year our grade 6's did a lot with World Refugee Day and tapped into again the same thing.</p>
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e) The use of a visible school values mission statement and/or school educational policy. This is done to promote multicultural awareness and intercultural activity. Some of the principals participating in the study mentioned that it was important to have

a school mission statement or vision that would include the importance for the respect of cultural diversity. For example, one of the schools included the following statement as part of their school vision:

School B website, Accessed 18-4-05	<p>We are a community that respects individuals and believes that cultural diversity can enrich our lives. Our children enjoy a holistic education in a caring, nurturing environment. Their academic and social skills, emotional development and creative talents are encouraged to grow so that each child excels in their own way. We always strive to improve on what we do. We embrace change as a means of preparing learners for the challenges of a complex future. Our mandate is to give children the best start on their life-long learning journey.</p>
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The more interculturally proactive schools participating in the study were found to have a visible philosophy on multiculturalism. This was shown in their websites, their school newsletters, even in the

school logos. The principals of these schools valued diversity and supported a whole-school approach to multicultural education in the school.

School E Principal Turns 10-12	<p>The values and beliefs are essential for planning, we use it for facilities, we use it for school organization, units, it just guides the whole school um it was developed by the community over a period of time even before I got here they were just refining it when I got here and every thing is judged by that document so what are.. we need to do so its based around that document ...so it's really our central platform. Um..</p> <p>... building on the richness that was already here, in terms of culture and how do you build a cohesive community knowing there is some much diversity in the culture both across nations and the sub cultures that sit here as well? And how do we pull them together so you're not fighting each other and you can pull on the strengths of each? I think its acknowledging the strengths of each and giving them the recognition and the respect and things like that. Um it's also being aware of the different groups and their pressures and the things that are sitting behind the comments that they make.</p>
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Finally, this section presents an overview of the analytical framework proposed in this article (see Table 2). The framework described here was found useful by the authors to assess the multicultural capital of each school participating in the study to

assist understandings regarding the lack or abundance of intercultural proactivity displayed by the different participating schools. However, the authors acknowledge that this framework is still in its early infancy, as it is the result of exploratory research.

Table 2: Framework to Analyse the Multicultural Capital of Schools

Factors Contributing to the Multicultural Capital of Schools*				
Type of Capital	General Definition	Interpretation in the School Context	Intercultural Proactive School	Problematic School
Physical Capital (Hicks, 1974)	This refers to non-human assets made by humans, such as buildings, machinery and other things that could contribute to the production of further goods.	Having books and any other material resources (including those written in other languages) that can help to develop multicultural awareness and support intercultural communication. Having computers and internet connection to access multicultural resources.	Good range of books and computers available for students and teachers. Use computers and internet to access multicultural resources. Libraries and classrooms have learning and teaching resources to support the development of multicultural awareness and intercultural communication.	Limited computers and internet resources Lack of resources in other languages than the native language of the school.
Human Capital (Becker, 1994)	This represents the skills and experience of people that contribute to producing economic outputs.	Knowledge, skills and experience of those contributing directly to the learning experience of the students (principal, teachers, admin and other staff). These include their intercultural communication and language skills, their multicultural knowledge (gained through their own cultural heritage, training and/or living in other countries).	School principal /teachers have multicultural knowledge, experiences and/or background. School principal/teachers speak other languages than their native language. Teachers skilled in teaching using critical multicultural pedagogy approaches. Teachers are empathetic and culturally sensitive due their own rich backgrounds. Bilingual and multicultural administrative staff are actively recruited and trained to facilitate communication with multicultural students and parents.	Preponderance of students from one ethnic descent. School staff trained with a mono-cultural approach. Ethnocentric perspectives are encouraged. Students from ethnic minorities may be disadvantaged as a result of the limited training of school staff.
Natural Capital (Jansson et al., 1994)	Represents the stock of renewable and non-renewable resources that nature provides, as well as the ecological processes that governs their existence.	The geographic location of the school influences to a certain degree: a) The ethnic and cultural background of the students and their parents; b) The local communities with which the school may network to enrich the multicultural experience of the school community.	Multicultural demographics present in the school (students and parents come from a mix of ethnic groups). Access to a good range of multicultural communities in the area to enhance multicultural learning possibilities in the school.	Only one or two types of homogeneous communities present in the area.
Social Capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988)	Social capital is the pre-existing socio-cultural trust, social strong and weak networks and reputation; it is anything that facilitates individual	The use of the school reputation and community strong and weak social networks to facilitate and enrich multicultural education. This can be done through: a) Involving multicultural and multilingual parents in the curriculum;	Parents with multicultural and multilingual experiences are involved in the curriculum where possible. The school offers the study of other languages, as well as the official language of the school. It has formal or informal Community Liaison position to promote networks with the multicultural	Lacks a Community Liaison position There is very little use or no use of the multicultural community resources.

	or collective action.	<p>b) Offering students the opportunity to learn other languages as well as the official language of the school;</p> <p>c) A school community liaison to network with the local communities;</p> <p>d) Making community language programs available in the school;</p> <p>e) The promotion of collective action through the use of professional external multicultural expertise into the school through providing in-service teacher training in the form of workshops.</p>	<p>community.</p> <p>Community language programs available in the school.</p> <p>The principal organizes professional development opportunities for staff to increase their multicultural skills and/or knowledge. Provides multicultural in-service teacher training in the form of workshops.</p>	<p>It does not make community language-learning programs available.</p> <p>It does not provide multicultural in-service teacher training.</p>
Cultural Capital (Throsby, 1999)	Represents the influence that cultural phenomena have on human progress generally and on economic transactions in particular.	The use of other cultural phenomena (like paintings and posters in buildings, gardens, music, art, food and any other form of cultural production that could expose people to help them to increase their multicultural knowledge and awareness). Having school values and/or educational policies to promote multicultural awareness and intercultural activity.	<p>Building spaces in the school are used to share and celebrate multicultural artwork.</p> <p>Multicultural music is played in the school grounds to increase multicultural knowledge and exposure.</p> <p>Classroom spaces are used to create opportunities to display multicultural knowledge, views and learning productions.</p> <p>Visits to spaces outside the school that display cultural capital relevant to a multicultural world are promoted.</p> <p>The school Principal values diversity and supports a multicultural approach to education.</p> <p>The school has a mission statement that values and promotes multiculturalism.</p>	<p>Limited or no use of cultural capital in the school.</p> <p>The mission statement of the school does not promote or mention multicultural values.</p>
* Influenced by capital theories (Hicks, 1974; Becker, 1994; Jansson et al., 1994; Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Throsby, 1999) and the work of Hickling Hudson on interculturally pro-active schools (2003)				

Conclusion

The global economy and the diversity of cultures making up the global economy are unquestioned realities of the modern world, however, in the current paper, the link between multiculturalism, sociology and economics becomes a theoretical extension of that historical partnership. While the use of this range of theories of capital to inform an understanding of the resources of schools in building multicultural understanding is new, the outcomes should be seen in the context of a broader movement to advancing

our understanding of multiculturalism in both the Australian and the international context.

Schools are key agents that can promote transformative change in learning communities to prepare global citizens to support culturally and linguistically diverse nations, and in the end, the degree of preparedness of citizens to deal with the new multicultural reality has real economic impacts on a nation's success. The influence of "productive diversity" (Cope & Kalantzis, 1997, Kalantzis & Cope, 1999), now widely adopted in developed and developing countries, reflects the global recognition of the social and economic value of broader cultural awareness.

Within the school environment in Australia and other countries, middle school is a pivotal stage, acting as the transition between the primary school and the secondary school. It has been found that this transition has a real impact on student achievement (Jones, 2002, Carrington 2006). However, early adolescents need to be prepared for “the complex and changing skills and knowledges necessary for successful participation in civic and social life” (Carrington, 2002, p.5). At the level of middle schooling, conceptualizations of the term of multiculturalism and its enactment vary (Bridges & Poyatos Matas, 2006). However, we need to learn more about what contributes to successful multicultural education approaches, and the role that theories of capital may play to support multicultural education in middle schooling.

This paper, thus, explored the notion of ‘multicultural capital’ of middle schools, drawing upon types of capital established in economic theory and sociology and building on prior analysis exploring concepts such as multicultural education and productive diversity. The new notion of ‘multicultural capital’ arose from data analysis that shows evidence of how five types of capital contributed to increasing multicultural awareness and knowledge in the participating schools. The paper describes the analytical framework developed to assess the multicultural capital of a school and to assist understandings of the multicultural assets of schools. It also relates the framework to notions of culturally problematic and interculturally proactive schools (Hickling Hudson, 2003) that could help us to understand school approaches to multicultural education in different educational contexts. The paper also discusses how giving students access to languages, other than English, the official language of the school, can contribute to the school’s multicultural capital.

The outcomes of this study are relevant to advancing our understanding of multiculturalism in the Australian school context for curriculum development and for the development of teacher in-service education to support teachers’ conceptualisation and enactment of the principles of multicultural education. The qualitative exploratory study reported here gives rise to three major findings.

First, at a most basic level, it was evident that the multicultural capital of schools varied and that it can

influence the degree to which a school is interculturally proactive or culturally problematic. Second, it was evident that principals and teachers play an important role in the conceptualisation of a school’s multiculturalism, and that their responses to their school community’s multicultural capital influence the multicultural education choices made by the school. Thirdly, it shows initial evidence that the multicultural capital of each school is, naturally enough, different, and their multicultural capital influences the multicultural education choices made by the principals and teachers.

However, it has to be acknowledged that these results are based on a small sample, and in particular, only one school, self-identified as suffering relatively from a monocultural bias, was used for comparative purposes. As a result, further research is needed to investigate the construct of multicultural capital in other educational contexts. We recommend that future research should involve more metropolitan schools. This will help to corroborate the initial outcomes of this pilot study. In addition, rural schools should also be included in future research to overcome the urban bias of the current study, and document what their ‘multicultural capital’ may be like, and how this may influence their choices of multicultural education approaches. Moreover, a large-scale national survey would be ideal to determine the degree to which multicultural capital may affect approaches to multicultural education, and, naturally, an international comparative study would shed a fascinating light on how multiculturalism is fostered or repressed in different cultures and economies.

In conclusion, it is considered that with technology and knowledge increasingly embedded in an international context, schools need to consider their multicultural capital more than ever as an important asset. A school’s multicultural capital will help its students to prepare for a world in which the ability to move across cultures and languages significantly determines an individual’s ability to succeed.

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About the Authors

Dr. Cristina Poyatos Matas

Dr Cristina Poyatos Matas migrated to Australia in 1991 from Spain. She completed her Bachelor (Hons) and Masters of Education with Honours in The University of Bristol (England). Her doctoral work in Australia in the area of applied linguistics received The University of Queensland Dean's Commendation for Outstanding Research Higher Degree Thesis 2005. She teaches as a senior lecturer in Spanish Studies at Griffith University. In 2001 and 2002 she was a finalist for the prestigious Australian Awards for University Teaching (AAUT) in the category of Humanities. In 2003 she became a HERDSA Fellow, and in 2006 she received a Carrick Institute Citation Award for her contribution to research supervision (Honours, Master and PhD). She has contributed to several research projects related to education, among them a Large ARC and a CAUT grant. Her research interests include Multicultural Education, Hispanic Communities in Queensland, Intercultural Communication, Grammar Teaching, and Higher Education Pedagogy. She contributed to writing the book *Multicultural Queensland 2001*, and has presented her research work in universities in Australia, France, Canada, England, New Zealand, Malaysia, Spain, and USA. In 2007 she received the International Award for Excellence of the International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations with Susan Bridges for a paper on multicultural education.

Dr. Susan Bridges

Susan Bridges has taught in mainstream and higher education for the past 25 years. She is currently an Assistant Professor with the Faculty of Dentistry at The University of Hong Kong working in curriculum design and e-learning. Prior to this, she was a Research Fellow with the Faculty of Education at Griffith University. Her research focuses on pedagogy, cultural and linguistic diversity and interaction. In 2007, she was awarded the In-

ternational Award for Excellence by the International Journal of Diversity for a paper with Cristina Poyatos Matas on multicultural education.