SOUTHEAST ASIAN REFUGEES IN NEW ZEALAND: LANGUAGE NEEDS AND PROVISIONS.

A thesis completed in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Education at Massey University, Palmerston North.

ANNE MACGIBBON HENDERSON

1988

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank all the people who helped me to make this thesis a reality - those who guided and those who encouraged, those who gave access to resources and those who gave information about themselves which could be used in this piece of research. In particular, my thanks are due to my supervisors, Mr Eric Archer, Dr Noel Watts and Dr Ross St George of Massey University's Departments of Education and Modern Languages, for their guidance and encouragement with a first thesis which became a magnum opus completed over several years. I should also like to thank Dr Andrew Trlin of the Department of Sociology for his encouragement and his advice regarding sampling techniques, the consultants at the Computer Centre for their assistance with data processing, and Professor Cropp and the staff of the Department of Modern Languages for their on-going support and provision of access to wordprocessing facilities. Grateful thanks are also due to the Immigration Division of the Department of Labour for granting me access to their refugee files and for providing me with valuable information regarding refugee resettlement in New Zealand. My thanks are also due to all those others who have been involved in refugee resettlement and the provision of English as a second language in New Zealand and who gave of their time to provide me with information. Finally, but certainly not least, my humble thanks are due to the refugees who helped me with this study, to Sun Kong, Khieng Hann, Minh Huynh and Mai Ton who used their expertise in their several languages to translate and back-translate the questionnaires used in the local study, and to all those who answered the questionnaires. I hope sincerely that this piece of research may provide information that will, in return, help them and their children and those who are yet to arrive.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

ABSTRACT

The resettlement of a particular group of non-Western refugees in New Zealand is studied from a sociolinguistic perspective. The language needs of the group are assessed together with the provisions that have been made to meet these needs. A review of pressures associated with refugee status and resettlement is provided. In addition, the provision of English as a second language (ESL) and the broader linguistic issues of bilingualism including language shift and language maintenance are discussed.

The resettlement of over 7000 Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao refugees in New Zealand since 1979 under a special Southeast Asian refugee resettlement programme has challenged the resources of government and voluntary agencies alike. Consequent ad hoc provisions of ESL have now become more-or-less permanent, bureaucratised and extended to cater for the ESL needs of other refugee and migrant groups. Nevertheless, many of the language programmes remain officially tied to the Southeast Asian resettlement scheme and are thus provisional and restricted in nature.

The nature and extent of government and voluntary language provisions are assessed through an analysis of Department of Labour and Department of Education programmes. School, technical institute and home tutor provisions are surveyed, and supplemented by interviews and by questionnaires undertaken in local schools which have Southeast Asian refugee children. This information is set against on-arrival and post-arrival follow-up data derived from a sample of 230 case studies involving 785 individual refugees. These data cover the demographic, occupational, educational and linguistic characteristics of the Southeast Asian refugee sample. The study raises questions about the relationship between perceived and real language needs and between the language provisions which have been provided to meet these needs and the short- and longer-term effects of these provisions.

CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION

Any influx of large numbers of immigrants into a community will affect the nature of that community and require some degree of sociocultural adjustment by all who feel the impact of the migration, migrants and hosts alike. Such migration may result in temporary or permanent modification of values and institutions within the receiving society, but where immigrants belong to a minority group the greatest pressure to accommodate is generally upon those immigrating. In the process of resettlement "An emigrant (sic) remains partly what he is and partly he becomes different." (Ex,1966:x) The wider the cultural gap between the community that is being left and that which is being entered the greater will be the adjustments required for satisfactory resettlement.

One of the most noticeable and far-reaching of these cultural adjustments involves language, particularly for refugees who have left their home country as a result of push factors rather than by design and who are finally resettled in an alien country for which they have not been prepared emotionally, culturally or linguistically. Where immigrants are required to function in a language other than their mother tongue in order to participate in the society outside of their own speech community, some degree of bilingualism will result. Bilingualism is, therefore, an inevitable consequence of resettlement for any immigrant group whose language differs from that of the majority (Fishman,1966).

As most refugee groups fall into this category, language adjustment through bilingualism can be seen as one of the most important factors in the resettlement of refugees in their new country. How successful this language adjustment is, and whether the bilingualism that ensues involves language maintenance and bilingualism or language shift and monolingualism in the new language, depends upon a variety of factors. These include the perceived needs of the incoming group, the receiving community's policy regarding immigrants and language variation, and the

nature and extent of the language provisions that are made available in the immigrants' new environment.

In New Zealand one hundred and fifty years of settlement by immigrants from Anglo-Saxon and other English speaking backgrounds have resulted in an overwhelmingly monolingual society. Only the indigenous Maori culture, which has seen a major revival of self-awareness resulting in major efforts directed at language development and maintenance over the past decade, is recognised as threatening the monolingual dominance of English. Maori speakers, however, make up only a small proportion of the estimated 150,000 individuals in New Zealand (Kennedy, 1980) for whom English is a second language. As there are few native speakers of Maori in New Zealand most of this total is made up of immigrants, including the 15,000 plus refugees (and "displaced persons") who have been settled in New Zealand since World War II.

Coming to New Zealand from Western Europe, Albania, Roumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Chile, Afghanistan, Iran, Uganda, Indonesia and the three countries of major unrest in Southeast Asia - Vietnam, Cambodia (now Kampuchea), and Laos, these 15,000 refugees represent a wide variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds . A small number have arrived with a prior knowledge of English but most have had to add it post-arrival to one or more already known languages. Few are fortunate enough to have their mother tongue, or second or third language, understood or held in high regard by anglophone New Zealanders.

Most refugee groups have arrived in relatively small numbers in isolated intakes for which only short-term English language learning and mother tongue maintenance provisions have been made. Refugees, along with other immigrants, have been expected to learn English without difficulty, to keep their mother tongue without any outside assistance if such language maintenance is desired, and to be willingly and quickly assimilated into the dominant anglophone society.

Such expectations have appeared to be met by the Europeans who entered

New Zealand as immigrants and refugees. When successful assimilation has not been achieved, the "failures" have not been readily identified as suffering from problems associated with resettlement and English as a second language since they have not been physically distinguishable from New Zealanders of European descent. However, the nature of refugee intakes has changed, with more refugees now being accepted from non-European sources and larger numbers being taken from one area, Southeast Asia, over an extended period of time. These factors, together with a change to an integrative rather than an assimilationist policy and an increased awareness of the needs and resettlement problems faced by immigrant minorities in general and refugee minorities in particular, have brought a recognition that as

> refugees are accepted for humanitarian reasons rather than on grounds of having skills in an employment background relevant to New Zealand's labour needs, and ability to speak English...this means that they have a series of special needs. It is necessary to look to the provision of services such as interpretation, access to language, orientation and job training and retraining courses; psychological counselling to cope with the stress of making major adjustments in life style; and a framework within which guidance and advice can be sought from people with their own ethnic background on making the adaptation to life in New Zealand.
>
> (New Zealand Department of Labour,1986:26)

Such a statement reflects a marked change in government policy from that of seven years previously when the ambivalence of the government toward the provision of ongoing, long-term resettlement services was reflected in the then Minister of Immigration's statement that

> The government considers the (Southeast Asian) refugees to be permanent New Zealand residents who need a minimum amount of Government interference once they are under the guidance and care of their sponsors.
>
> (JHR,1979:1278)

While refugees are still regarded as permanent residents from their arrival in New Zealand and the resettlement process is still predominantly in the hands of voluntary agencies and individuals, the

government now accepts greater responsibility for making provisions to meet the special needs of refugees and the broader needs of other immigrant groups.

The acceptance of large numbers of "boat people" and other Southeast Asian refugees into New Zealand under the Southeast Asian refugee programme from 1979 was the main catalyst in this change of governmental policy. While New Zealand society had hitherto been able to absorb with a considerable deal of success refugees who did not speak English, the resettlement of large intakes from a very different cultural, social and linguistic milieu has required more structured and government-based input to support the voluntary provisions of the broader community.

Refugees from Southeast Asia have constituted the majority of refugee arrivals during the period from 1979 to 1986 with over 7,000 refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos resettled in New Zealand since the fall of Saigon, Phnom Penh and Vientiane to communist forces in 1975. All but a very small number of this 7,000 plus have been resettled under the government's Southeast Asian resettlement programme which began in 1979. Unlike earlier immigration practices which saw isolated intakes of refugees in small numbers, this programme has provided a large, on-going and readily identifiable influx of refugees from a non-Western cultural background who are speakers of languages other than English. These people come from a predominantly rural background and have suffered extreme social, educational and psychological dislocation as a result of political unrest over a long period, the loss of family members, the harrowing nature of their escape and, for many, lengthy stays in overcrowded refugee camps in neighbouring countries before final resettlement.

Official provisions, which have been largely ad hoc and concentrated on integrating the target group as quickly as possible into broader society, reflect the problems and practices associated with resettling large numbers of people from such a different background with as little accommodation as possible on the part of the host society. They also reflect, however, an increasing awareness of the problems of minorities

in general and refugees in particular. A 1982 Department of Education publication on Southeast Asian migrants in New Zealand reported that

> There is frustration at all levels with learning English. This is partly due to the time factor needed in learning a new language, but also the opportunities available or not available for learning appropriate English language skills in New Zealand.
>
> ....The loss of country, and way of life, often lowered status here and inadequate English and knowledge of the New Zealand system are factors often disguised beneath an exterior of contentment with the present situation.
> (New Zealand Department of Education, 1982:4)

When this was written in 1982 few Southeast Asian refugees had been in the country more than two years. Many have now been here over five years while more are just arriving or are still to come. The arrival of such a large number of Southeast Asian refugees over a lengthy period has placed the first large scale and long-term demands on government and voluntary agencies by an immigrant group for language and other resettlement provisions.

The implementation of English language programmes has raised awareness of both the changing and on-going nature of Southeast Asian refugee needs, particularly the "second generation" language needs of those who have been in the country for some time. The programmes have also drawn attention to the language needs of other sections of the community whose language needs had not been met by earlier resettlement provisions. However, there has been no national survey of either the language needs of the Southeast Asian refugee group or the language provisions which have been instigated over the six years since the beginning of the programme in 1979. Hence, a study of the language needs of Southeast Asian refugees in New Zealand and provisions of language facilities to meet these needs is seen to be timely. If language planning for Southeast Asian refugees and other non-English speaking immigrants in New Zealand is be more than just a proliferation of ad hoc provisions to meet immediate needs, if those here now,

> and those who come in (the) future, are (to be) enabled to make the most positive contribution they can to New Zealand society and to their personal development....continued attention from the Government to the special needs of refugees as well as to the broader issues of immigrant adaptation, continued commitment from the wider New Zealand community and a better understanding of the processes of refugee resettlement (will be required). In this latter regard... the study of and research into refugee issues...is welcomed by the Government as contributing to better-informed decision making.
>
> (New Zealand Department of Labour,1986:26)

It is hoped that the study which follows might provide a useful contribution toward this "better-informed decision making."

In the provision of education for migrants, bilingual education and instruction in the second language have been seen as two sides of the same coin (eg Liem,1983; Nixon,1983). Liem (1983) provides the equation Education for Minorities equals Bilingual Education plus English for Bilinguals (EM = BE + EB). In the next two chapters the broad issues surrounding bilingualism (as they pertain to the research question directing this study) will be investigated and previous research will be reviewed. In chapter 2 the second language needs of bilingual speakers will be discussed, with particular reference to second language learners' needs as perceived by the receiving society, current trends in second language teaching and the types of language learning facilities which may be provided in the host community. The theoretical links which are postulated between first language competence and second language learning will also be examined in this chapter. This will lead into chapter 3 where the nature of bilingualism will be examined, important directions and developments in the study of bilingualism will be reviewed and the implications of their relationship for language planning will be assessed.

As it is at the political level that language policy planning normally takes place and for sociopolitical reasons that choices are finally made after other issues have been considered (Lebrun & Paradis,1984), the sociopolitical dimension cannot be ignored when considering language provisions for minority groups. To place the issues of bilingualism in this broader framework, language provisions as they affect linguistic minorities in a variety of western countries will be

briefly described and evaluated at the end of chapter 3. A review of research which has been carried out in New Zealand and is relevant to the current study will be found in chapter 4, with the current research as it pertains to Southeast Asian refugees being provided in the three chapters which follow.

The methodology used to gather and analyse data for the investigation will be outlined in chapter 5. The relative merits and problems associated with different research tools will be examined and some of the broader issues pertaining to cross-cultural investigations will be discussed before the research data is presented in chapters 6 and 7. Data obtained on the target population at both a national and regional level will be provided in chapter 6. This data will be analysed to provide a survey of the needs of the target group. Against this analysis will be set a survey, in chapter 7, of the provisions which have been made in New Zealand to meet the perceived needs of this refugee group. Empirical and descriptive data bases will be combined to provide a comprehensive picture of language provisions which have been developed during the years from the inception of the official Southeast Asian refugee programme in 1979 to the completion of the study in 1986.

In the final two chapters the nature of Southeast Asian refugees' language needs and the extent to which language provisions have met these identified needs will be discussed. The implications arising from this for Southeast Asian refugees, other immigrant groups and the host nation will be addressed, and the study will conclude with some tentative recommendations and suggestions regarding further research which could be conducted in this area to expand upon this limited study.

CHAPTER 2.

BILINGUALISM AND SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING LITERATURE REVIEW.

ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

Proficiency in English is generally recognised as one of the most important variables in the successful settlement of non-English speaking refugees and other immigrants in an English speaking community. An adequate command of the dominant language is required for access to an equitable share of community resources, vocational and educational choice, and social and political participation in the wider society. Ex(1966) proposes that

> Language in common with the autochthon is most probably a factor of the greatest importance in the promotion of adjustment, especially as a function of the social communicative facets of the new milieu.
>
> (Ex,1966:94. Author's emphasis.)

Even those refugees who have "the great advantage of a language in common with the autochthon" may face language difficulties. They may vary noticeably from native speakers in their intonation and articulation. These are aspects of phonological imitation which Lenneberg (1967) and others feel become more difficult after the age of puberty and there are also important social identity factors involved in changing one's accent or language (eg. Gardner & Lambert,1959,1972; Brown,1980; Grosjean,1982). As Ex's Indonesian refugees were distinguished by their marked Dutch accent and hence discriminated against as a group, so have more recent studies shown similar negative responses to second language speakers as a result of accent and dialect differences (Jones,1980; Watts,1977,1981; Stubbs,1976; Giles & St.Clair,1979). However, language attitudes towards non-standard speakers including immigrant and other ethnic minorities can and do change according to social and economic circumstances. Thus the potential disadvantages associated with intralinguistic differences, particularly in the literary skills (Trudgill,1975), provide less of a barrier to intercultural, interethnic communication for immigrants than

a lack of communicative competence in the target language.

It is clear that immigrants who speak a minority language are at least initially, and often more permanently, socially, educationally and economically disadvantaged vis à vis those whose mother tongue is the national language of the receiving country (eg Ex,1966; Galbally,1978; Williams et al,1980; Spearitt & Colman,1983; Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983; Strand & Jones,1985; Tosi,1984). While other factors such as socioeconomic, cultural and educational background may affect resettlement, functional command of English is a critical variable and one that mediates the effects of other variables. Indeed, in a study of employment predictors among 800 Southeast Asian refugees of Vietnamese, Lao, Hmong and Cambodian backgrounds in the United States of America, Strand (1984) found that, while prearrival education was not a predictor of employment status, limited English language communication skills were a major barrier to refugee employment and enrolment in an English as a second language (ESL) course was the only variable that entered all of the subsample equations related to successful resettlement and employment. Moreover, lack of English language skills was perceived by all four ethnic groups to be their most serious problem in resettlement. (Strand,1984; Strand & Jones,1985)

Similar emphasis was placed on the importance of English in the resettlement of refugee and other migrants in Australia by the Report of the Post-arrival Services and Programs for Migrants (Galbally,1978) which found that migrants with inadequate English (especially women, the elderly and children of migrants) were at a disadvantage in employment, when seeking accommodation, and in their access to and use of social, educational and other services. These findings were subsequently endorsed by studies of recent and more long term immigrants in specific communities which were commissioned by the Australian Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs to survey the needs of migrants for English language teaching and collect information from which future programme development could proceed. (See for example Keys Young Planners Ltd,1983; Manton, McKay & Clyne,1983; Coppell, Baumgart & Tenezakis,1984; King & Palser,1984; Smith, Baldauf & Taylor,1985; Gardini & Secombe,1986.)

A survey of employment predictors among early and later Vietnamese

refugees in Australia by Lewins (1984) found that being an English speaker, along with education and previous occupation, had a strong influence on current occupation. Early versus later Vietnamese arrivals were also the subject of a study by Montero (1979) in the United States. Five surveys carried out between 1975 and 1977 showed that a large percentage of early arrivals had some or a good command of oral/aural skills in English, were literate in the language, and were very keen to continue their study of English after arrival. This together with a high level of education at the outset, doubtless a contributing factor in their knowledge of English (or, in the absence of English, of French), and Western customs and values gave those who departed in the early waves of Vietnamese refugees an anticipatory socialisation to the Western world which most of the later arrivals did not have (Montero,1979). In comparison, it was estimated in 1980 that "roughly 85% of newly arrived refugees (in the United States) speak little or no English, and the majority of these are not literate in their own language." (Cohon,1980:11) The acculturation of these late arrivals to American society

While the basic "minimal competencies" in English and cultural orientation provided in the mandatory three month American programme may have prepared those who had anticipatory socialisation to western culture (Montero,1979), few others arrived with adequate skills. Bruno (1984), in a study of the acculturation difficulties of the Khmer in New York, noted the enormous culture shock experienced by a people tranferring from a rice culture to inner city New York, the debilitating effect of language - "second only to poor housing and accompanying crime"(p.13),and the ongoing lack of English especially among women. With the resettlement responsibilities of voluntary agencies time-limited to three months, most families were seen to be left with a host of problems within the first year which they had neither the knowledge or language ability to cope with (Bruno,1984).

Most government-funded studies involving refugees and other migrants have been concerned with the entry of adults into the workforce. This preoccupation with adults and the vocational aspects of settlement reflects national policies where considerable emphasis has been on preparation for employment and rapid integration or assimilation into the wider society. Such policies generally reflect either a "tacit

compact" or a "give and take" view of immigration (Kloss,1971). According to these policies, by coming to the country immigrants tacitly accept a contract to adapt themselves to the new environment. In return for the access to greater economic prosperity which they are assumed to gain through their migration they are seen toowe conformity to the ways of their new country.

However, political perceptions of the language needs of non-English speaking immigrants have changed considerably during this century as have language provisions to meet these diverse needs. Until the mass movement of refugees (formerly Displaced Persons) following World War II and the subsequent mass movements of migrants to fill the immigration quotas of industrialising nations in the 1950s and 1960s most official responses to the language needs of these non-English speakers amounted to a laissez-faire attitude. The expectation was that they would "pick up" English and assimilate rapidly into the dominant Anglo culture with little or no provision of specialised English language assistance.

This view was to persist in many countries, including New Zealand, through several further decades of refugee and other immigrant intakes. In these cases incoming groups of non-English speakers arrived only sporadically and were relatively small, ostensibly imbued with a desire to create a new lifestyle within the dominant culture and physically indistinguishable from the receiving community. A lack of monitoring of the adjustment of these groups gave credence to the belief that

> Immigrants generally experience no real difficulty in adapting to new working conditions. The so-called language difficulties with non-British immigrants is...often exaggerated. Most pick up the language quickly and easily and, with the help of fellow-countrymen and friendly tolerance of initial problems...these difficulties are steadily overcome.
>
> (Marshall,1970)

Such a view is still often voiced despite rapidly growing evidence to the contrary and a general belief that not only is an assimilationist policy no longer philosophically acceptable in an increasingly multicultural society but English as a Second Language instruction is a critical variable in the resettlement process.

While countries operate migration policies which import labour to meet a clear need in the society, either for highly skilled jobs or large scale cheap labour to meet the requirements of an expanding economy, they are able to provide increased economic prosperity to immigrants by matching manpower to existing vacancies. Unfortunately, however, in times of economic retrenchment and fiscal deficits few immigrants may gain the predicted economic benefits despite the fact that they may have been well educated. This is particularly apparent in the case of refugees most of whom, if given a free choice and peace in their homeland, would never have considered migrating at all, let alone to the country which offered them permanent asylum. Lack of competence in the language of this receiving country may be particularly disadvantageous for such involuntary migrants at all levels - socially, educationally and economically - and all ages.

Whether the English language needs of students in schools should be met by the provision of withdrawal classes as supported by Spearitt and Colman (1983) despite the apparent lack of success of the Contingency Programme, or through mainstreaming or partial withdrawal situations shall be further discussed below. However, it is clear that even children do not necessarily "pick up" English as easily as the lack of adequate provisions for them in many countries would suggest (Skuttnab-Kangas,c1983). In part, this lack of second language acquisition may result from accultural and motivational factors. These shall therefore be considered before a discussion of specific needs and educational provisions is undertaken.

Acculturation and motivational factors

For many immigrants, particularly refugees who come from situations of extreme dislocation and in the early stages of resettlement often suffer severe culture shock, motivation may initially extend only to the acquisition of a minimal competence in the new language. Brown (1980) hypothesises that acculturation, the process of becoming adapted to a new culture, takes place in four stages - a period of euphoria and excitement that comes with being in new (and safe) surroundings, culture shock, gradual recovery typified by culture stress, and near or full recovery with assimilation or adaption to the new culture. He

calls on three areas of study:

- Lambert's finding that anomie with its feelings of uncertainty regarding identity and culture is at its peak when a person is beginning to master the second language (Lambert,1967);
- assessments of culture shock as a period of "cross cultural learning" bringing new personal awareness (Adler,1972; Clarke,1976);
- and Schumann's work on perceived social distance, pidginisation and the "good" language learning situation (Schumann,1976a,1976b)

to support his hypothesis that the third stage of acculturation is a critical period in the acquisition of a second language. If he is correct, then the initial orientation programmes which are conducted in the first weeks after arrival in most receiving countries may have little to offer language-wise to most new arrivals, and the failure to offer courses for all age groups and all levels of proficiency beyond the initial arrival period will contribute to unsuccessful second language learning including the permanent setting or fossilisation of unnativelike interlanguage forms rather than the progression on from these intermediary forms to native forms of the target language.

Through their studies of Canadian and American second language learners Gardner and Lambert (1972) identified two types of motivation - instrumental and integrative. Instrumental motivation involves a desire for recognition or economic advantage through knowledge of a second language, and so is self-oriented, while integrative motivation involves "a willingness or desire to acquire a second language for the purpose of integrating, or becoming part of the second community" (Gardner & Lambert,1972:215). Gardner and Lambert concluded that an integrative motivation provides the best basis for becoming bilingual and so being accepted by both communities.

More recently Schumann (1978) has questioned the relative position of the two types of motivation, by drawing attention to the changing needs of learners:

> It has been generally thought that integrative motivation is the more powerful of the two because it implies a desire to integrate with speakers of the target language...Recent research, however,

> seems to indicate that the motivation orientation associated with proficiency in the second language seems to vary according to setting.
> (Schumann,1978:167-168)

This has been found to be the case even where indigenous rather than immigrant minority groups are learning a second language. Taylor, Meynard and Rheault (1977) found with French-Canadian students learning English that personal contact with English Canadians and feelings of threat to their own ethnic identity were the two variables most strongly related to self rating of English proficiency. High self ratings corresponded with high degrees of personal contact while low self ratings occurred when learning English was seen as a threat to French Canadian identity. They concluded that instrumental and integrative motivation could be overshadowed by negative motivational factors involving contact with the target population and a perceived threat to ethnic identity. Similar setbacks to second language learning were found by Lambert (1967) among American students learning French as a second language. When these students reached a degree of considerable proficiency, where they started to think in French, many began to exhibit features of anomie. They became insecure in their own identities and sought out other English speakers to reaffirm their sense of belonging in an Anglo-American culture.

Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) identified learning and using a second language as particularly threatening to ethnic identity and loyalty where a minority group saw the assymetrical power structure as changeable. When loss of power was seen as reversible maintenance of the mother tongue became a powerful symbol of ethnic membership and loyalty (see also Paulston,1985,1986), with the learning of the dominant language perceived as a move towards submission, cultural domination and monolingualism in English.

However, linguistic pluralism is not inherently divisive or threatening to ethnic identity. Nor, although it may be an important aspect of it, is language maintenance inevitably crucial to ethnic identity. While arguing for the provision of mother tongue maintenance provisions in Britain Saifullah Khan (1980) acknowledges that language is not inevitably associated or linked with culture. Eastman (1984) goes further with his claim that language shift and change affect only the

language use aspect of identity, not the group belief ("primordial ethnicity") which changes only very slowly over long periods of time. This distinction is more clearly described by Edwards (1984) in his discussion of the communicative and symbolic values of language which he claims do not necessarily coexist.

In the same set of papers Edwards (1984) warns that ethnic group spokesmen represent an articulate minority within a minority and therefore should not necessarily be seen as reflecting the opinions of the larger group. However, a survey of the Greek community in Montreal (Smith, Tucker & Taylor,1977) found that it was those who were most fluent in English and French and used them most in the outside community who not only moulded ethnic opinions and provided the links between the in-group and the wider community but also helped to "maintain the strong ethnic identity of their ethnic community" (1977:304). As socioeconomic status was tied to levels of education and competence in second language use, intra-ethnic unity in the Greek community apparently extended across the various socioeconomic levels represented.

Fishman (1965,1966) discusses the assimilative power of American society. He suggests that as there is no obvious clash between immigrant ethnic values and ideology and nationalism in the United States, traditional roles and structures are rapidly weakened and there is no special awareness of language loyalty conflict in the use of English. Things have changed since 1917 when President Roosevelt declared that:

> Any man who comes here ... must adopt the institutions of the United States, and therefore he must adopt the language which is now the native tongue of our people, nomatter what the several strains of blood in our veins may be. It would be ... a crime to perpetuate language differences in this country... and if after say five years (the immigrant) has not learned English he should be sent back to the land from whence he came

but the linguistic assimilation of most groups remains a relatively rapid process. This is reflected in the very rapid language shift that has taken place in the United States among immigrant groups, even those within which there has been pressure to maintain the mother tongue in particular domains (Spolsky,1978; Grosjean,1982; Valdman,1984).

Lambert (1967) has distinguished four ways in which minority speakers can work out the conflicts which may arise between the language and culture of the home and those of the wider environment. These involve:

1. rejection of the home culture and language, and identification with the host culture and language;
2. identification with the home culture and language, and rejection of the host culture and language;
3. an inability to identify comfortably with either culture;
4. identification with both cultures.

According to Cummins (1981) most minority students choose the first alternative which usually leads to the rapid acquisition of English skills but may cause considerable familial disharmony and may stultify communication of an affective or conceptual nature. Holbrook (1973), in a study of adolescent migrants in Australia, found that competing loyalties between the values and customs of the home and those of the new community resulted in a tendency to reject parents as models especially when the children were more fluent in English and communication was limited. Miller's (1983) humanistic analysis of bilingualism offers a well-balanced account of the educational and cultural implications of the various choices for young immigrants in Britain. Through transcribed interviews with twelve individuals in London she illustrates the tensions that can arise between languages and cultures and the ways these might be worked out, with all four of Lambert's options being illustrated.

The breakdown of barriers between linguistic domains is particularly apparent among children who may learn English from older school-age siblings while still in the home environment and subsequently have their use of the dominant language reinforced at school and in the wider society. Where parents recognise the value of English for education they are often prepared to abandon efforts to maintain the language of the home and may even encourage their children's use of English. So Majoribanks (1979) found a "press" from parents for Greek school children in Australia to learn English. In tests of achievement the Anglo-Australian and British 11 year olds in the study did better than their Greek and Italian counterparts though there was no significant difference on tests of cognitive ability, and each of these

test results was unrelated to parental aspirations and satisfaction with schooling. However, parental "press" to learn English was an important factor in the Greek children's academic achievement and reflected a positive relationship between the home and the school.[1] (Marjoribanks,1984)

In a comparison of Soviet Jewish and Vietnamese refugee adolescents who arrived in the United States between 1975 and 1980 Simon (1983) found that all of their parents agreed that, compared with themselves, their children were more fluent in English and likely to achieve a higher occupational status. Most of the young people interviewed expected to become hyphenated Americans (Jewish-Americans or Vietnamese-Americans), retaining their native tongue at home but speaking English fluently in their place of work. The subjects of this study exhibited the identification with both their own culture's norms and those of the receiving society that Lambert (1967) considers the fourth and most satisfactory acculturational alternative, that Cropley (1983) identifies as an essential feature of successful resettlement, and that Taft (1966) sees as a sign of primary integration.

"Ethnic shielding" and negative motivation

Among the main factors identified as influencing motivation and proficiency in English among migrants in Australia were occupation and ethnic shielding (Gardini & Secombe,1986). Occupational status and low proficiency in English could create a vicious circle where employment in ethnically homogeneous work gangs took place, shielding workers from contact with the host population. The restriction of the elderly and women with young children to the home environment similarly provided ethnic shielding and therefore little motivation to learn English for either integrative or instrumental reasons.

Studies in Sydney found that length of residence, which is normally a reasonable predictor of proficiency, was unreliable where ethnic

---

1 A follow-up study of some 500 of the original 1000 families five years later indicated that, while immigrant differences persisted, adolescent aspirations still related strongly to family environment and attitudes.

shielding was present (Coppell, Baumgart & Tenezakis,1984; King & Palser,1984). There was a large "backlog" of women and elderly persons at home who still had low proficiency in English after many years residence in Australia. Characteristically, these shielded persons exhibited "well-developed avoidance patterns and either a low motivation to improve English or severe problems of access to opportunities leading to improvement in English proficiency" (King & Palser,1984:92). Shielded persons were closely oriented towards their own community and had little contact with the wider society. Thus, despite professing an interest in attending English classes, few were considered likely to do so.

The degree of shielding and subsequent lack of motivation to learn a second language were seen to correlate highly with age and sex factors. As both women and the elderly tended to live within protective ethnic family groups they were shielded and often reluctant to learn a new language, especially when opportunities were through relatively formal classes in institutional environments such as Adult Migrant Education Centres. Moves in Canada to offer elderly Southeast Asian immigrants English as a second language (ESL) classes which utilise their own mother tongue go some way to render the classes less threatening (Hawley,1986), as does teaching through home tutors in the home which provides language lessons and social contact with a member of the host community for housebound immigrants. The former has the added advantage that it takes recipients of the service out of the isolation of the home and into a wider social context for classes.

A lack of motivation and reluctance to learn may also result when "the conflict between performance and expectations becomes so unbearable that the individual 'lowers his expectation of himself'(sic)" (Stevick,1980:11) or when the class is conducted in a way that is outside cultural expectations. This is particularly true for adult learners who are often inhibited and fear loss of face, require considerable facility in the second language to be able to operate at a level approaching that already obtained in the mother tongue, and have strongly held cultural expectations of education which may not be met

in the language class. For example, in a communicatively based class where emphasis is on language in use rather than on language usage, the teacher takes on the role of facilitator rather than director and students are expected to participate actively and ask questions if they do not understand (Littlewood,1981; Finocchiaro & Brumfit,1983). This provides a very different learning environment from the structure-oriented language teaching and authoritarianism of traditional classrooms that many refugees are used to or expect (eg Cohen,1980; Liem,1983) and may, at least initially, hinder acculturation and language learning.[2]

Types of ESL provision

Nichols and Naish (1979) state an ideal case regarding survival language provisions:

> The implications for deciding what provision to make are clear; it must be appropriate to the needs of the students who have already come forward and flexible enough to be adapted to the needs of the students who would like ESL tuition but for a variety of reasons are not yet receiving it.
> (Nichols & Naish,1979:10)

They emphasise that in order to allow immigrants to live a full life in the wider community language provisions must include communication skills, access skills, and literary skills.

However the reality is still generally rather less than this. Second language opportunities for non-English speaking immigrants range from no provision at all (underpinned by the belief that they will "pick up the language quickly and easily") to a broad range of provisions designed to meet both first phase, immediate survival needs and the more specialised second phase needs of groups and individuals. How far the many and varied language needs of different migrant groups are met

---

2 However, it also serves to reduce the emphasis on "correctness" (rather than fluency) and formal language learning (rather than language acquisition) which mitigate against progress and hence continued attendance at classes among those lacking previous formal education and/or self-confidence.

will depend to a large extent on the importance placed on knowledge of the dominant language by the receiving government, which in turn may depend on the amount of information available to the government regarding linguistic and other needs of the group and governmental attitudes towards minorities.

Social, political and economic contingencies

In many cases the failure to carry out "essential preliminary linguistic fact finding before formulating policy...(results) in an inadequate plan aimed at an unrealistic goal." (Fitzgerald,1978:20) A tendency to underestimate both the size and the nature of the ESL need of immigrants has been aggravated by:

- a lack of hard information about immigrant groups (Fitzgerald,1978; Galbally,1978; Ellis,1985);
- the perpetuation in ex-colonies of a delusion that their populations remain predominantly British or at least only bi- rather than multicultural (Martin,1978; Benton,1981; New Zealand Department of Education,1986);
- and a democratic sentiment that once in the country immigrants must be left to live their own lives without attention from officialdom on account of their immigrant status.

Because the successful cultural adaptation of immigrant groups generally has low political priority, very little research is carried out on linguistic and other educational needs of these groups with the consequence that political, social and administrative factors tend to dominate decisions regarding language provisions.

Language provisions are delimited by a lack of resources available in the community (eg. money, teachers, classrooms or other locations, suitable teaching materials, time and financial support for students). The provision of these in turn is generally delimited by political and community attitudes regarding the role of education and the position of immigrant groups in the wider society. Indeed, inadequate provision for second language learners may be politically motivated to retain immigrants in a position of subservience through lack of linguistic facility in the language of the host country.

Skutnabb-Kangas (c1983,1984) suggests that language policies may reflect the sociopolitical motives of European Community nations to perpetuate the "exploitation of cheap flexible labour" and create a "new native underclass to function as (an economic) buffer"(Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984:42). Centring on the situations for guest workers and immigrants in West Germany and Sweden she criticises the mis-education of migrant workers' children through monolingual mother tongue teaching in segregation programmes and the encouragement of monolingualism in the majority language through submersion (sink-or-swim) programmes. While the 1977 Directive of the Council of Europe Ministers of the European Economic Community pressed for tuition in an official language of the host society as a second language plus the mandatory promotion of the mother tongue, these were to be provided "in accordance with (member states') national resources and legal systems" and "with a view principally to facilitating the possible reintegration into the member state of origin of nationals of these states." (EEC,1977, cited in Tosi,1984:15)

Even in countries where the integration of immigrants into the dominant society is favoured, retrenchment and economic depression usually result in early cuts in educational funding. The first to suffer will generally be "extra" educational provisions such as language courses, which are provided only on an ad hoc basis, are often very expensive to maintain, and favour a particular subgroup within the community. The generally ad hoc nature of such provisions renders them easy targets for cost cutting. The financial savings resulting from not providing services far outweigh apparent short-term losses. Furthermore, the subgroups involved are often those against whom the less advantaged sections of the host society compete for economic advantage especially in times of retrenchment. Hawley (1986) notes cutbacks in migrant educational funding in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain as these countries try to prune budget deficits and reassess the economic, and political, costs and benefits of educational provisions.

First and second phase needs

In keeping with their emphasis on language provisions for economic and political ends, most countries have tended to concentrate on the first phase survival language needs of learners. These needs are more immediately obvious and quantifiable than more advanced language needs as many new arrivals start from a position of zero English. They are also more easily dealt with, albeit often inadequately, through ad hoc provisions such as predeparture or on-arrival programmes and home tutor schemes because they are more universal than the needs of second phase learners. Thus they can be dealt with in general courses by volunteers and ESL teachers operating on low budgets with few resources and without the overall planning of provisions and coordination with other services that is required to provide effective English for Specific Purposes (ESP) programmes.

However, second language needs do not necessarily disappear once minimal competence in the language has been acquired. Basic levels of English may not be enough to prevent accidents in industry or to keep new migrants in jobs; "upskilling" and retraining programmes for immigrants will almost inevitably necessitate further language skills training (Kaplan,1980; Australian Department of Education and Youth Affairs,1983). The level of English and style of instruction required by students wishing to continue their studies or professionally trained immigrants wishing to re-enter their professions will differ significantly from those desired by immigrants who want only enough English for everyday survival. For the former English study is seen as a more specialised and long-term process than it is for the latter.

The Bullock Report (1975) recognised "the long term nature of the issues involved" with an ongoing need for English at a more advanced level in schools when it expressed concern at the lack of provisions for those students who had a deceptive fluency in their second language which masked their actual limitations in the language:

> Although after a year he may seem able to follow the normal school curriculum, especially where oral work is concerned, the limitations to his English may be disguised. They become immediately apparent when he reads and writes...
>
> (Bullock Report,1975:290)

The Bullock Report recommended the appointment of consultant language teachers and the provision of materials and advice in further stages of second language learning but ten years later this was still seen to be an area of immediate need in the British education system (Ellis, 1985). Cummins' (1979,1980) Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills / Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (BICS/CALP) distinction and the warnings regarding semilingualism offered by Skutnabb-Kangas (c1983) and others (which shall be discussed below) are relevant here along with the need to provide help to second language students in the school system through language provisions which go across the curriculum and beyond the initial stage of language learning.

As educational and linguistic backgrounds vary the needs of a particular group of refugees or other immigrants will not be the same at any one time. Nor will they remain static. With increased length of residence a desire to improve one's position in a place of employment, to recommence disrupted studies or to extend one's English to be able to play a more participatory role in the wider society may activate further language learning. Moreover, it is now widely recognised that not only do groups and individuals have different perceived needs according to their age, linguistic, educational and cultural backgrounds, but they also have different learning styles which must, as far as possible, be catered for (see for example Brown,1980).

Special educational needs

After offering a comprehensive review of research evidence in Australia Sturman (1985) concludes that immigrant groups are not seriously disadvantaged with regard to access to opportunities at either the educational or vocational level. While acknowledging problems with the research available including the lack of distinction between first and second-generation immigrants and the aggregation of different immigrant groups, he claims that where ethnic students are highly motivated they are only slightly disadvantaged by their language difficulties. The majority of adult immigrants to Australia, despite a possible desire for occupational mobility being a factor in their decision to emigrate, are, he believes, likely to remain in the unskilled area of employment because they were unskilled on arrival rather than as a result of lack of English.

However, his confidence in equality of access to opportunity is belied by earlier comments in the review which point to language disadvantages experienced by immigrants, particularly new arrivals. He admits that while students with non-English speaking background tended to remain at school for longer than other students there was "still some ability wastage" and that "(g)iven the generally lower performance of ethnic students on literacy measures, it is reasonable to argue that there is a large language-related component to disadvantage particularly for newly-arrived immigrants and certain ethnic subgroups." (Sturman,1985:54) This included the process of devaluing immigrant qualifications and education which was partially attributed to the language difficulties of certain individuals or groups.

Adult vocational needs

Resettlement may be particularly difficult for highly qualified refugees who, because they come from a non-English speaking country, cannot continue their studies or occupation without first mastering the language to a high level of competence and then often retraining or returning to study for considerable periods of time with little financial support if they would continue their interrupted careers. This is illustrated in Taft and Doczy's (1962) study of the assimilation of intellectual Hungarian refugees in Western Australia which found that there was a tendency for intellectual refugees to develop an increasing intolerance of lowered economic standards accompanied by harsher self-judgements of English standards with increased length of residence.

Australian recognition of the need for more specific language provision was first reflected in 1962, some twelve years after the arrival of the Hungarian refugees of Taft and Doczy's study, with the introduction of intensive 300-320 hours short courses for Czechoslovakian refugees from professional and student backgrounds. The number of accelerated and intensive courses has subsequently been augmented and extended to all State capitals, and from the mid 1970s these courses have accepted immigrants with less education (Australia Department of Ethnic and Youth Affairs,1983).

Youth needs

A recent report by the Australian Department of Ethnic and Youth Affairs (1983) on immigrant and refugee youth pinpointed 10 to 24 year olds as a group who were "at risk" of long-term unemployment and underemployment, with those between 15 and 19 seen as particularly vulnerable. Newly arrived high-school-age students were entering the school with widely varying amounts of education from their homelands and lacking the mastery of ESL for study purposes required to benefit from subject teaching. Older teenagers whose schooling and apprenticeships had been interrupted by unrest and emigration had little chance of resuming study through lack of a financially and socially secure background, lack of credit for previous training and lack of the access and communication skills required to benefit from the confusion of existing courses, programmes and allowances for unemployed youth.

The report concluded that the personal, social, educational and employment needs of this transitional group were being adequately met neither by adult migrant provisions through general and intensive language courses nor by child migrant programmes in the schools. Its recommendations included the development of an accurate and coordinated data base on which to plan ESL provisions for immigrant and refugee youths, the rationalisation of existing ESL programmes and encouragement of ESL-transitional courses, and improved ESL and bilingual staffing training and quotas.

School children's needs

Educationally school children have not usually been considered a major problem, the assumption being that they are resilient, will adapt quickly and assimilate without special treatment. That the reality is rather less than this can be clearly seen from Spearitt and Colman's 1979 evaluation of the contingency programme for Southeast Asian refugee children in Australia. This contingency programme which operated from 1975 to early 1981 was designed to assist children's acquisition of English with the intention of integrating them as quickly as possible into the ordinary classroom. Special language courses were to be offered for three months initially with a further

three months for students with particular language problems. A period of three months was found to be generally inadequate and by 1979 it was recognised that many children would need ongoing specialised language assistance beyond the six months maximum. This would be provided through Child Migrant Education Service and other programmes operating in mainstream schools.

Although Federally funded, application of the Contingency Programme was not uniform as each state was responsible for the determination of actual provisions in its area. In New South Wales, Queensland, West Australia, and the Australian Capital Territory the programme was offered within existing state schools, while in South Australia provisions were shared between state schools and language centres, and in Victoria all provisions were through language centres. In Victorian schools there was provision for Southeast Asian teachers' aides. While these persons were generally proficient in Vietnamese and Chinese they were, it appears, lacking in similar skills in Khmer or Lao.

At the primary school level Vietnamese students, some of whom were receiving bilingual instruction, performed better than other Southeast Asian refugees on numbers skills tests after 14 weeks in Australia and in addition and subtraction were not significantly different from Australian children. However, at the secondary school level the ethnic difference had disappeared, a reflection of the disruption of education in the country of origin, and after six months in the programme both age groups, primary and secondary, were reported to be performing at significantly lower levels than other Australian students including a subgroup of Australians from homes where little or no English was spoken.

Follow-ups of students in receiving schools in Sydney and Melbourne found that while the performance of these Southeast Asian students in the numeracy skills was generally considered adequate or good only a quarter were assessed overall as "competent" or "adequate" in the primary schools and a fifth in secondary schools. Three quarters of the students were coping only with difficulty or were unable to cope in English language classes. Language centres in the state of Victoria had recorded a greater retention rate and length of stay than other programmes. In Melbourne schools, for instance, most of the Southeast

subjects were still receiving ESL instruction in withdrawal programmes at the primary school level and in parallel classes at the secondary level. However these students were not performing significantly better in English that those in the Sydney schools.

Despite the disappointing results from the programme Spearitt and Colman recommended the continued provision of

> intensive English classes for Indo-Chinese refugee students for at least the first six months of their period of schooling in Australia, followed by subsequent systematic ESL instruction for at least a further twelve months.
> (Spearitt & Colman,1979:254)

This and other studies of refugees, especially of those in the "at risk" age group, raise the question of how best to meet the needs of those who require not only general survival English but English for academic or other specific purposes. They also identify and address issues which are compounded by the need for competence in the dominant language but are not confined to immigrant groups, viz. academic achievement, unemployment and skills training and retraining programmes. An overview of current practices in various centres in the USA, Canada,and the UK by Hawley (1986) indicates the wide range of options available to ESL providers in this area. Some of the ESL options available for school children and older learners shall be further discussed below.

ESL schooling options - to "segregate" or "mainstream"?

A recent survey of ESL provision in British schools by Ellis (1985) offers a brief overview of the language options which are available within and outside of the school system and the advantages and disadvantages of each. Full and part-time language centres, special ESL classes outside of the school, and ESL provisions within the school on a full-time, part-time withdrawal and "tandem" teaching basis are all seen to have both merits and disadvantages. Only placement in remedial classes, which wrongly equates ESL students' lack of English with the problems of first language speakers, provides no special tuition in ESL and may bring an unwarranted sense of failure to the ESL pupil, is

considered by Ellis to have "nothing to recommend it educationally." (Ellis,1985:17) However, according to Hill (1976) the placing of immigrant children in low streams in streamed secondary schools was still common in the 1970s despite strong claims that there was no place in remedial classes for children whose only required remedy was knowledge of the second language (Hawkes,1966; Knight,1977).

Separate provisions

Language centres and withdrawal programmes provide some linguistic and social advantages by allowing specialist language teachers to concentrate on developing the linguistic competence of individual students in an environment where they are sheltered from the stresses of submersion situations which involve non-regulated, incomprehensible language input, academic comparison with native speakers and often unsympathetic teachers. As schools are initially very alien to many ESL students, especially refugees who may have had very little if any formal education before arrival, separate facilities can provide shelter in a supportive environment which takes account of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Separate programmes may also allow the greater flexibility of programming and the financing required for special excursions to familiarise students with their new environment.

However, the segregation of students can also be viewed as socially and linguistically disadvantageous. It may have racist implications in that it isolates linguistic issues from their sociolinguistic context and the broader sociocultural issues of an increasingly multicultural society and it delays acculturation and integration (or assimilation) (Chatwin,1985). It is argued by both policy makers and educational practitioners that schools must adjust to meet the needs of minority groups by providing special English programmes and more multicultural environments rather than by isolating the "problem" in segregated centres and/or withdrawal situations in schools (for example Bullock,1975; Watt,1981; Middleton,1983; Brumfit,1985; Ellis,1985; Nixon,1985; Swann,1985).

An alternative perspective

A second language is now seen to be largely acquired through natural communication with the more conscious language learning process providing a "monitor" on this input (Krashen,1982,1985). Thus the segregation of students from interaction with their peers removes them from numerous and influential role-models, an adequate language sample on which the monitor can operate, and situations which can involve high levels of motivation for effective communication - all important variables for the development of communicative competence in a second language (Hymes,1971; Loveday,1982). These are replaced by a specialist language environment where the focus may be on language usage rather than language in use (Widdowson,1978), particularly problematic when the suggestion has been made that Southeast Asian refugees' limited formal education in the first language may not have equipped them with a sophisticated enough monitor to cope with such formal ESL classes; only one role-model (the teacher) is available; and the need to communicate in English is minimal and only artificially sustained (Kleinmann & Daniel,1981; Strand & Jones,1985).

Fathman (1975) identified the teaching of English as a subject rather than use of English as a means of communication as the key variable in his conclusion that the more ESL instruction 500 elementary and high school students in the U.S.received the less progress they made. Hale and Brudar (1970), studying the ESL progress of adolescents in Hawaiian junior schools, found that where students received no ESL but were integrated with other students there was a more rapid increase in their English than if they had received ESL instruction although there was still little interethnic social contact outside of the classroom. Similar positive results from mainstreaming and English in use rather than instruction in English usage were found by Macnamara (1979) in his study of French Canadian children attending English medium schools in Montreal. These French students acquired English more rapidly than anglophone immersion students acquired French. Macnamara attributed this to the presence of peer role models, an element lacking in French immersion programmes where the sole role model was the teacher.

Further advantages and disadvantages of the options

A further drawback of segregated ESL instruction for secondary level students is that every month spent in a language centre further delays their academic education (Townsend,1971). This is especially serious for older students who may have had little formal education in their homeland or country of first asylum, and so already have a considerable backlog of study to catch up on, but are themselves highly motivated to achieve academically and have considerable pressure on them to do so from their families (Marjoribanks,1980; Simon,1983; Sturman,1985). These aims may be frustrated if students are released from language centres only when they have attained what is considered an adequate level of proficiency in English. They may then find that they are so far behind academically that the examinations necessary for further study are beyond their grasp (Blakely,1983), that they are too old to be accepted back into the school system or that a return to education would entail an unreasonable financial burden on themselves or their families (Australian Department of Education and Youth Affairs,1983). While Nixon (1985) argues that ability in English rather than age should be grounds for mainstreaming students from transitional language centres, a view supported by Spearitt and Colman (1983), Ellis (1985) claims that the "criterion for transfer to a school should not be linguistic but social" as some students would never be mainstreamed if decisions were based on linguistic competence alone.

Studying the effect of a shift from special ESL classes to mainstreaming without ESL support, Blakely (1983) found that the attitudes of many of the Southeast Asian students in her Oregon study began to change by the end of their second year at school when they were no longer considered special but had to compete alongside other students. Some exhibited a lack of motivation to study, others bad habits such as truancy. Although a little of this change may have been attributable to a withdrawal of the Hawthorne effect, Blakely found that as 16 to 19 year olds moved from specialised to mainstream classes it became difficult for them to keep up with the added workload and competency tests required for many high school diplomas were beyond some students (especially those from among the Cambodian, Mien and Lao groups). These disillusioned students often left school and entered the workforce rather than stay on at school and fail.

Discussions of ESL provisions in Britain in ELT Documents 121 (Brumfit, Ellis & Levine,1985) reflect the current impetus towards mainstreaming, "linked skills" and "tandem" teaching in the United Kingdom. This involves an ESL specialist working alongside the subject or regular teacher in the planning process and in the classroom to provide insights into the special needs of ESL students, together with ESL methods and discourse analysis that might benefit not only the target group but all students. This, according to Ellis (1985:22), is the direction that ESL teaching must take if it "is to be seen as something more than a palliative". It is also the tenor of both the Bullock Report (1975) on Languages across the Curriculum and the Swann Report (1985), Education for All. In its recommendations the Swann Report states that:

> 5.2 We are wholly in favour of a change from the provision of E2L (sic) by withdrawal, whether this has been to language centres or to separate units within schools.
>
> 5.3 The needs of learners of English as a second language should be met by provision within the mainstream school as part of a comprehensive programme of language education for all children.
> (Swann Report,1985:771. Authors' emphasis.)

While pedagogically desirable, mainstreaming creates its own problems. It places heavy demands on subject teachers and ESL staff, requires considerable cooperation between ESL and mainstream teachers in the development of programmes and English for Specific Purpose (ESP) materials, and raises particular problems when students are not literate in English as Bailey (1985) found in the North Westminster Community School. Mainstreaming will also always carry a danger that complacency, reactions to special provisions for minority groups or cutbacks in the education vote will lead to a reduction in the numbers of ESL staff, discontinuation of ESL provisions and a return to a submersion situation. Partial withdrawal, where students are withdrawn for ESL help for part of the day is seen as a possible compromise. It makes more economical use of ESL teachers' time and resources especially when students are spread through many classes, while still allowing students to attend many or most of their regular or subject classes.

Provisions for adults

The forms of provision for adults include programmes being offered:

- in the camps through voluntary agencies,
- on-arrival in special language centres or polytechnics,
- post-settlement through technical institutes, night classes and correspondence courses.

Typically these have involved the ad hoc provision of basic ESL courses but here too the emphasis has changed. The recognition of more long-term and specialised ESL needs and language maintenance classes has widened the scope of provisions and brought a demand for the increased planning of provisions and for more effective use of resources.

ESL provisions to meet the needs of Displaced Persons' movements and large-scale voluntary migration after World War II were usually structural in nature. In some instances short ESL courses were offered predeparture and/or in transit, with use being made of the time available on lengthy sea voyages. The greatest number of courses, however, were provided in reception centres along with cultural orientation and health and immigration processing. In Australia where attendance at language classes was voluntary the pressure of new jobs, the location of language centres and lack of motivation often resulted in poor attendances (Appleyard & Amera,1978; Martin,1978; Taft & Cahill,1981). Taft and Cahill (1981) reported that while an initial quota of 170,000 Displaced Persons, mainly from Poland and the Baltic states, were settled between 1947 and 1952 only 28,000 were enrolled in available part-time courses in 1952.

Basic ESL courses are still provided for refugees through predeparture programmes such as those offered at Phanat Nikhom from 1980 to provide cultural and language orientation for United States-bound refugees and others offered by volunteer teachers for those destined for other areas. Such programmes are seen to fill enforced waiting time productively and provide " a cost-effective way of helping to prepare refugees to become self-sufficient as quickly as possible" after resettlement (UNHCR Factsheet cited in Hopkins,1982). They also enable some refugees to break the catch-22 situation of not having enough English to qualify for resettlement (Steen,1984). With most programmes relying on voluntary agencies and staffing, resources are reported to

be limited, classes large and staffing unstable with undesirable gaps between overseas volunteer teachers' terms (Steibel,1984; Steen,1984; Hawley,1986).

Emerging diversity in provision

As ESL is a marginal servicing subject that is by its very nature designed to be self-eliminating, and as the client population is so variable, most ESL provisions have remained ad hoc in nature. However where post-arrival programmes concentrated on survival level English for first phase learners and orientation programmes in clearly delimited courses, recent years have seen an increased movement towards meeting not only the linguistic needs of immigrants but also their social, vocational and academic needs. This reorienation has entailed not only the provision of more varied programmes for immigrants themselves but also courses for those providing social services to ethnic minorities.

The diversity of current provisions for adults in various countries is noted by Hawley (1986) and includes:

- correspondence classes providing English for examination and individualised courses bases on functional/notional approaches offered to large numbers of self-motivated students (2,600 in the adult section of AMES in Melbourne with several hundred more on a waiting list in 1982 [Tassicker,1982], and full rolls and closed books in the New Zealand Correspondence School ESL Section in 1986);
- literacy programmes for Hmong refugees in Canada (Burnaby,1984);
- intensive classes for students and professionals in Australia (Australian Department of Educational and Youth Affairs,1983);
- further education and linked skills programmes such as those designed by the National Extension College in Britain (McAllister & Robson,1984);
- ESL courses to meet the needs of unemployed adults (McLaughlin,1985);
- Industrial Language Training courses first developed in

Britain as ESL programmes for immigrants (recommended for New Zealand by Kaplan [1980] and now developed through Manukau Technical Institute and offered to firms in Auckland), and more recent British ILT programmes aimed at reducing racist attitudes among employers and workers (Brooks & Roberts,1985);

- from 1983 the provision in Sweden of 240 hours of Swedish instruction during paid working hours for immigrants through the "240 hour law" (Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983);
- paramedical training for refugee community workers (Cohon,1980; Liem, 1983);
- ESL-multicultural awareness courses in teachers' colleges and in government departments as provided by the Pacific Island Educational Resource Centre (PIERC) and Wellington Multicultural Educational Resource Centre (MERC) in New Zealand, and handbooks for health workers and those dealing with and training community interpreters (National Extension College 1982,c1983).

Cummins' theoretical framework for conceptualising language proficiency and its educational implications

The proliferation of specialist courses for adults and ESP provisions through "tandem" teaching and partial withdrawal programmes for students has been in part a response to pragmatic socioeconomic needs with immigrants being among those to lose their jobs with economic retrenchment and immigrant children continuing to fail within the education system, but it has also involved a recognition that surface fluency in a language may disguise underlying inadequacies:

> There is a danger that some ... who quickly acquire fluency in the spoken language do not in fact understand as much as they appear to, and may find difficulty in absorbing new ideas expressed in English.
>
> (DES Education Survey 14, cited in Ellis,1985:9)

Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP)

Discussing the importance of accurate language assessment in procedures for students exiting from bilingual programmes and special ESL attention in the States and Canada, Cummins (1979, 1980a, 1980b, 1981, 1984a,1984d) distinguishes between two levels of linguistic ability - basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP). BICS are identified as "surface" skills which are nearly universal among native speakers of any language while CALP involves the more abstract use of language for problem solving and conceptualising, and thus is more closely associated with literacy skills and formal education beyond the elementary levels. In a BICS situation the speaker obtains considerable information from contextual and nonverbal cues, and produces what he or she chooses to say and can say, whereas in a situation which demands CALP the speaker/reader is heavily reliant on the verbal element of the message, and may also be learning new concepts through the language. Hence, while minority language children may quickly develop a level of BICS in the second language which is sufficient for the early grades of schooling, they often experience considerable delays in the acquisition of CALP necessary for academic study.

> As the curriculum content becomes more symbolic and requires more abstract formal operational thought processes, the children's 'surface' L2 competence must be translated into deeper levels of 'cognitive competence' in the language.
>
> (Cummins,1979:231)

Cummins' use of the terms BICS and CALP has been disputed as value loaded, undervaluing BICS in much the same way that Berstein's deficiency theory undervalued Restricted Code, and as failing to place the problem adequately in its sociocultural context (Bernstein,1971). A discussion of the perceived limitations associated with the terms is provided in papers by Canale, Genesse, Spolsky, Troike and Wald in Rivera (ed.) 1984, and Cummins' reply and reformulation of the two language types is offered in the same publication (Cummins,1984d).

However, whatever they are to be called and whatever limitations there are in Cummins' BICS/CALP framework, different language skills of the type Cummins identifies do seem to exist and knowledge of these is important for immigrant education.

Research studies by Cummins (1981,1984a,1984b) on data from a late 1960s Toronto Board of Education survey and of teacher referrals and psychological assessment forms of over 400 students from minority backgrounds in Toronto illustrate the problems that can arise when the different levels of language skill are not recognised. Assumptions were made in the survey, referrals and assessments that children who had been in the country for one or two years and could converse on everyday topics with apparent fluency in English (BICS) were therefore able to use the language as a cognitive instrument (CALP) in IQ tests. Failure on these tests marked these bilingual students down for placement in programmes primarily designed for monolingual children with learning difficulties without regard for their bilingualism. Cummins (1979,1984a) points out that just as CALP develops more slowly than BICS in a child learning his or her first language so too it develops more slowly in the second language learner. Referring to his Toronto survey he estimates that it "took immigrant students who arrived in Canada at age 6-7 or later, between 5 and 7 years, on the average, to approach grade norms in English verbal-academic skills." (Cummins,1984:133)

This assessment is consistent with data from the French immersion programmes reported in Swain and Lapkin (1982) and Swain (1984) where it was found that early immersion students could take up to six or seven years to attain average performance scores on standardised tests of French achievement. It must also be remembered that, unlike refugee children and the immigrant children of Cummins' study, French immersion students have everything in their favour:

- participation in the programme is voluntary;
- students are being educated within their own wider cultural environmnet;
- they come from mainly professional middle class backgrounds;
- they are immersed in classes with other English speaking

students rather than submerged among non-English speakers;

- performance is not judged against that of native French speakers;
- each class has a sympathetic bilingual teacher whom students are allowed to address in English for the first year of early total immersion (Swain,1980), being expected to use French from day one only in late immersion programmes where they have already received at least one, but up to six years of French as a second language (FSL) instruction;
- and as the mother tongue is not threatened by the second language an "additive" rather than "subtractive" bilingual situation exists (Lambert,1975,1977).

(See also McLaughlin,1982, for a comparison of immersion and submersion education.)

Behind Cummins' BICS/CALP distinction are two related hypotheses - the Threshold Hypothesis and the Interdependence Hypothesis. Together these underpin his interactional model of bilingual education (Cummins,1979) which postulates that the language abilities of a student are not only outcome variables of education but also process variables which mediate cognitive and affective outcomes, and help account for the different outcomes of immersion and submersion bilingual education. (See Appendix 2 for a fuller discussion of these two hypotheses.)

Cummins (1979) draws on research into linguistic, affective and educational variables to describe the particular problems of low socioeconomic status (SES) minority language immigrants in a dominant language educational situation in term of his Interaction Model of Bilingual Education. This model posits an interrelationship between student input characteristics and educational variables in the production of educational outcomes. Using his threshold and developmental interdependency hypotheses, Cummins concludes that programmes promoting additive bilingualism, including literacy skills in both L1 and L2, are necessary provisions in an educational system "if <u>optimal</u> development of a minority language child's cognitive and academic potential is a goal." (Cummins,1979:247) Author's emphasis.)

Cummins' claims have far reaching ramifications for the education of

refugee and other immigrant groups whose mother tongues are different from that of the dominant community and its educational system. Not only must teachers and educational policy makers become aware of the variables that shape the achievements of minority language students but they must seriously examine the aims and outcomes of current language provisions, measuring them against the potential benefits of bilingual maintenance and development for the individual and the wider community. Research into bilingualism and bilingual education will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3.

BILINGUALISM AND MOTHER TONGUE ISSUES

Decisions to use the mother tongue in the education of immigrants have traditionally involved pragmatism and transitional, compensatory goals despite the criticisms of such approaches from Gaarder (1971), Kjolseth (1972) and others. More recently, however, increased awareness of multiculturalism and the rights of individuals has brought a self-conscious interest in ethnicity and minority languages in many nations. Parallel with and lending support to this trend have been findings on the positive aspects of bilingualism and implications of instruction in the mother tongue for second language learning and cognitive development (as in Cummins' hypotheses).

Once it was taken for granted that the language maintenance component of the Education for Minorities equals Bilingual Education plus English for Bilinguals (EM=BE+EB) equation was undesirable and outside the domain of state educational provisions. It is nowadays being realised, albeit slowly, that even where the aim of the educational system is to promote English language dominance and assimilation, the first language and culture should not be ignored. Success in the acquisition of a second language as a cognitive tool depends largely on successful development of the first language, and if more than lip service is to be paid to multiculturalism and tolerance of differences some effort should be made to accommodate cultural difference including language in the wider society. Ironically, since cultural and affective factors have been shown to play an important role in second language acquisition, support for ethnic cultural diversity may ultimately hasten the assimilation process (Gaarder,1970; Fishman,1976; Cummins,1980; Tosi,1982).

The nature of bilingualism shall be investigated before reviewing directions and developments in the study of bilingual research and mother tongue teaching and assessing their implications for the education of non-English speaking immigrants.

Bilingualism - what is it?

A great deal has been written about bilingualism, especially over the last twenty years, but uses of the term reveal inconsistent meanings. In general terms it is agreed that individual bilingualism must, by definition, involve the ability to use two languages but the degree of competence required in each language, the relationship between them, and even the recognition of what constitutes a language rather than a dialect remain contentious issues (Hudson,1980; Swain & Cummins,1982; Tosi,1982). Grosjean (1982) attributes much of the semantic confusion to the broad scope of the field which attracts the attention of researchers and practitioners involved in macro- and micro- studies from a wide variety of disciplines.

Imprecision surrounding the definition of bilingualism led to a seminar convened in Canada in 1967 for the purpose of studying the description and measurement of bilingualism (Kelly,1969). In his introduction to the papers, Mackey indicated that bilingualism has been seen in terms of category, dichotomy, and scale. Skutnabb-Kangas (c1983) has more recently suggested identification in terms of competence, function, attitude or type. Andersson and Boyer's conclusion that the only agreement seems to be that "it refers to the knowledge and use of two languages by the same person" (Andersson & Boyer,1970:12) is somewhat less true today than when it was written, since there is greater awareness of the forms bilingualism may take, but the term still covers a wide variety of situations.

As Tosi (1982) notes, while scholars may still disagree as to the nature of bilingualism they now usually define it in their work, a practice not formerly common among researchers nor yet common among practitioners and administrators. It is within the parameters of individual bilingualism that most of the research has been conducted, with lack of consensus often hinging on researchers' definitions of bilingualism and consequent selection of a bilingual sample. Moves to rationalise the plethora of contradictory data on the effects of bilingualism have highlighted the need for researchers to offer a working definition including the degree of bilingualism obtained by

their subjects, and to place bilingualism in its broader social context.

Bilingualism is no longer seen in all-or-nothing terms (eg Paulston,1978; Baetens Beardsmore,1982; Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983). Nor is it seen in purely linguistic terms. As Lebrun and Paradis (1984:213) warn, language planning decisions are best made only after "the linguistic, cognitive, and sociopsychological aspects have been fully considered", and the sociopolitical dimension cannot be ignored as it is on such grounds that decisions regarding language provisions are finally made, after other factors have been considered if indeed they are.

Bilingualism can be used to describe either an individual phenomenon as in Andersson and Boyer's definition or a societal phenomenon where many, and possibly the majority of individuals remain monolingual (Fishman,1972). Societal bilingualism is important for its effects on language maintenance and language shift patterns among individuals. Both individual bilingualism and societal bilingualism and research in these two areas shall be examined below.

Individual bilingualism

Today bilingualism is rarely seen as the all-or-nothing "native-like control of two or more languages" identified by Bloomfield in 1933. This narrow competence-based bilingualism is now sometimes identified as "ambilingualism" or the ability to function fluently in all domains of activity without any interference in each language (Haugen, McIntosh and Strevens,1970; Baetens Beadsmore,1982). This is a very rare attribute even in young children brought up simultaneously in two languages (Ronjat,1918; Leopold,1933; Saunders,1982; Fantini,1985). Ronjat spoke of complete bilingualism during the period of observation of his son but Leopold noted that his daughter Hildegarde's German declined with lack of use. Fantini (1985) notes that memory and forgetting seem to be closely related to use. His son Mario showed signs of forgetting English during his stay in Bolivia with Spanish-speaking relations.

In school-aged and adult bilinguals, where the quantity and variety of language required for communicative competence are so much greater, there is likely to be a separation of languages according to domain. This is especially apparent when the language of the school or workplace is different from that of the home and a diglossic situation exists. Nor are many older bilinguals likely to consider themselves equally competent in their two languages. A personal example of this is documented in Skutnabb-Kangas (c1983). Although raised in a Swedish-dominant Finnish-Swedish bilingual family, educated mainly in Finnish, and working equally in Finnish and English, Skutnabb-Kangas does not feel "remotely a bilingual" in ambilingual terms. Nor does she claim to have found, in all the years that she has been conducting research into bilingualism, more than two individuals who thought that they knew both of their languages equally well. Grosjean(1982) similarly found only seven out of a sample of thirty college educated bilinguals from eight countries who saw themselves as fluent in the four skills in both languages. Even when bilinguals appear to be balanced or equally fluent in their two languages under normal circumstances, dominance patterns can be detected by placing subjects under stress in second language (L2) situations. Under stress cognitive processing slows down, students are less effective and wish to switch to their first language (Dornic,1978,1979). This has major implications for second language speakers placed in stressful situations such as tests and examinations.

More useful than Bloomfield's all-or-nothing definition, which eliminates most who would normally be classified as bilinguals and inevitably disguises the problems faced by immigrants speaking minority languages, is a definition which acknowledges greater competence in one language than the other and the changeability of this dominance. Indeed, competencies can change to such an extent that one's mother tongue changes over time when identified in terms of dominant language, level of proficiency, functional use or self-identification rather than by original language spoken (see Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983, for a fuller discussion). Thus it cannot be assumed that a bilingual's mother tongue is necessarily the first language learned or the dominant language. Such assumptions may be especially misleading when an individual is educated in other than the first language or when another mutually incomprehensible dialect of the first language is used in education.

The definition of bilingualism by competence, function and attitude

Definitions of bilingualism based on competence now extend through a continuum from Bloomfield's "native-like control" to the knowledge of one of the four language skills in the second language "even to a minimal degree" (Macnamara,1969:82), though few at the bottom end of the scale would generally be identified as bilinguals. Haugen's (1969) definition highlights the problem of minimal competence, viewing bilingualism as a continuum which begins "at the point where the speaker of one language can produce completely meaningful utterance in the other language." (Haugen,1969:7) Identification of bilinguals by such minimal competence is as unrealistic as identifying them by the "foreignness" of their names or their ethnic background, criteria used in early bilingual research (see Darcy,1953). Just as inevitably as Bloomfield's native-like fluency produces positive results, so will Macnamara or Haugen's minimal criteria produce negative results in bilingual research especially if testing is conducted in the second language.

The problems of defining bilingualism by competence, as summarised by Skutnabb-Kangas (c1983), are:

- a tendency to be too narrow or too broad or if somewhere in between the extremes then raising a problem of how to delimit the group;
- often defining competence only as it applies to the second language (L2) and assuming first language (L1) competence;
- implying that balanced bilingualism is the ideal;
- and deciding who should provide the basis for comparison.

Definition by function emphasises bilingualism as a feature of language use (rather than of language per se) and predated a parallel shift in studies of competence from linguistic competence to communicative competence (Hymes,1971). The latter entails recognition of the sociolinguistic context of speech. Weinreich (1953:1) declared that "the practice of alternately using two languages will be called <u>bilingualism</u>, and the persons involved <u>bilingual</u>" while Mackey (1970) identified bilingualism as a feature of language use, <u>parole</u> rather than <u>langue</u>.

Peal and Lambert's (1962) classical study of ten year old bilinguals in Montreal placed emphasis on the functional use of language as well as on competence. They distinguish between "balanced bilinguals", who not only had mastered both languages at an early age but also exhibited facility in both as means of communication, and "pseudo-bilinguals", who knew one language much better than the other and did not use the second for communication. In Cummins' terms the first group would have reached the second threshold in their two languages and so experience positive cognitive effects from bilingualism while the others would experience no positive or negative effects or, if they had been semilinguals, negative cognitive effects.

Attitude to language ability may also be used to determine bilingualism through the use of internal (speaker's) or external (others's) assessment of an individual's bilingualism. Definitions of bilingualism by attitude may try to avoid any notion of degree by using dichotomies but they remains ambiguous. If a speaker identifies with a group, members of that target group may not share the identification as attitudes will inevitably be based on different criteria, many involving degree. Attitudinal assessments may be most useful for judging perceived social distance and degree of acculturation (eg Schumann,1976a,1976b; Brown,1980), but such assessments are methodologically very difficult to carry out.

Skutnabb-Kangas (c1983:90) incorporates attitudinal/acculturational factors with function and competence in her lengthy and comprehensive definition of bilingualism:

> A bilingual speaker is someone who is able to function in two (or more) languages, either in monolingual or bilingual communities, in accordance with the sociocultural demands made of an individual's communicative and cognitive competence by these communities or by the individual herself, at the same level as native speakers, and who is able positively to identify with both (or all) language groups (and cultures) or parts of them.

While Skutnabb-Kangas acknowledges that she had a particular group in mind, immigrant and minority children, when she formulated this

definition, it has been made sufficiently broad to accommodate other groups as well.

Bilingualism can also be defined with reference to semilingualism and by type including compound/ coordinate, early/ late, additive/ subtractive, and elite/ folk distinctions. As these are particularly relevant to a discussion of bilingualism among immigrant minorities each will be briefly outlined below.

The compound / coordinate distinction

In 1953 Weinreich proposed three types of bilingualism - compound, coordinate and subordinate. These were subsequently reduced by Ervin and Osgood (1954) to a two-part distinction between compound and coordinate bilingualism, with subordinate subsumed under compound.

Compound bilingualism involves having two modes of expression (languages) to express one underlying semantic network. It is more likely to be found in bilingualism acquired in early childhood where a speaker interchanges between two languages in the same environment and where language specialisation has not yet occurred (cf the early/late distinction in Lambert,1978; Genesse et al.,1978; Baetens Beardsmore,1982). Once one language is used in a particular area a coordinate situation is likely to evolve. Coordinate bilingualism involves having two discrete modes of expression which reflect separate underlying semantic networks. In older bilinguals there are usually overlapping compound and coordinate elements (Albert & Obler,1978; Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983) but the distinction can still be helpful in examining cultural relativity and distinctions between the mother tongue and the second language.

Although the meanings of words in a bilingual's two languages may be similar they are not always translatable across languages, particularly abstract concepts (Kolers,1968). This gives the bilingual a broader semantic range for concepts than that which is available to the monolingual. With access to a "think tank" (Cummins,1981) containing two semantic fields and means of processing ideas, the bilingual is cognitively advantaged in problem solving, exhibits greater cognitive

flexibility, and obtains superior performance on non-verbal and on some verbal tests (cf Darcy,1953; Peal & Lambert,1962; Macnamara,1966; Swain & Cummins,1982; Swain & Lapkin,1982).

The early / late distinction

Albert and Obler's (1978) suggestion that the bilingual is probably more bilateral than the monolingual and therefore able to call on a greater number of learning styles and strategies may also partly explain the greater cognitive flexibility of the bilingual. A considerable body of research exists on the question of left hemisphere versus right hemisphere processing of language in bilinguals compared with monolinguals (see Vaid & Genesse,1980 for a review). Genesse and others (1978) studied the onset of bilingualism and hemisphere involvement in three groups of adults who had learned their second language at different times - simultaneous acquisition in infancy, sequential acquisition between four and six, and acquisition after age twelve. They concluded that early bilinguals used a left hemisphere, possibly semantic based strategy of analysis while late bilinguals use a more right hemisphere holistic strategy to categorise words presented to them as French or English. More recently the left-right hemisphere distinction has been questioned following studies which reported similar left hemisphere dominance in both monolinguals and bilinguals once handedness and sex variables were controlled (Grosjean,1982).

Two main types of language acquisition are found in bilingual children:

- simultaneous acquisition where the two languages are learned at the same time;
- sequential acquisition where the basis of the first language is established before the second language is added.

McLaughlin (1978,1982) uses an age criterion to distinguish between the two types with three years of age as the cut-off point. Children who learn their second language before the age of three initially mix their two languages in one language store but separate them into discrete languages by three if they are used in separate domains or by different caregivers in the home.

Examples of this are well documented in longitudinal case studies of child bilinguals (Leopold,1939-49; Saunders,1982; Fantini,1985). These clearly illustrate not only the bilingual process in infants but also the acceptance by children of the need for two languages to communicate if both are going to be maintained. Thus while Burling (1978) was unable to maintain his son's Garo in isolation from Garo speakers following their return to the United States, Saunders (1982) has been able to expose his sons to enough German in Australia to maintain their German at a reasonable level by maintaining his use of German and access to both German speakers and multicultural media programmes. Mario Fantini's parents were also able to reinforce their son's Spanish through the home, friends and visits to relations in Bolivia (Fantini,1985).

While refugee immigrants often have no access to their homelands which, as in the cases of Cambodia, may be the only country using the language as a national language, most refugee parents continue to speak their mother tongue at home (Clyne,1982).Where the on-going migration of family members through family reunification or chain migration is possible, this further reinforces the use of the mother tongue even where pressure on children from older siblings and the wider environment may not be conducive to mother tongue maintenance. Since the children of refugees and other non-English speaking immigrants will be more likely to grow up with both parents using the minority language in the home, they will learn this language first and then add the language of the wider environment sequentially after the first language is in place unless they receive simultaneous English input from school aged siblings. By about three, basic communicative competence in the first language has normally been established. The sequential addition of a second language by preschool and young school aged children still involves acquisition rather than formal learning.

However, Kessler (1984:43) warns that "not all children acquire a second language successfully or with ease". Successful acquisition depends on adequate input, both qualitatively and quantitatively, and a low affective filter to allow input to become "intake". The low quality second language input provided by some parents has been shown to have detrimental effects on second language learning. A study by Jamieson of

five and seven year old Tokelau Island children in New Zealand found that where parents felt they should speak only English to their children there was a diminution in the use and level of Tokelauan and no advantage in English over peers who heard and used only Tokelauan at home before commencing school (Jamieson,1976, 1977a, 1977b,1980). As sequential bilingualism has its starting point in the first language system a sound foundation in this language is important if it is to be transferable to a second language situation (cf threshold and interdependence hypotheses, and semilingualism). A role model offering only low quality and quantities of English provides a very limited and often non-standard input for analysis by the learner.

Older learners typically bring to the learning environment not only greater language experience and a greater awareness of language as a separate entity but also more highly developed affective filters as well as requirements for more decontextualised language (Cummins' Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency or CALP) and literacy skills for communicative competence. Positively. greater metalinguistic awareness and a well developed monitor (which are not available to young children before they have developed analytical skills that depend on cognitive growth and formal education) may allow older learners to benefit from overt language instruction which complements and interacts with the acquisition process (Krashen,1982). McLaughlin (1982) identifies this growth in metalinguistic awareness as the most significant difference between simultaneous and sequential language development.

The additive / subtractive distinction

Where the minority language is not valued by the wider society and there is pressure to use the dominant language bilingualism is generally "subtractive" (Lambert,1974) rather than "additive" unless there is a conscious effort to maintain the first language as a symbol of individual or ethnic identity. The second language is learned at the expense of the first, and the ensuing bilingualism is likely to be transitional rather than stable.

Subtractive bilingualism may merely mark a phase in the passage from

monolingualism in one language to monolingualism in a second language, whereas additive bilingualism occurs when a second language is added to the learner's verbal repertoire with no concomitant loss in the first language. The latter situation can be seen in the French immersion programme in Canada, where English speaking children are immersed in a French medium school environment and in other instances where the second language is added by choice without any loss to the first language.

The élite / folk distinction

Skutnabb-Kangas's (c1983) distinction between "natural bilingualism" and that which is learned at school or in other formal courses echoes Paulston's (1975) more common folk/élite dichotomy.

Elite bilingualism involves, in most cases, the learning of a second language through formal study and from choice rather than necessity. The second language is no threat to the first, the risk of failure is small and such bilingualism is favourably perceived as a mark of education as both the first and second languages have prestige in the community. The bilingual process is additive.

Conversely, migrants and other linguistic minorities have little choice but to become bilingual in the dominant language if they wish to function outside of their own ethnic communities. Bilingualism for them is not a choice but a necessity, with a high risk of failure and the consequences of such failure severe. Nor is bilingualism, often involving multilingualism, a mark of education in such instances unless the first language is used internationally. Typically minority languages lack status within the receiving community and are seen as a hindrance to education rather than an asset. Even where minority languages can be studied for examination purposes, examinations are still generally heavily weighted towards the English speaking students studying them as second languages and therefore tend to act against native speakers who cannot cope with the English aspects of the papers (Miller,1983). This bilingualism, which is often subtractive, Paulston labels "folk" bilingualism.

Although folk bilingualism is not problematic per se it becomes so if inadequate provisions are made for second language learning and support for first language maintenance is not provided. At the least transitional bilingualism is likely to ensue with a loss of the cognitive, social and cultural advantages that can come from bilingualism; at worst anomie and a failure to attain communicative competence in either language may result.

Semilingualism

The terms "semilingualism" and "double semilingualism" were first used in the 1960s by Nils Erik Hansegard to describe the language shift situation of Finnish and Same children in the Swedish school system. They were subsequently adopted and further developed by Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa to explain the language problems faced by Finnish children in their UNESCO study (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa,1976; Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas,1977; Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983). The terms have given focus to a failure that has long concerned linguists but which formerly went under various descriptions and explanations.

Semilingualism involves the inability to function adequately in either of one's languages. Skutnabb-Kangas (c1983) distinguishes between current definitions by function, in diglossic situations, and by competence before returning to discuss how Hansegard defined the concept in terms of quantitative deficiencies (size of vocabulary, linguistic correctness, and degree of automatism) and qualitative deficiencies (ability to create or neologise, mastery of the cognitive, emotive and volitional function of language, and individual meanings). Hansegard felt that most would see semilingualism in terms of the first category, but that the qualitative characteristics were more important (1975, cited in Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983:253-54). These, however, are very much more difficult to measure scientifically. Indeed, Skutnabb-Kangas suggests that semilingualism is not a linguistic or scientific concept at all, but a political one that in the scientific debate "has outlived its usefulness and should go. But <u>only</u> if we really do begin to investigate what the phenomenon actually is that it tried to describe." (Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983:248)

It can be seen from this discussion of the nature of individual bilingualism that bilingualism covers a wide variety of situations. Cognizance of the interrelated distinctions outlined above is important for the insights they provide into the language issues confronting immigrant minorities and receiving societies, and for the clarification they can offer to the plethora of apparently contradictory research findings on individual bilingualism.

Research findings on individual bilingualism - a positive or negative linguistic state?

Early research

Reviews of early research reported a heavy weighting of negative results. Arsenian (1937) found that of thirty-two experiments, only four including Ronjat's longitudinal study of a bilingual individual showed no language handicap as a result of bilingualism. Darcy (1953) offered only two more positive results, each of which was suspect for having failed to control other important variables. Against these she reported twenty-one which offered negative findings upon the measurement of intelligence and eleven which offered no conclusive findings.

Most of this early bilingual research was undertaken in an attempt to account linguistically for the failure of minority students in the educational system. So studies in the United States tended to concentrate on Hispanics and Indians who were failing in the system rather than on immigrant minorities from Europe, the majority of whom were also required to be bilingual in English but who were usually succeeding or at least not noticeably failing. In Great Britain and Ireland the focus was on rural and working class children rather than on middle class urban children. (Nor were many studies of bilinguals undertaken in continental Europe, probably because bilingualism was there considered the norm rather than the exception.) Failure in these early studies to accurately assess the bilingualism of the subjects, or to account for wider socioeconomic and sociopolitical issues resulted in the reporting of much defective data and the emergence of a belief

that bilingualism was a handicap and to be discouraged.

Individual longitudinal case studies indicated clear benefits from bilingualism. The best known and documented of these is Leopold's (1933-49) study of the childhood language acquisition of English and German by his daughter Hildegarde who was:

> bilingual in the sense that she was constantly exposed to two languages, learned to understand both early, drew her active speech from both and eventually used both media separately every day for all purposes of communication within her range of experience and interest.
>
> (Leopold,1933:ix-x)

Leopold reported that his daughter's bilingualism had no negative effects and that by age nine she "at all times understood both languages perfectly" although she had "native-like control" of only English, a result of being in an English dominant environment. Leopold's finding that bilingualism developed in a supportive home situation had positive rather than negative effects on language acquisition and cognitive development endorsed Ronjat's (1913) study which had found no linguistic or intellectual retardation in his son Louis, brought up in a stable French-German environment.

As a linguist interested in language acquisition, Leopold saw his primary aim as making "a contribution to the linguistic investigation of childhood language . Bilingualism (was) of secondary importance to it;.." (Leopold,1933:vii) Little, unfortunately, was being done at this time to recognise either the interdisciplinary nature of bilingualism or the probability that studies in one field could benefit those in another. Leopold himself stated that bilingual conditions in schools comprised "a problem entirely different from that of the simultaneous acquisition of two languages by a small child" (idem:ix). Non-linguists who were more concerned with the negative effects of bilingualism on educational achievement similarly failed to make any intuitive leaps to link the two or to contrast the learning environments to establish why some children seemed to experience positive and others negative effects in bilingual situations. Each of these longitudinal studies investigated a one person-one language situation involving the use of

two national languages in "additive maintenance" situations. Each language had perceived status and value, creating an élite bilingual situation rather than the folk bilingual situation of many minority groups. Unlike Ronjat's Louis and Leopold's Hildegarde the subjects of most early research were minority children struggling in the educational system.

The variable most frequently isolated to explain their failure was bilingualism. On tests of verbal intelligence bilinguals were seen to fall short of native-like competence in one or both of their languages and this failure was attributed to their having two languages. Little attention was paid to early warnings that verbal intelligence tests, especially those conducted in the second language, handicapped students, or to the suggestion that more attention should be paid to non-verbal tests which were language free and relatively culture free (eg Evans,1953; Johnson,1953).

One of the earliest of the large-scale studies can be used to illustrate the failure of early research to account for socioeconomic variables and clearly identify the degree of bilingualism of subjects. Saer (1923) compared the performance of 1400 "relatively homogeneous" school children in Wales. Predominantly rural bilingual children exhibited less academic aptitude than the largely urban monolingual children against whom they were judged; they were seen to fall further behind their urban counterparts with each grade. This disadvantage was found not only in language itself but also in other subjects. Saer concluded that bilinguals suffered some sort of mental confusion associated with using two languages. He accounted for the failure of urban bilingual children to produce poor results in line with those of the rural bilinguals in attitudinal terms. The negative attitudes of rural children to English were seen to play a crucial contributing role in their lack of linguistic and academic proficiency: on the other hand, urban children had more positive attitudes towards English and therefore, it was concluded, performed better. Such an explanation is reasonable but did not alert Saer to the socioeconomic variables that produced results that were more a reflection of class status than language interference. Nor did it make clear the different degrees of bilingualism of these two groups of students.

The lack of adequate control of socioeconomic variables and the imprecision regarding identification of bilingualism illustrated in Saer's work were characteristic of most early research. Bilingualism was rarely defined by

researchers. Many assumed "native-like" competence when testing subjects who had only very limited second language skills. Darcy (1953) reported that criteria for selecting "bilingual" subjects included answers to the question "What foreign language is spoken in your home?" and identification by their Spanish names.

Other factors contributing to the generally negative results reported included:

- testing students not only against the linguistic norms of native speakers but also according to the cultural norms of the dominant group (cf criticism of time factors - eg Grosjean,1982, and other discussions of cultural bias in tests);
- giving little consideration to length of residence in the target community;
- the degree and nature of bilingualism of the subjects ;
- failure to account for the implications for overall intelligence assessment of the discrepancies between results on verbal and nonverbal tests of intelligence.

Studies which took such variables into consideration produced more equivocal results. For example, with length of residence considered Sanchez (1932) found that the mean mental age of forty-five Spanish speaking children in New Mexico increased with each successive test over an eighteen month period, and Darcy (1946) "cautiously concluded" that the language handicap suffered by bilinguals at an early age (2-6) was unlikely to persist past primary school. When Hill went to some lengths to determine the degree of bilingualism in the 1st, 3rd and 6th grade children of Italian descent in his 1936 survey, he found no reliable difference between the verbal scores of those who heard and spoke Italian at home and those who heard and spoke English at home (reported in Darcy,1953). Spoerl (1944) found that students at the

International American College who had been bilingual from early childhood out-performed monolinguals on placement tests and grade-point averages, but in the face of so many negative findings explained her results in terms of a compensatory drive resulting from environmental insecurity.

A further problem in the early research was the weight placed on verbal tests of intelligence, often conducted in the second language which inevitably placed most minority language students at a disadvantage, especially considering the negative pressure of time allocations (see Grosjean,1982). Even when tests were translated into the subjects' mother tongue (eg Saer,1923) problems remained as children's oral/aural skills were not necessarily paralleled by reading/writing skills in this language, especially where education was through the medium of another language. Such problems indicate that less weight should have been placed on these verbal tests than was the case in the research surveyed by Darcy (1953) and Iiams (1979), and more attention should have been paid to the nonverbal tests which tended to place bilingual subjects ahead of their monolingual counterparts. Darcy recognised this in her conclusion that

> there is no indication of the inferiority of bilingual subjects when their performance on non-language tests of intelligence is measured against that of monolingual subjects.
> (Darcy, 1953:52)

Towards the end of the 1950s research was consistently showing that bilinguals suffered from a "language handicap" (when tested in the weaker language) but it was still not clear to researchers whether this handicap was temporary or permanent. Few longitudinal studies had been undertaken but studies of older bilinguals suggested that negative effects might only be temporary (eg Spoerl,1944). Support for this case could have been gained from individual longitudinal studies where bilingualism was deemed an asset freeing the child from the form of language to focus on content and abstract thinking (Ronjat,1913; Leopold,1933-49). However, the issue of individuals learning two languages of high status in supportive environments was of little concern to educationalists struggling to account in linguistic terms

for the failure of linguistic minority children in the educational system.

Thus while Iiams (1976) suggested that Spoerl's 1944 research which showed the superiority of bilingual students at the American International College may have marked the turning point in bilingual research this piece of research passed relatively unnoticed, and it was left to Peal and Lambert's (1962) Psychological Monograph on "The Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence" to have a major impact on research into bilingualism and to provide a more appropriate turning point (Diaz,1983).

Peal & Lambert - a turning point

For their investigation into the general intellectual ability of 10 year old bilinguals in Montreal Peal and Lambert (1962) chose only subjects whom they identified as "balanced bilinguals", viz. those who had mastered both languages (English and French) at an early age and who had facility in both as means of communication. Although such a stringent selection procedure was to be criticised as favouring positive results (eg Macnamara,1964,1966), a criticism foreseen by Peal and Lambert (1962:15), it went some way to counterbalancing earlier selections which had leaned towards negative results. It also alerted researchers to the need to more clearly define their target group.

On the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Tests and the Raven Matrices Test balanced bilinguals showed signs of higher verbal skills and significantly superior divergent thinking. The term "cognitive flexibility " was introduced to describe the superior performance on measures of general intelligence and to account for better results on the nonverbal Raven test, where it was felt that bilinguals might combine verbal and spatial strategies to solve problems. In support of this Peal and Lambert (1962:280) cited, from earlier research by Morrison, an eleven year old Gaelic speaker who was reported as saying:

> "Please sir, I tried it in the English first, then I tried it in the Gaelic to see would it be easier; but it wasn't so I went back to the English."

While Diaz (1983) advises caution when accepting the positive advantages of cognitive flexibility because some subjects may have used

nonverbal strategies to solve the Raven's matrices, the results suggest that a more diversified structure of intelligence could be found among bilinguals than had hitherto been acknowledged. Early research had almost invariably turned up superior results for bilinguals on nonverbal tests of intelligence (see Darcy,1953) but these had been overshadowed by emphasis on Verbal Intelligence Quotients measured through the second language. Current thinking is that subtest patterns may provide valuable diagnostic clues if minority language students achieve low Verbal Intelligence Quotients on tests conducted in English but high Performance Intelligence Quotients, because psychological tests show only functioning, not potential (Cummins,1984a,1984b).

Comparing their results with those of earlier studies, Peal and Lambert (1962) concluded that where bilinguals were middle class and functioned in two statusful languages the resulting bilingualism would be additive, that positive findings would occur when majority or equal rather than minority language groups were studied, and that bilingualism per se was not the problem in early negative studies. Their classic study indicated the cognitive benefits that may accrue from bilingualism in favourable circumstances and laid the foundations for most research which followed.

Post-1962 research

The positive findings in Peal and Lambert's study gained support from many subsequent studies of conceptual development in bilingual subjects (see Lambert,1977; Swain & Cummins,1982; Diaz,1983 for more comprehensive reviews of research). Lambert (1977) notes that the 1960s saw a generally pessimistic outlook on the effects of bilingualism being replaced by a more optimistic outlook. The establishment of the French immersion programme in Montreal in 1965 would provide a wealth of supportive research from a Canadian setting but their conclusions that bilinguals experience cognitive advantages over monolingual counterparts in linguisitc and metalinguistic skills, divergent thinking and general intellectual skills were also supported by studies conducted elsewhere.

In Singapore, Torrance, Wu, Gowan and Aliotti (1970) tested 1063 Chinese-English and Malay-English children from grade 3 to 5 for

fluency, flexibility and originality. They found that while monolinguals exhibited superior flexibility and fluency, a positive though small relationship was established between bilingualism and originality. This increased originality was seen to be a result of exposure to two contrasting cultures and languages and competition of associations. Unfortunately Intelligence Quotient (IQ), socioeconomic status and knowledge of first and second languages were not controlled in this study, leaving the results open to other interpretations (eg Diaz,1983).

In South Africa the variables were more strictly controlled by Ianco-Worrall (1972) in her study of Afrikaans-English speaking 4 to 6 year olds. Bilingual children from one parent - one language backgrounds were matched on IQ with monolinguals from similar middle class backgrounds. Degree of bilingualism was determined by vocabulary tests in both languages and through interviews with parents and nursery teachers. These bilinguals were found to have greater metalinguistic awareness. They were more flexible in their manipulation of the linguistic code and recognition of the arbitrary relationship between symbols and referents. Not only were they more prepared to ascribe a new name to a referent, a characteristic Vygotsky (1962) saw as reflecting insight and sophistication of thought, but over half chose to distinguish between words on a semantic rather than a phonological level. Ianco-Worrall found that these bilinguals, brought up like Leopold's Hildegarde and Ronjat' Louis in a one person - one language situation, were two to three years ahead of their monolingual peers in semantic development.

Further evidence that the bilingual has a greater chance to break out of the "prison of concrete language forms and phenomenon (sic)" (Vygotsky,1962) was provided by Ben-Zeev (1972,1975) in Israel and the United States and by Cummins (1978) in Ireland. Ben-Zeev found that greater attention to structure and readiness to reorganise ideas to solve problems were exhibited not only by middle class Hebrew-English speaking children but also by working class Spanish-English bilinguals. Similar evidence of greater metalinguistic awareness and flexibility among children who became bilingual through the educational process was found by Cummins (1978) among grades 3 and 6 Irish-English bilinguals matched for IQ and socioeconomic status with a monolingual control when

he challenged Macnamara's 1966 findings that Irish-English bilinguals suffered from a "balance effect", learning the second language only at the expense of the first. Again caution has been advised in the interpretation of the Irish findings, this time of Cummins' findings. McLaughlin (1982) pointed out that as many bilinguals as monolinguals in Cummins' sample said that if a cat was a "dog" it would bark.

Some support for McLaughlin's caution comes from a later study of Ukrainian-English bilinguals in Edmonton, Canada (Cummins & Mulcahy,1978) which failed to show greater metalinguistic awareness among its subjects. However the researchers suggest that this result was due to the relative crudeness of measures used to assess metalinguistic awareness. Although there was little support for greater metalinguistic flexibility in this study, those students whose parents regularly used Ukrainian rather than English at home not only became relatively fluent in Ukrainian but also recognised ambiguity in English sentence structure better than either equivalent monolingual English students or students in the programme whose parents regularly spoke English in the home. Moreover, a follow-up evaluation by the Edmonton Public School Board in 1979 reported that by grade 5 all students in the programme surpassed their monolingual counterparts in English reading skills (Cummins,1981).

As the primary aim of the Edmonton Ukrainian Bilingual Programme is "educational enrichment through language and cultural maintenance" the positive support which is given to the minority language is likely to enhance the chances of additive bilingualism and positive results by accepting the students' home language as a valuable means of communication and viable school alternative. The maintenance of Ukrainian is seen as no threat to English which is an official language and the dominant vehicle of social intercourse within the province. Nor is instruction through the minority language at a cost to students' English skills. Rather the students' feeling of pride and security in their own culture and well-developed language skills in this language are seen to transfer positively to the learning of English (Cummins & Mulcahy,1978; Cummins,1981).

The positive effects of cultural and linguistic security shown in the Ukrainian programme are supported by studies conducted with

adolescents from French-English mixed marriages in Montreal (Aellen & Lambert,1969), with young French-Americans in New England and Louisiana (Gardner & Lambert,1972; Lambert, Giles & Picard,1975), Finnish primary school students in shelter programmes in Finland (Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983) and Mother Tongue Teaching programmes in Great Britain (Saifullah Khan,1980; Tosi,1982,1984; Robinson,1985). Such studies reflect the tenets of Cummins' threshold and interdependence hypotheses (Cummins,1979) and Lambert's discussions on the importance of linguistic and cultural security for the learning of a second language, especially when that language is a dominant language (Lambert,1977), and they support claims for the teaching of minority language in maintenance/enrichment programmes, rather than in the transitional/compensatory programmes commonly found in the United States.

The importance of a sound basis in the mother tongue upon which non-simultaneous bilinguals can develop their second language is also documented by Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) in their UNESCO study of 687 Finnish students studying in comprehensive schools in Sweden (also Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas,1977). They found that children who migrated from Finland at 10 years of age, having had three years of education in Finnish, maintained Finnish monolingual norms in their mother tongue and developed competence close to Swedish monolingual norms in Swedish, but children who moved from Finland at 7, 8 or younger were likely to achieve low levels of literacy in both languages. They concluded that those children who failed to attain the threshold level would suffer negative effects resulting in semilingualism (Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1977). Therefore they advocated language shelter programmes in which Finnish children would first be taught through their mother tongue, with Swedish being introduced only when first language skills were well established. At this stage the second language could be introduced without detracting from the first, positive transfer of underlying competencies could take place and the children would gain advantages from their bilingualism.

Brent-Palmer's criticisms of Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa's language shelter claims and the notion of immigrant semilingualism (Brent-Palmer,1979) reflect the serious misunderstandings that may occur when the linguistic and social variables of a particular situation are not

clearly understood. As Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1980) argue in their reply, Brent-Palmer underestimated the transitional force of compensatory bilingual programmes, misinterpreted the notion of semilingualism as a child-centred defect rather than a societal one, and failed to recognise the Finnish language infrastructure and the language-rich home backgrounds of the children. Comparisons between programmes should be undertaken with care and be based on a clear understanding of underlying aims and existing social conditions.

Canadian Immersion Programmes

The importance of situational variables, and particularly the effects of a well-developed first language and cultural and linguistic security, can also be seen in the more widely publicised and perhaps best monitored and documented study of bilingualism in Canada, the French Immersion Programme. Unlike the studies above it does not involve a minority immigrant group but a voluntary sample of the majority culture being immersed in a second language education system. However, it does provide a well-monitored account of the advantages available to bilinguals when both languages are valued and a well-planned bilingual programme is put into effect. It is also important in that it has been used as a prototype for immersion programmes for the children of immigrant minorities in Canada and for indigenous French minority students in the United States.

The first immersion programme was initiated in St Lambert, Montreal in 1965-66 and by 1981-82 involved some 88,000 students across Canada in three separate types of programmes - early total immersion, early partial immersion and late total immersion. (For a recent review of these see Swain,1984.) These French Immersion Programmes involve immersing English speakers totally or partially in French medium classes from kindergarten, grade 1 , or grade 7 or later (Swain,1980). In such programmes, students are never in any danger of losing their mother tongue, participation in the programme is voluntary and strongly supported by parents, and although teaching is in French students are allowed to use English to the teacher during the first year of the early immersion programme and are never prevented from speaking English outside the classroom.

The initial results were disappointing in that they failed to show the hoped-for positive effects of bilingualism on cognitive development. Indeed, they showed students to be experiencing some difficulties in English verbal tests, though there was no retardation in oral communication skills. However, by the end of grade four immersion students were not only performing as well as the monolingual control group in English but were out-performing French second language students in French. Two years later not only were their results in English on a par with their monolingual counterparts but their receptive skills in French were equivalent to those of francophones of the same age and they were performing significantly higher on measures of cognitive flexibility, particularly divergent thinking, than monolinguals of the same age (Scott,1973; Lambert,1977; Cummins,1978; Swain 1980,1984).

The Canadian immersion programme, being designed for students who speak a major language, come from the dominant culture, are voluntarily in the programme and are immersed rather than submerged, exemplifies the positive aspects of élite bilingualism. However, it also highlights some of the many issues surrounding the education of linguistic minorities in a community.

Most importantly it illustrates what Swain terms a "linguistic double standard" (Swain,1984:42). While a carefully monitored combination of positive support for the programme, increased time in French and a sympathetically administered communicative methodology (with French as the medium of instruction) result in a vast improvement in the French language proficiency of immersion students, the attaining of average scores in French is a lengthy process.

> ...for early immersion students, the attainment of average performance on standardized tests of French achievement can take up to six or seven years, raising the issue that unrealistic expectations are being held for minority language children in bilingual programs in the United States.
>
> (Swain,1984:45)

Judged only against French as a Second Language students and their own Anglo class mates, immersion students are praised for their French and supported in their retention of English. Additive bilingualism with its cognitive, linguistic and cultural advantages ensues.

Literacy skills in bilingual programmes

With much of the emphasis in primary schools on the development of literacy skills, issues associated with the teaching of literacy are addressed by the Canadian immersion project. Comparisons between early total and early partial immersion programmes have pointed to the preferability of teaching literacy skills initially only in one language, either English or French, rather than in both simultaneously (Swain,1984).

No detrimental effects resulted when total immersion students were first taught to read in their less well known French, with English literacy delayed until literacy skills in the second language were well established. Early partial immersion students who were taught literacy skills in both English and French from grade 1 performed less well in both languages than total immersion students introduced to English literacy only at grade 2 or 3 (Barik,Swain & Nwanunobi,1977). The partial immersion model failed to provide a sound level of literacy skills in either language which could then be transferred to the other language. Thus the compromise of half a day in French and half a day in English that was "urged on administrators by parents who were doubtful of the wisdom of delaying reading in English" (Mills,1982:17) proved detrimental to the learning of literacy skills in both English and French.

A study of French students in an English home-school language switch situation in Montreal (Macnamara,1979) produced similar favourable results on children subjected first to second language literacy learning. Macnamara found that the main factor influencing English literacy was length of attendance at school. Moreover, comprehension skills in French were seen to be better than those of French children educated in French medium schools. The loss noted in their reading was identified as one of speed rather than comprehension, a cost that could be relatively easily overcome by reading more in French, an activity which Macnamara claimed would also increase short-term memory storage and problem solving in French.

Summary on individual bilingualism

While considerable contradictory evidence abounds regarding the positive and negative effects of bilingualism, much has been done to reconcile this contradictory data by identifying the type and level of bilingualism of subjects and by taking account of other intervening variables. There is very little evidence that bilingualism ipso facto constitutes a negative force for the individual or the wider society. Rather, it is the lack of development of bilinguals' potential that removes the benefits that would otherwise accrue from knowing two or more languages.

Societal bilingualism

Although most bilingual research has involved studies of individuals at a "micro" level, bilingualism can also be studied at a "macro" level where bilingual forces are present in the community but many, possibly most, individuals remain monolingual as a result of "territorial unilingualism" (Baetens Beardsmore,1982:5). Studies of societal bilingualism are important for language planning as they provide overviews of community language situations and data upon which political and language planning decisions can be made and against which their influence on language shift and language maintenance patterns can be assessed.

A study may involve an investigation of the status of different languages as undertaken by Huovinen in 1977 (reported in Skutnabb-Kangas, c1983) of the language situation in thirty-six European countries. Among these Huovinen found only four which recognised all languages native to the country as official. In other countries where minority languages were not officially recognised, their speakers were found to lack legal protection and choice of language. Unless a minority language is officially recognised and covers all areas of social and political life, as with Swedish in Finland (Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983), speakers of that language must inevitably become bilingual if they wish to participate in the wider society outside their own ethnic communities. Ironically, such full bilingualism often involves an unstable transitional state.

Stable versus transitional bilingualism

Fishman (1972, 1972a) outlines the conditions necessary for stable and transitional societal bilingualism in terms of the possible relationships between bilingualism and diglossia, the division of language according to situation and function (cf Ferguson, 1959).

		Diglossia +	Diglossia -
Bilingualism	+	1.Both diglossia & bilingualism	2.Bilingualism without diglossia
	-	3.Diglossia without bilingualism	4.Neither bilingualism nor diglossia

(Fishman,1972:92)

Bilingualism without diglossia (cell 2), although apparently stable "tends to be transitional both in terms of the linguistic repertoires of speech communities as well as in terms of the speech varieties per se." (Fishman,1972:105) The dominant language will supercede the marked language of the immigrant community. "Ultimately, the language of school and government replaces the language of home and neighbourhood, precisely because it comes to provide status in the latter domains as well as in the former..." (idem:102). More linguistically stable is the situation where both bilingualism and diglossia can be found in the community (cell 2), with particular roles and domains kept separate and associated with the minority language. A relatively stable situation is also produced by diglossia without bilingualism (cell 3) where most of the population is monolingual while the élite speaks a different national or international language, but this situation is not particularly pertinent to linguistic minorities.

With the breakdown of functional linguistic diversification in appropriately designated domains as the younger generation are educated in and work through the dominant language and bring this language into the home environment, the position of minority languages is eroded away. New experiences are encountered only through the second language and both languages are used alternately in family and friendship domains. This leads to code mixing and code switching with an ongoing modification and attrition of the minority language (Clyne,1982; Veltman,1983; Tosi,1984).

Language shift among immigrants

Clyne (1982) remarked that most bilinguals in Australia are at some stage of language shift as English only is used in some domains. This language shift may take place in one generation if the immigrants, including older members of families, have no way of maintaining their first language, desire to assimilate rapidly into the host society and reject their native language and culture (Clyne,1982; Grosjean,1982) but it is more likely to be extended over several generations as outlined by Spolsky (1978):

Immigrating generation:	Immigrant language (New language)
Children:	Immigrant language + new language
Grandchildren:	New language (Immigrant language)
Great-grandchildren:	New language only

(Spolksy,1978:23)

In his study of immigrants in Australia Clyne (1982) discusses the importance of age at immigration and distinguishes between children who have received their basic education in the migrant language before arrival and those who arrive in the host country before their first language is well-established. With the latter group the new language often becomes dominant at an early age and the process of language shift to the dominant language and loss of the mother tongue is accelerated. In such cases the danger of semilingualism becomes very real as many children do not gain a basic threshold level of competence in either language (cf research in Sweden: Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa,1976; Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas,1977; Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983, and Cummins,1979,1982). If semilingualism does result the effects of bilingualism will be negative.

In his analysis of the 1976 Australian census question on language Clyne also found a rise in language shift with age in the second generation and maintenance with age in the first generation. A major study based on the 1976 Survey of Income and Education collected by the United States Bureau of statistics also mentions age at time of migration as an important variable in language shift and language maintenance. Veltman (1983) suggests the age of 35 as a cut-off point for language shift as domains and dominance are usually well established by this age.

Veltman's research supported the claim of rapid assimilation of minority groups in the United States, finding second generation anglicisation for all groups except the Spanish and Navajo, with anglicisation "epidemic" among the native born second generation. As native born bilinguals usually have a greater educational attainment than their monolingual English peers (Veltman,1983), increased anglicisation was not seen as presenting a positive trend. Moreover, there was a tendency to use English as the principal language even among new arrivals. Of a total of 82637 foreign born Vietnamese over the age of 13, 95.9% of whom had arrived in the United States between 1970 and 1976, 7.3% were monolingual in English and 25.9% were reported to be bilingual with English as their usual language. This reflects a high degree of language shift, even in the first generation, a finding contrary to Grosjean's personal observation that Vietnamese have high language maintenance rates (Grosjean,1982).

Tosi's (1984) Bedford Project similarly noticed a language shift among young Italians towards English, but this was a second generation movement as most non-British born Italians in Bedford had migrated there during the 1950s and 1960s as adults from close-knit villages in the south of Italy. Tosi found that parents usually used only their local dialect in the home and young children grew up with only passive exposure to English until they reached school age unless older siblings brought the language home, a move widely discouraged by an "a casa mia non si parla inglese" attitude among parents. Thus children entered school fluent in their dialect of Italian but with very little English, and maintenance of Italian was provided in the home environment and ethnic community.

The establishment of a mother tongue programme for these students built on this strong foundation but raised another problem to be overcome in the establishment of mother tongue teaching programmes for immigrant groups. The mother tongue of Bedford Italians, as of Australian Italians (see Claydon, Knight & Rado,1977), invariably involved dialects of Italian different from Standard Italian. Official syllabuses provided by the Italian government for the project assumed learners entered the programme as "native speakers" of the standard form; it was left to the unemployed graduates recruited from Italy as

instructors to bridge the gap between what was spoken and what was to be taught. This raises questions as to the political and linguistic aims of mother tongue teaching programmes which must be settled where minority languages differ from the prestige standard variety.

The education of minorities

"Vernacular advantage" and mother tongue teaching

The success of initial teaching through the medium of a second language reported by surveys of Canadian immersion programmes runs counter to the "vernacular advantage" theory which postulates that a child should be taught first in the vernacular or mother tongue.

> It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium.
>
> (UNESCO,1953:11)

While this is not universally the case, as immersion programmes for majority students have shown, studies of bilingual education for minority students in many countries at diverse levels support the axiom and identify the myriad of technical, social and psychological problems that can be associated with learning through a second language.

Mother tongue literacy

Initial literacy in the mother tongue is seen to be one of the major cornerstones of successful education for minority language students. While the Canadian immersion programme clearly indicated that the experience of initial literacy in either language can be positively transferred to the second language (Swain,1984), the disadvantages of minority children are seen to be compounded by literacy in the second language first (Christian,1976; Bamgbose,1984; Srivastava,1984). Skills most basic to academic progress and achievement are more easily learned in the first language and then transferred to the second language.

Comparing groups taught literacy skills in two markedly different dialects in Sweden, Osterberg (1961, in Downing, 1978) found that after 35 weeks of instruction children who had received initial literacy in their non-standard mother tongue surpassed those who were first taught literacy skills in the standard dialect. He concluded that the mismatch between oral spoken dialect and first written dialect constituted a handicap to literacy in the initial stages. Unfortunately the experiment was not followed up because the strategy did not suit the administration in Stockholm (an example of the influence of politics aims on language planning). Osterberg's findings were endorsed by Modiano (1973) working with Mexican children in a local language and Spanish. Modiano, however, found it was the parents who objected to initial literacy in other than the statusful Spanish. Srivastava (1984) met similar pressure for literacy in prestige and standard languages, accompanied by semilingualism, among Indian students who were made to acquire literacy skills in standard Hindi or English first.

Teaching initial literacy in the mother tongue is regarded not only as more effective in that it does not force students "to learn to read and write while at the same time learning a new language code" (Bamgbose, 1984:26) but also as being more likely to lead to full bilingualism (Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983; Swain,1983,1984). Monoliterate bilingual programmes are identified as transitional in nature with very limited value for language maintenance of minority languages (Fishman,1979). Christian (1976) also criticises practices in biliterate transitional bilingual programmes in the United States where first language literacy is used only as an instrument to promote literacy skills in the second language, English, and then is forgotten when it could be used to provide "creative cultural pluralism".

Submersion

Children from linguistic minorities usually lack the positive social and linguistic support found in an immersion situation, and need to exhibit native-like competence in their second language to receive praise from teachers and rewards from the education system. In a home-school language switch they are submerged in a "sink or swim" situation which values only proficiency in the dominant language, undervaluing or

ignoring competence in their first languages. In many cases teachers are not even aware of the diversity of languages spoken at home (Rosen & Burgess,1980; Linguistic Minorities Project,1983; Miller,1984).

Where students are fortunate enough to be included in a bilingual programme, this more often than not will have transitional goals and be provided only until adequate competence is acquired in the dominant language to allow transference to instruction via that language. Rarely are bilingual programmes provided with the objective of maintaining or enriching the marked mother tongue. (For descriptions of bilingual education see Swain,1972; Fishman,1979; Mills,1983; Tosi,1984.) Hence the value inherent in bilingualism is rebuffed; bilingualism becomes a handicap rather than an advantage.

Competence is judged against a monolingual norm. Placement, psychological assessment and achievement tests are administered in the weaker second language. These tests often take a written form, requiring difficult literacy skills rather than the more developed oral skills, and productive rather than more developed receptive skills. They also involve a time restriction and strange situation which place added stress on students who are still developing competence in their second language. All of these factors are prejudicial to test results (and ensuing life chances). Consequently most minority students are at least initially severely disadvantaged, some to the point of being labelled deficient or retarded (Gezi,1974; Cummins,c1984,1984a-c).

However, with continued large scale movements of migrant workers and immigrants, particularly refugees, governments in North America, Europe and Australasia are now having to face the reality of increased numbers of immigrants (and native-born offspring) who do not speak the language of the host community. To this must be added the increasing pressure from ethnic minorities for recognition of minority group rights through mother tongue teaching (Saifullah Khan,1977; Edwards,1983; Tosi,1984a) and research which has shown that the education of minorities initially through their mother tongues is advantageous to the emotional, cognitive and linguistic development of the individual and may, in fact, promote more rapid assimilation (Gaarder,1970; Fishman,1976; Cummins,1980; Tosi,1982).

Bilingual educational provisions

In Europe the need for bilingual provisions for migrant workers was formalised by the 1977 Directive of the EEC Council of Ministers which came into force in 1981. While it has been shown to be controversial legislation with doubtful aims regarding the future prospects of migrants in their host country (Rosen & Burgess,1980; Saifullah Khan,1980; Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983), the Directive has encouraged investigations into the issue of mother tongue teaching for minorities.

The diversity of aims and provisions which fall within the terms of the Directive are illustrated in German by the "Bavarian Model" and the "Berlin Model". The former model is segregationist, providing a "national class" which offers instruction in the mother tongue with little access to German when there are 25 or more students with the same language; the latter is assimilationist, teaching only through the medium of German and maintaining a predominance of Germans (80%) in any one class. Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa report that most researchers oppose the segregationist model which, while it provides mother tongue maintenance, is seen to keep migrant workers in a subservient and precarious position (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa,1976; Skutnabb-Kangas,1984). Very different aims underly their demands for language shelter programmes for Finnish children in Sweden; here mother tongue provisions are physically separationist only and aim to develop the full potential of the Finnish children in the programmes.

In both Canada and the United States bilingual educational provisions are uneven across states since recent immigrant groups tend to be concentrated in particular cities and states (for example Toronto where several metropolitan schools are reported to have over 50% ESL students on their rolls and California where ethnic minorities are expected to have become the "majority" by the mid 1980s [Cummins,1984a]). Canada is officially bilingual only but through its policy of multiculturalism, and the active involvement of interested bodies such as the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, the teaching and maintenance of various minority languages are promoted (Cummins,1981; Burnaby,1982; Hawley,1986). In the United States there are a wide variety of bilingual provisions for immigrant minorities but the underlying goal

remains assimilationist rather than multicultural in nature. That this is still the case, despite increased emphasis on the benefits to both the individual and the wider society that may result from multiculturalism, is evident from recent negative comments about bilingual education by politicians, and reduced federal funding of programmes (Hawley,1986).

The Australian census of 1976 reported 12.3% of the population over the age of 5 to be regular users of community language other than English (CLOTE)(Clyne,1982). While Clyne cautioned that this figure may be a little high he added that there would be many under 5 who used CLOTEs and many more over 5 than reported would use a CLOTE on an irregular basis. When the number of Southeast Asian refugees who have settled in Australia since that census (some one hundred thousand) are added to these figures Australia appears as a strongly multilingual country. Again immigrants tend to be settled in particular areas, especially within the main cities.

While new arrivals are still concentrating on establishing themselves and learning English, many more established immigrant groups have a strong network of language maintenance classes. Under Australia's multicultural policy there is some provision of CLOTE teaching within the mainstream educational system but most ethnic languages continue to be offered through ethnic schools outside of school hours (Eckstein,1982). Commentaries on ethnic programmes show that while some of these schools provide very good instruction others are unfortunately less effective, and their value is downplayed by exclusion from mainstream education provisions. (See papers by Bullivant,1982; Eckstein,1982; Lewins,1982; Norst,1982.)

Although most other provisions are transitional in aim, as with the multilingual packages prepared at La Trobe University to help bilingual students in subject classes until their cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) in English is adequate (Claydon, Knight & Rado,1977), a small number of more longterm maintenance and enrichment bilingual programmes have been established for both indigenous and immigrant minorities (Mills,1982; Clyne,1983). The value of minority languages, and particularly Aboriginal languages, is recognised in the new National Language Policy for Australia. However there are still

signs that languages other than Aboriginal languages will be encouraged only so long as they are needed "as a transitional measure to help monolingual non-English speakers through their initial period in Australia" (PLANLangPol Committee,1983:99-100).

New Zealand did not experience the major migration of immigrants from non-English speaking countries witnessed in Australia. Nevertheless, to the large Maori and Polynesian minorities have been added sizable numbers of refugees, especially Southeast Asians, to boost the numbers of non-English speakers in the country. A Maori revival movement and political pressure have brought increased awareness of minority ethnic groups and languages and the establishment of preschool Te Kohanga Reo and bilingual primary and secondary schools to promote the acquisition and maintenance of the Maori language by young Maoris. Some recognition and teaching of other minority languages has been provided in those metropolitan schools where there are large minority populations, but officially the nation's education policy is bicultural in aim and bilingual in Maori only (N.Z.Department of Education, 1986). It remains to be seen whether other minority groups will agitate strongly for provision of their languages within the system or acquiesce to the language shift to monolingualism in English evinced by previous immigrant minorities.

Conclusion

From this review it can be seen that the sociolinguistic issues surrounding the education of immigrant, and indigenous minorities are many and varied. Inevitably an immigrant will require communicative competence in the dominant language if he or she is to gain access to education and the means of production in the new country. For minority language speakers the amount and nature of the competence desired in a particular language will, however, vary from individual to individual according to social, psychological and vocational factors just as the language provision made will depend ultimately on a great variety of factors within the host society, including the political, economic and social policies of the receiving government and its perception of the needs of new arrivals and other ethnic groups. This applies equally to provisions of English as a Second Language and of mother tongue maintenance and development programmes.

Thus, while bilingualism is an inevitable consequence of migration for minority language groups, how competent immigrants become in their new language and whether or not their mother tongue is valued and maintained will depend on a myriad of psychological, social, educational, economic and political factors which influence the equation:

$$EM = BE + EB$$

CHAPTER 4.

REVIEW OF NEW ZEALAND RESEARCH

The majority of language-based studies completed in New Zealand before the commencement of the Southeast Asian refugee programme in 1979 concentrated on the language needs of the indigenous Maori population and Pacific Islanders. A major undertaking by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research to complete a national language survey of those who spoke Maori in New Zealand reflected the focusing of official attention on this ethnic group and their language through the 1970s. Large concentrations of Pacific Island children in some schools, particularly in Auckland, similarly centred attention on their language needs in the mid 1970s to find an explanation for their lack of success in the system. Other non-English speaking immigrants, however, were not concentrated in large enough numbers, were not different enough physically from the majority, nor were they being seen as struggling enough in the western oriented, monolingual environment for their language problems to cause appreciable concern to the authorities.

Little substantial research has been carried out on refugee and other immigrant minority groups in New Zealand. Moreover, apart from studies which have concentrated on Pacific Island minorities, the research has tended to be sociologically rather than sociolinguistically oriented. While some researchers have identified language as an important or crucial variable in the resettlement process, linguistic concerns have remained peripheral to other issues which have formed the basis of the research undertaken.

Some impetus has, however, been given to sociolinguistic research by the on-going refugee programme for Southeast Asian refugees. As with the resettlement of West Indians and South Asians in Britain the resettlement of large numbers of Southeast Asians in New Zealand from 1979 on has provided a very visible and culturally different immigrant group. These differences have contributed to and accentuated language issues, drawing attention to the dearth of substantial research on the composition of minority groups in New Zealand, their language needs and

the provisions to meet these needs.

Research in New Zealand will be reviewed under the divisions used for the broader literature survey, viz. English as a second language (ESL) issues and mother tongue and bilingualism issues, although there is, as previously, considerable overlap between these two areas.

English as a second language

A survey of refugee and migrant settlement and adjustment in New Zealand for the period 1964-1976 (Fitzgerald, 1982) found that "not a great deal of importance was given to the provision of English Language classes" (Fitzgerald, 1982:101). Some English as a second language (ESL) provisions were made from the second intake of Chilean refugees onward, with orientation and basis English classes provided through technical institutes, but attendance at these classes was usually irregular, there were gaps in the information available regarding incoming groups and classes, and ESL provision was stressed only for large refugee intakes.

In Fitzgerald's study linguistic and other resettlement problems were found to be highest in the first six months. Lack of English was seen to underlay a large proportion of the language and communication problems within the first year but relatively few in the second year. Occupational upward mobility within the first two years was the norm with 60% of his sample having left their first job for a better position or having had a significant change in duties within the first year. This was largely attributed to improved English ability. However, despite the apparent link which had been established between English language ability, attendance at language classes and a lack of resettlement problems, Fitzgerald concluded that the role of language training was unclear and that it required further research before it became a prime feature of our resettlement system.

Fitzgerald's lack of emphasis on the importance of English language provisions reflects the linguistic and educational background of immigrant groups which settled in New Zealand during the twelve years from 1964 to 1976. Overall, 15% of his sample was adjudged to be fluent

in English on arrival and 60% had more than "a little" English. This high proportion with some facility in English on arrival is in sharp contrast to findings on Southeast Asian refugee intakes which Fitzgerald's study predates. Very few early Southeast Asian arrivals were reported to have any English language ability. Hence, English language provisions were seen as very important for this group.

In a discussion of ESL provisions for Southeast Asian refugees in Christchurch from 1977 to 1980 Trinh (1980) underlined the importance of language provisions through her comments on the problems faced by young Vietnamese refugees in that community. She reported that early arrivals who had not been provided with special ESL classes were bitter that "they (had) to struggle like a blind, dumb and deaf person in the new environment" (Trinh,1980:14) and that those who received intensive ESL from the polytechnic on arrival, from February 1979 on, were managing better. The orientation and English language programmes provided for Southeast Asian refugees entering New Zealand under the official programme from 1980 on were similarly valued.

MacRae (1980) criticised the failure to provide similar provision for family reunification cases:

> "Despite the general consensus among refugees that the language and orientation programme is beneficial, there is at this stage no consideration of including (family reunification cases) in the existing programmes or of arranging alternatives."
> (MacRae,1980:26)

Kaplan (1980), in his study of the language needs of migrant workers, further recommended that existing ad hoc ESL provisions should be expanded into a permanent structure to serve not only newly arriving Southeast Asians but all migrants for whom English is a second language. According to Kaplan, these ESL provisions for all migrants should include:

- a minimum of ten to twelve weeks for the initial on-arrival programme;
- follow-up programmes for workers;
- proficiency certification of learners;
- and cultural awareness training for employers.

He also recommended that "provision be made to encourage language maintenance among migrant populations" (Kaplan,1980: 69), that more provision be made for the training of ESL teachers and that consideration be given to the establishment of a National Language Centre.

Language planning needs

In a study of the sociological aspects of mainly Yugoslav immigrant resettlement in Auckland, Trlin (1974) found that nearly 88% of those surveyed felt that non-English speakers should attend English classes. While Trlin's study indicated a rapid language shift from the mother tongue to English, 80% still felt that the biggest social problem faced by non-English speakers was the language barrier. It was concluded that "informed decision-making depends on the availability of relevant information" and that "Given ...(the serious) deficiencies (in the information available), New Zealanders are ill-equipped for decision-making on the diverse ethnic and racial elements in their society." (Trlin,1974:534)

The need for language planning on a national scale, and concern regarding the lack of information on and language provisions for immigrant groups expressed in Kaplan and Trlin's studies have attracted the attention of a number of other researchers (Farmer,1979; Binzegger,1980; MacRae,1980; Fitzgerald,1982; Hawley,1986a). They have also changed the direction of some research. For example, a preliminary study of Indochinese refugees in the Auckland region by MacRae (1980) had been intended to focus on the refugees themselves and their experiences, but the researcher found that there was a dearth of background information on which to base his brief study. Hence his descriptive rather than interpretive approach, in a paper which examined the refugees themselves, particularly the 614 who passed through Mangere Reception Centre in 1979, the backgrounds they had come from, and government policies and practices regarding their resettlement in New Zealand.

ESL needs - age, educational and motivational factors

Liev and McLaren's 1983 study of Khmer resettlement in the Waikato area illustrates the lack of English among new arrivals and the ongoing problems associated with language provisions. In a study of 15 individuals, ten men and five women, by questionnaire and interview, language problems were seen as the greatest concern of the group. Six of the 15 spoke no English, eight spoke only poor English, two spoke broken English and only one was reported to speak good English. This last person had been in New Zealand for ten years and was a graduate of a New Zealand university. Most of the subjects wanted home tutors, only eight of the 15 having one at the time of reporting, but few wished to attend night classes. Although all 15 had initially attended these classes only three were currently attending, the rest having dropped out because they were too advanced or there was not time with shift work. Only one was on correspondence. This person saw his progress as slow.

A similar lack of English and non-attendance at classes was reported by McIntosh (1982) in her examination of the relationship between language and resettlement among eight Khmer women. Although her research concentrates on the second aspect of her study - the methodological problems encountered in such a study - to the detriment of her first objective of examining the relationship between language and resettlement, some interesting figures and comments are offered on language study and language ability. McIntosh found that:

- only one of the eight women was receiving any ongoing English study. (This was through the Correspondence School.);
- all but one, who spoke English particularly well, shopped at the supermarket though they would prefer to buy fresh vegetables daily;
- the woman who spoke English the best was the most mobile and had a job;
- some of the women were not aware of services available to them in the community, or they avoided them if they were because their English was not good enough.

Whether better English would have changed shopping patterns, taken more out into the workforce, or led to the use of many more community

services is not clear since other variables such as family commitments, budgetary factors and motivation were not analysed. Furthermore, while pointing out some of the problems entailed in using a questionnaire to investigate an ESL migrant group McIntosh overlooked an important cultural limitation in interviewing when she used a male interviewer to obtain information from her sample of eight women. However, the shortage of home tutors and non-patronage of technical institute classes noted in the study were endorsed by Liev and McLaren (1983).

Although most of the respondents in Liev and McLaren's (1983) study were adult males, some views of other members of family groups were also provided, including some comments regarding the language situation of young family members. Children under seven were having trouble speaking Khmer but were reported to be experiencing few problems with English. Children at secondary school, however, expressed a preference for technical subjects which did not require so much English as other subjects, acknowledging their weakness in this second language and illustrating the restriction of choices imposed as a result of this lack of English. The study highlighted the difficulties faced by older students and adult learners and recommended ESL classes for beginners and the assistance of a bilingual instructor.

While older students have generally been seen to experience greater language problems in the classroom than their primary aged counterparts, these problems are less apparent where the educational and linguistic development of the students have not been prevented or seriously disrupted by wars and flight. While few under 15 in Liev and McLaren's study were reported to be literate in their mother tongue, Khmer, the Vietnamese subject in Denny's (1979) investigation brought with him the advantages of a less disrupted educational and linguistic background.

The 18 year old ethnic Chinese Vietnamese student included in Denny's study of seven students attending an ESL course at the Auckland Technical Institute had arrived in New Zealand in late 1978 with his aunt. He had a good educational background including a junior high school diploma and an electronics certificate. Literate in Chinese and Vietnamese with a little French but no English, he was finding language

the most difficult aspect of resettlement but was positively motivated to improve his English so he could gain better qualifications in New Zealand. He was also ready to make New Zealand friends though he had a strong Chinese orientation. With this student's positive attitude to New Zealanders and motivation to improve his English the only factor which was seen as a possible barrier to success was concern about family members still in Vietnam.

Less progress in English language was exhibited by the adult Lao of Indarawapi's study (Indarawapi,1981). Rather than illustrating any clearcut progress the acquisition of English in this subject was reported to be "almost haphazard". Indarawapi felt that being forced to use English before deep structure had been built up would result in surface structure translations from the mother tongue to the second language. The three major factors identified as contributing to this lack of English development were age (31), and social and psychological distance from English speaking groups. While keen to learn English the subject felt hostility among Pacific Island workmates and had little pressing need to use English. He rarely watched television and his five year old son often acted as interpreter. Although this study approaches the acquisition of English by a Southeast Asian refugee from a linguistic perspective it endorsed the importance of social and psychological factors in successful second language learning indicated in other research (eg Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Schumann, 1976a, 1976b, 1978; Brown, 1980; Krashen, 1982,1985).

While Indarawapi's (1981) thesis concentrated on the pattern of acquisition of English structures by an adult Lao who had arrived in New Zealand only three months before the investigation was undertaken, it provides some interesting comments on ESL provisions pre-departure and post-arrival. Although the subject had apparently received some instruction in English during four of his years at secondary school before leaving at the age of 15, had completed the six week orientation and language course at Mangere and during the six month period of interviewing was receiving two hours a week of instruction through a home tutor he was assessed by the researcher to have "had no previous knowledge of the new language and (have) received no formal instruction in the language." (Indarawapi,1981:6)

His educational background in English had been provided by a native Lao speaker and was discounted as very limited. The four weeks of English at Mangere Reception Centre was not seen to provide sufficient English for communication or to "influence the learning in the natural setting." No comment was made on the effectiveness of the two hours of tuition per week but presumably this was not seen as very effective as the lack of organised tuition was seen to create enormous linguistic and social problems. Social isolation was linked to linguistic isolation, and the data obtained was used to show little support for the subject's progress in English in the natural setting.

However, as the subject was reported to have exhibited some knowledge of English at the commencement of the study and considerable expansion of the language in the months taken to complete the research, it is felt that the Thai researcher unfairly discounted the English provisions made available through the initial Mangere Reception Centre programme and the ongoing home tuition in his search for a suitable subject for his research.

Jansen (1984) undertook a small scale study of how New Zealanders were seen as counsellors by Southeast Asians. Eight women and one man who had been in New Zealand for from two to four years, who came from a variety of backgrounds, and whose English ability ranged from intermediate to fluent were interviewed by the researcher. Attitudes towards New Zealanders as counsellors varied with the language barrier identified as one of the major areas impeding counselling. However, lack of adequate English was also seen as a reason to seek help from New Zealand sponsors, tutors or friends.

A brief study of the effects of sponsorship on resettlement in Palmerston North was undertaken by Shaw in 1983. Twenty-eight informal interviews were carried out by the researcher with sponsors, organisations involved in the sponsorship programme and seven members of refugee families. These provided the basis for the report. Using financial stability, permanency of jobs and accommodation, and the ability to converse about a hypothetical question in English as her criteria for successful settlement, Shaw concluded that the actions of

sponsors were not a crucial variable in the resettlement process. Unfortunately, no analysis of the variables which were considered essential for successful resettlement was offered beyond a suggestion that they included literacy in the mother tongue, having learnt English before arrival, personal backgrounds and length of residence in New Zealand. As the sample was not compared with any non-sponsored control, other migrant group or the wider Southeast Asian refugee population and very little data was provided application of this piece of research is very limited.However, it does underline the paucity of studies available in this area and offer some insights into the problems of crosscultural investigations.

Language shift to English

Findings in New Zealand regarding language shift to English generally endorse those from across the Tasman (Clyne, 1982) and elsewhere (eg Ex, 1966; Gaarder, 1977; Grosjean, 1982; Valdman,1984). Language shift is accelerated where there is intermarriage or where there are young children. So Trlin found that, while preservation of the mother tongue was strongly supported, "only" or "mainly" English was used in nearly 40% of the Yugoslav households surveyed. The use of English was particularly marked in "new" households which involved more intermarriage and young children than "old" households (Trlin,1974).

Language use trends provided for the subsample of 17 respondents in Kaplan's research (Kaplan, 1980) who were recorded as being "Cantonese/ Mandarin/ Khmer/ Vietnamese" also suggested some noticeable language shift from the mother tongue to English among Southeast Asians. Of the 16 subjects identified as Vietnamese, four had been in New Zealand for less than six months, 11 for from one to two years, and one for between four and eight years. Only five of these people reported using Vietnamese at home with the wife, four with the children, and six with friends. Seven spoke Vietnamese to their parents. The use of a combination of English and Vietnamese was reported by only two at home with friends and one at home to children. However, while these results suggest that there is a swing to the exclusive use of English the relatively short length of residence of 15 of the 16 mitigates against

this conclusion. Some of the eight Vietnamese bilingual in Mandarin and five bilingual in Cantonese may have been ethnic Chinese with a mother tongue other than Vietnamese or one of the two specified Chinese dialects. This is not clear from the tables offered or the discussion which tends to treat Indochinese as a single unit.

Bilingualism and mother tongue issues

The largest piece of research carried out on the use of a language other than English in New Zealand to date has been that by Benton (c1965, 1977, 1981) into the position of Maori in New Zealand for the NZCER. Benton offers Two major arguments for the establishment of bilingual schools for Maoris - that bilingualism is an asset rather than a handicap and that bilingual education is essential if the Maori language is to survive into the twentieth century. His 1963-64 study identified a large number of passive bilinguals among younger Maoris who were in the process of language shift. The nation-wide study completed in 1979 clearly illustrated this rapid language shift from Maori to English and the need for the continued expansion of bilingual schooling if Maori was to survive as a living language. Minorities were seen to have little control over erosion of the mother tongue and language shift in the face of a dominant language, English.

Fairbairn-Dunlop (1984) also researched factors associated with language maintenance in a minority language group. She chose to study 40 Samoan families which had a New Zealand born child in standard two. Of the children in the study 90% were found to be fluent in Samoan and nearly 50% had visited or lived in Samoa. Analysing the reasons for this high degree of language maintenance Fairbairn-Dunlop concluded that the major contributing factor was the strength of fa'a Samoa. Families tended to live in suburbs with large Samoan concentrations; it was not necessary to be fluent in English to get a job, particularly when many worked with other Samoans; and there was a strong feeling of nostalgia for Samoa. While families would not push for Samoan to be taught to their children when this was seen to be at the expense of other subjects, their culture and language were maintained through strong social networks in the city.

These findings endorsed an earlier study of Samoan migrants in New Zealand by Pitt and MacPherson (1974) which had found that there was more chance of language maintenance where:

- there was a distinctive subculture,
- a continued inflow of migrants from the home culture,
- a relatively short length of contact,
- strong fa'a Samoa,
- and the timing of contact coincided with tolerant attitudes to ethnic differences.

When the second generation was uneasy with their mother culture and doubts arose regarding their self-identity, loss of language was more likely.

The importance of cohesive ethnic associations as the basic units necessary for the continuance of a minority language in a new society was further emphasised by Jamieson (1982) who underlined the need for a clear social function if a language was to survive (cf Fishman,1972). Her research which investigated the interrelationship of mother tongue and second language development favoured the maintenance of minority language use in the home notwithstanding pressure to use English. A study of Tokelauan children in Wellington found passive bilingual five year olds and active bilingual seven year olds in homes where Tokelauan was sustained. Pressure on parents to use English to their children was seen as misguided and a disservice to both children and parents, particularly where it resulted in parents providing poor role models for the acquisition of English. This not only failed to hasten the acquisition of the second language, English, but encouraged the development of nonstandard forms of the target language. An over-emphasis on English also led to an unstable self identity and hastened a language shift to the dominant language.

The problems of literacy in English for the young ESL child entering school were investigated by Bender (1971) and initial literacy in the mother tongue was advocated, although the problem of finding teachers to fulfil this task was not adequately addressed in his work. The practice of IQ testing children in English when this was not their mother tongue and the need to distinguish language knowledge from

measurements of intelligence potential were also identified, particularly as they related to Maori speaking children in an English speaking school environment. These issues were to be investigated in more depth in the late 1970s by Cummins in Canada and Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa in Sweden.

Bilingual education

In The Flight of the Amokura (1981) Benton stated that "The provision of bilingual education for immigrant linguistic minorities ...raises questions of policy different from those involved in English/Maori bilingual education" as Maori is an indigenous language and its maintenance is a matter for national concern. Polynesians, too, were seen as having more claim to special attention than other groups in the community. Benton conceded, however, that "it would be difficult to deny the right of other major ethno-linguistic groups, particularly the Chinese, Indian, Greek, and Polish communities...if bilingual education were made available to Polynesian immigrants on cultural rather than purely pragmatic linguistic grounds." (Benton,1981:76) Increasing public acceptance of bilingualism would, he asserted,

> "assist all parents who wish their children to become or remain bilingual. This in turn will enable New Zealand to become a genuine member of the Pacific community, and to take her place also as a Southeast Asian nation."
> (Benton,1981:77)

This statement reflects a major change in attitude to Asian nationals from the writing of earlier decades when both Sinclair (1944) and Lochore (1951) felt that the admittance of "Asiatics" into New Zealand as permanent immigrants would be a dangerous and backward step. Priority to Britons first, other Europeans second and Asiatics last reflected the official policy of assimilation which extended through earlier decades and continues today in many quarters despite a large rhetoric of multiculturalism.

While The Curriculum Review 1986 acknowledges that "Schools should

take greater steps to affirm the significant contributions immigrants from the Pacific and other countries have made in this country" by offering support to cultural groups trying to maintain the language and culture of groups "such as those of Chinese or Indian descent" (New Zealand Department of Education,1986:67), within the school system the issue has generally remained one of biculturalism and bilingualism. Multiculturalism and mother tongue maintenance programmes for immigrant minorities have, for the most part, been seen as a political issue (Benton,1985) and their provision has remained outside the school system .

Language maintenance provisions

Cheung (1971) found that community-based Chinese schools for New Zealand Chinese students were not particularly successful in developing a command of the Chinese language in these children. A knowledge of Cantonese which had been acquired along with English before the age of five was nonfunctional by the time his subjects were six despite attendance at a local Saturday Chinese class. The powerful influence of the school on language patterns was seen to be responsible for this language loss. That Chinese classes teach the more prestigious and international Mandarin (putong hua) rather than Cantonese which is the spoken dialect of most New Zealand Chinese would also reduce the possible effectiveness of these Saturday classes.

In a general study of Chinese settlement in New Zealand Greif (1974) raised a further issue regarding dialects which is important when considering mother tongue maintenance for Southeast Asians of Chinese ethnic origins. Greif noted social and linguistic differences between those who came to New Zealand in the nineteenth century and those who went to Southeast Asia or "namyang". While those who came to New Zealand were Cantonese speakers whose family ties remained in Kwuangtung, those who settled in Southeast Asia were mainly Fukienese, Hoklo and Hainanese speakers who took their families and the bones of their ancestors with them. Their offspring were raised as Chinese, even when born of a local wife, and often educated at Chinese schools but with ties to Southeast Asia rather than to China. As Cantonese speakers

settled later in Southeast Asia and only in small numbers they could be expected to make up but a small proportion of the ethnic Chinese Southeast Asian refugees entering New Zealand. The "standard" form, Mandarin, offers some linguistic unity between these refugees and local Chinese but only those educated for some years in Mandarin would be likely to have functional oracy or literacy skills in this dialect, and the mother dialect would remain different. This raises problems similar to those which were experienced with southern Italian migrants in Australia and Great Britain when mother tongue maintenance issues were considered (Claydon, Knight & Rado,1979; Tosi,1984).

Also of importance for language maintenance (and ESL) programmes is accurate information on the numbers and location of ethnic minorities in New Zealand. Brown (1986) discusses the scope and reliability of birthplace data provided by the census. Unfortunately, country of birth data which are readily accessible do not accurately indicate the mother tongues, ethnic origins or numbers of Southeast Asian refugees and their offspring in New Zealand. Many of those coming from both Vietnam and Cambodia are ethnic Chinese or part ethnic Chinese. Moreover, a considerable number of young refugees were born in refugee camps outside of their parents' country of origin. These factors render place of birth less useful in analyses of ethnicity and language issues that it might otherwise be, as country of origin and main language cannot be equated (cf Kaplan,1980).

A further cautionary note on place of birth data is provided by Zodgekar (1986) who points out that available statistics do not show internal and external secondary migration and migration loss of refugees after they have obtained New Zealand citizenship. The Trans-Tasman migration of Vietnamese refugees, particularly to the larger cities and ethnic concentrations of Sydney and Melbourne, has been noted by Hawley (1986a) who reports that Vietnamese community leaders estimate that over 1000 of the 3000 Vietnamese settled in New Zealand have migrated, although perhaps only temporarily, to Australia. The trend of secondary migration to larger centres and the warmer north was also noted by MacRae (1980).

Methodological issues

The research tools used by New Zealand researchers to obtain data on immigrant groups and service providers have varied, with most using more than one method in their research. Most commonly questionnaires and/or interviews have been used to obtain information from and on the target group (Cheung,1971; Trlin,1974; Jamieson,1976; Denny,1979; Kaplan,1980; Indarawapi,1981; McIntosh,1982; Shaw,1983; Liev & McLaren,1983; Fairbairn-Dunlop,1984). In some instances interviews and questionnaires have been supplemented by data obtained from government or quasi-governmental organisations involved in minority settlement. Larger scale studies, particularly those completed within a limited time frame, have leaned towards greater use of documentary evidence to establish data bases for their research (Binzegger,1980; MacRae,1980; Fitzgerald,1982).

Methodological issues surrounding the selection and training of interpreters were avoided where researchers shared a culture with and spoke the language of the target group (or shared a second language through which an interview could be conducted), and studies involved only small numbers of subjects. These factors applied for most of the studies which utilised interviews to obtain data from immigrant subjects (eg Cheung, 1971; Trlin, 1974; Trinh, 1980; Liev & McLaren, 1983). McIntosh's research (1982) exemplifies some of the problems involved in the use of an interpreter. The researcher obtained answers to her questionnaire through an interpreter but reported that, as she herself was neither a Khmer speaker nor familiar with body language associated with the target culture, she was not sure whether the nuances of questions or replies were being correctly interpreted by either the subjects or the interpreter. Particularly problematic in this survey was the use of a male interpreter to interview the women subjects, a practice which cut across the cultural mores of the target group and prejudiced the validity of her data. Faced with a similar language barrier, Shaw (1983) chose to interview chosen families in English rather than using an interpreter. This decision restricted her choice of subjects to those with whom she could communicate in their second language, and whom were therefore more likely to be relatively independent of their sponsors, whose part in the resettlement programme

she was seeking to assess.

Kaplan's research blended interviews with employers with a questionnaire which was translated into five Polynesian languages, Spanish, Mandarin and Vietnamese and administered to factory workers in targeted factories (Kaplan,1980). The administration of the questionnaire through 18 workplaces produced 291 usable responses of 485, "roughly 66%". While Kaplan warned that this response rate was "hardly sufficient to generalize" from, he iterated the value of a bilingual questionnaire as a research tool and encouraged further use of this method. Unfortunately, he did not provide a discussion in his research of the process which was used to translate the questionnaire into the various languages which would have aided future researchers in the use of this method.

Some research has taken a less personal approach and provided larger scale research. An overview of refugee and migrant settlement and adjustment in New Zealand for the twelve years from 1964 to 1976 was provided by Fitzgerald (1982) through an examination of the case records of the National Council of Churches (NCC). (This organisation performed the refugee resettlement role which was taken over from 1976 by the Inter-Church Commission on Immigration and Refugee Resettlement [ICCI]). Although the period covered in his study predated the Southeast Asian programme it set out to provide more comprehensive and systematic data on the resettlement of refugees and other immigrants in New Zealand. A similar desire to provide data which could form the basis for planning and further research was provided in MacRae's study of those who entered New Zealand under the Southeast Asian refugee programme in 1979.

Summary

From this survey of the research undertaken on immigrant minorities in New Zealand it can be seen that there are a large number of minority groups about which very little, if anything, has been written. The English language needs of and provisions for refugees and other immigrant minorities entering New Zealand passed largely unnoticed,

except as a means of explaining lack of academic progress among Pacific Island children, until the advent of the Southeast Asian refugee programme. The bilingual attributes of non-English speakers were generally valued only by those who saw their mother tongues rapidly disappearing in a monolingual society and the few others who, like Jamieson (1976), saw a connection between first language competence and second language learning.

With increased ethnic awareness and the arrival of large numbers of Southeast Asians in New Zealand from 1979 there has been an increase in the number of small scale studies conducted on linguistic minority groups, particularly the Southeast Asian refugee population. These studies have used a variety of research methods and varying numbers of subjects. Investigations have similarly varied in focus according to the individual aim of, and accessibility of data and members of the target population to the researcher. As most of the research which has been reviewed in this chapter has been undertaken by persons completing academic research requirements within universities, it has unfortunately not been written up for a wider audience or been followed up in further studies. Nor, in the main, has it influenced policy making and planning decisions at a local, regional or national level as it should have.

CHAPTER 5.

METHODOLOGY

A wide variety of approaches and research methods have been used to investigate the needs of minority language groups within New Zealand. As can be seen from the previous chapter on research in this country, most surveys involving some discussion of language needs and provisions for Southeast Asian refugees have been conducted on a small scale in areas of high refugee concentration. Studies in Hamilton (Liev & McLaren, 1983; McIntosh, 1982), Palmerston North (Shaw, 1983), and Wellington (Jansen, 1984) involved studies of small samples of Southeast Asians with data obtained through interviews and questionnaires. Questionnaire and interview techniques were also used by Denny (1979) and Indarawapi (1981) in their micro studies of individual learners. While most studies which deal with non-Southeast Asian minority language and refugee/immigrant situations have also involved the use of interview and/or questionnaire techniques with small groups from the target populations (eg Kaplan, 1980; Cheung,1971; Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1984), several have been more globally oriented macro surveys involving the collection of data from departmental and non-governmental sources (Binzegger,1980; Fitzgerald,1982).

In order to research the language needs of Southeast Asian refugees and of the language provisions made to meet these needs for this study it was seen to be necessary not only to analyse the needs of the target population but also to investigate policies and provisions at a national, regional and local level. Both language needs and language provisions for the target population were investigated at these three levels using a variety of research methods. In this way it was hoped to provide a study not only of national policies regarding Southeast Asian refugees but an analysis of these policies in practice through an assessment of how far programmes went to meet the needs not only of the target population generally and but also of a regional subsample of the population.

To gain a demographic, educational and linguistic profile of the sample

population of Southeast Asian refugees through which their language needs could be assessed and to provide an analysis of the language provisions which have been made available in New Zealand to meet the needs of this group, data collection involved:

- an investigation of a variety of governmental and quasigovernmental documents, records and activities to ascertain policies and procedures related to the acceptance of Southeast Asian refugees and to investigate the nature of language provisions made for this and other immigrant groups;
- questionnaire surveys of institutions and individuals involved in the provision of language services;
- questionnaire surveys of a regional subsample of the target population;
- face-to-face interviews with a small sample of those involved in both the provision and receipt of language provisions and others having dealings with the target group which are affected by language differences;
- information on provisions obtained from the Department of Education publication New Settlers and Multicultural Education Issues and its antecedents.
- a field study involving observations, casual conversations and personal teaching in the ESL field by the researcher.

Obtaining data from a variety of sources through diverse methods increased the chances of a more accurate assessment of the situation and of revealing both congruence and discrepancies in data collected through the process of triangulation. A further aim in data collection was to obtain information which would be used not only for this piece of research but which would also provide a data base for further research.

The methods used to collect data on the language needs of the target refugee population and the provisions which have been made to meet these needs are outlined below, with a discussion of the problems encountered in the collection of data for this crosscultural research.

Refugee Population Sampling.

In their discussion of grounded theory Glaser and Strauss (1967) state that a variety of methods should be used to ensure an adequate understanding of the situation and that methodological techniques need to be governed by the nature of the emerging data.

This research set out to examine the issue of language needs through the investigation of a particular regional subsample of the population using interviews and questionnaires. However, methodological issues and access to other data led to a change of emphasis and broadening of the sample population to include a sample drawn from the total Southeast Asian refugee population and a more descriptive approach. Hence the target Southeast Asian refugee population was sampled at two levels - a national level and a regional level. The findings from these two surveys are reported in chapter 6.

National sample.

The larger national survey involved the investigation of a systematic random selection of 785 individuals in 230 cases from the case files of the Immigration Division of the Department of Labour in Wellington. As the total population accepted under the resettlement programme to June 1986 numbered 1612 cases including 7023 individuals, cases were seen to include a mean average of 4.35 individuals each. By the selection of 230 cases it was estimated that some 1000 individuals would be sampled. This involved the choice of one in every seven cases.

A systematic random sample of every seventh case was selected, with a random starting point, in order to obtain a representative sample which covered the seven years of the programme and all ethnic groups (since ethnic groups have tended to be concentrated in particular case loads of refugees entering the country). In effect, this method of sampling produced a sample size of 785, somewhat smaller than expected. However this was still considered an adequately sized sample from which to obtain information which had a high degree of validity.

The collection of data on the national sample took place over a period of several months from June 1986 to September 1986, and involved the searching of each case report for information on the individuals included in that case. Although data was also obtained from other documents on file, most of the demographic data and linguistically related data collected was obtained from four sets of documents:

- the standard application form for a permit to enter New Zealand,
- interview schedule sheets completed by Immigration Division officers,
- Mangere Reception Centre reports,
- Department of Labour follow-up reports.

Taken together these reports make up the Case Records.

A brief discussion of the nature of these documents and the information that was obtained from each follows.

The Application for a Permit to Enter New Zealand form was completed by the principal applicant in each case or someone on his or her behalf if the principal applicant could not read and write English, which was the situation for a large proportion of principal applicants. Information obtained from these forms included age, sex, place of birth, languages known, educational and occupational background, and date of arrival in camp for the principal applicant and spouse where applicable or other co-applicant where no spouse was involved..

This information was augmented by, and verified against, information provided on interview report forms completed by officers of the Immigration Division of the Department of Labour who visited the refugee camps to interview applicants. Most of these interview reports gave more specific information on mother tongue and other languages spoken by the principal applicant, along with information on the English language ability, educational and occupational background of all case members.

Mangere Reception Centre reports were provided for all cases from the beginning of 1981. While offering further information on educational and occupational background, and length of stay in camps, against which

earlier information could be checked, these reports were particularly informative on the language abilities of the refugees. Not only was an assessment offered of each arrival's ability in English but the particular languages spoken by the individual were also listed. Unfortunately literacy in languages other than English was not provided to verify data gathered from earlier reports.

Department of Labour follow-up reports varied considerably in quality and quantity according to location. In areas where they were assiduously completed by departmental interviewers the reports offered a large amount of information on English study and progress, the school progress of children and occupational positions of those in the workforce at regular intervals. These could involve four reports completed at intervals of three months, six months, a year, and eighteen months to two years after arrival. Reports from the Auckland area, which were usually completed by a Chinese or Vietnamese speaker, fell into this category and included follow-ups on refugees who had moved into the region from other areas. In some areas, however, very little, if any, follow-up information was available. Where it was provided this was for only one or two reports.

Information from the Case Records was recorded on sheets, converted to numerical values and recorded on a Prime computer for analysis. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences SPSSx was then used to analyse the data. Frequency tables were obtained for all data and examined for relevance. Crosstabulations were then completed to provide for further analysis of a selection of variables.

Regional subsample

A regional language survey was undertaken in a provincial city using individuals from the target population as informants. Palmerston North was identified as an area which had received a sizeable population of Southeast Asian refugees. Some 300 Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees had been settled in the city from the first arrivals under the official programme in 1979 to mid 1985 and the target population included many more when locally born children were added.

Adult survey

Initially it was hoped to survey the whole adult Vietnamese and Cambodian refugee population of Palmerston North, plus a Lao community from elsewhere as no Lao refugees had been settled in the city. The analysis of a Lao community in the neighbouring province was considered but the logistical problems of establishing contact with this group, gaining its support and obtaining adequate returns made this impossible in the time available to the researcher.

The problems associated with surveying a Vietnamese community were not those of location and difficulty of contacts but the mobility of this population. Seventeen family groups and three individuals were listed as residing in Palmerston North in October 1984, but by the time the questionnaire had been translated, back-translated and made ready for distribution in January 1986 the numbers of adult Vietnamese in the city had diminished by half with further departures imminent. As all the departures had involved secondary migration to Australia rather than another New Zealand centre, and similar trends towards large numbers of trans-Tasman departures had been reported in home tutor coordinators' returns, it was felt that adequate representation of the Vietnamese community still in New Zealand would have to be provided by a national sample and through returns on school aged children in Palmerston North.

While a large number of the Vietnamese population originally settled in the city had since moved on to Australia, the number of Cambodian refugees remained relatively stable. The attrition of individuals and a small number of family groups from the local Cambodian population to larger cities, mainly within New Zealand, was balanced by a continued inflow of cases under the family reunification programme, rendering this national group the main refugee population within the city.

The relative stability of the Cambodian population provided a sample which covered individuals who had arrived in New Zealand as early as the first programme intakes in 1979 up to those who had arrived only a little before the taking of the survey in late 1985. Further incentives

to use this particular community was provided by its availability to the researcher and the fact that some contacts were already available within the refugee and ESL communities. It was hoped that this would ease some of the reticence to provide information that was anticipated working in a cross-cultural situation where the researcher was not a member of the target population and did not speak the languages spoken by members of the target group. It was also possible to obtain the services of individuals from the Cambodian population within the city to translate and back translate the questionnaire. The generally preferred data collection method of interviewing through an interpreter was not seen to be feasible in this community. The reasons for this and the questionnaire translation techniques used shall be discussed further below.

Questionnaire construction.

Questionnaires were constructed to obtain information of a general demographic nature, information on educational backgrounds and more specifically linguistic information covering languages spoken, literacy, English language study, language use and attitudes. A copy of the questionnaire used and its Khmer translation are provided in Appendix 1.

The questionnaire was organised to move from general to more specific information. While most questions were structured, a few which solicited opinions were left open-ended. Questionnaires and interview schedules used by Taft and Doczy (1962), Marjoribanks (1979), Manton, McKay and Clyne (1983) and Spearitt and Coleman (1983) to investigate refugee and other minority groups in Australia and Kaplan (1980) and Natusch (1986) in New Zealand were drawn on for design techniques and alternative wording of questions.

Once designed the questionnaire was discussed with several persons involved in the provision of ESL to Southeast Asians and representatives of the target population during translation. Unfortunately the latter were too polite to mention before the questionnaire was printed off that several of the questions including those requesting previous and current religion might disturb

respondents. This led to an explanation in writing when mailing questionnaires and in person when delivering questionnaires that respondents did not have to answer all questions if they chose not to but that they should still return the questionnaire.

Administration of the questionnaire

Using updated lists of Cambodian refugees obtained from the Palmerston North Home Tutor Coordinator, individual questionnaires were either posted or hand delivered to the 67 adult members of family groups during the last week of October and first week of November 1985. Where the refugees were not known to the researcher but it was felt by the home tutor coordinator and others who knew the individuals involved that mailed questionnaires would be likely to be completed this method of distribution was used. In instances where a member of a family was known to the researcher or it seemed more likely that questionnaires would be completed if delivered in person, distribution was by hand delivery.

A questionnaire in Khmer was included for each adult in the family, plus several copies in English to be completed if this language was preferred. It was requested that forms be returned within three weeks of delivery, and a reply paid addressed envelope was provided for this purpose. In the event only 22 of 67 questionnaires were returned, a disappointing 32.8% return rate. There was no notable difference in response rate between those questionnaires which had been delivered in person and those which had been posted.

Several reasons can be offered for the low response rate on the questionnaire used to survey the adult Cambodian population:

-A very real suspicion of any form of questionnaire or questioning, particularly from strangers, and reluctance to provide information that might at some later date be used against them was shown by many of the Cambodian refugees in the subsample. This reluctance was apparent among the adults rather than those of school age who were very willing to complete the student questionnaires although they were told

that it was not a compulsory exercise.

-The shying away of the researcher for ethical reasons, from exerting any suggestion of pressure to respond that went beyond requests that questionnaires still be completed and returned. It was feared that persistence could have been misconstrued as indicating that all individuals had to respond, that completion of the questionnaire was a compulsory exercise as the case with the pending national census.

-Questionnaires might be seen as emphasising the individual rather than the family unit where harmony should reign with a solid expression of accord being presented to an outsider. This feeling was expressed by members of the target community in several instances when questionnaires were being delivered to homes.

-Similarly, cultural values which may have limited returns were exhibited in situations where members of both sexes were present when questionnaires were being delivered. In several instances wives declined a questionnaire, saying that their husbands would fill one in. This may in part have been attributable to shyness and a reluctance to show their lack of English or literacy skills in their mother tongue even though it was explained, with the interpreting help of a member of the target community present who was known to the researcher, that it was not a test and that they could help each other. To need help could represent a loss of face. However, it could also be seen as a reflection of the relative status of men and women, husbands and wives, parents and children in Asian cultures, where the latter owe obedience to the former.

- The crosscultural nature of the research being undertaken highlighted problems associated with the lack of a common language through which the target population could be approached and cultural implications that are not provided

for by most western research tools especially when used by a non-member of the target group.

- The researcher was not known to some families.

- The value of the survey might not be apparent to members of the target group.

It was not clear whether the fact that the researcher was a female was a contributing variable in the lack of responses. This was disavowed by several subjects known to the researcher but this response may have been from politeness and to save her losing face.

School aged sample survey

A survey was also conducted through local schools in order to obtain information on the linguistic and other educational needs and problems of young refugees who enter the New Zealand school system on their arrival in New Zealand. A questionnaire similar to but simpler than that administered to the adult sample was designed. Several questions pertaining to language use and education were added to identify areas of language development and language shift, and subject choices and difficulties which might be related to a lack of adequate academic English. As a large percentage of school aged South East Asians was illiterate in the mother tongue this questionnaire was provided in English only. A copy of this questionnaire is to be found in Appendix 1.

This questionnaire was administered across the whole Southeast Asian school aged population; responses were sought from students who had come from Vietnam as well as from those who had come from Cambodia. As no up-to-date list of Southeast Asian pupils attending local schools in 1985 was available, information regarding the numbers of Southeast Asian refugee and other ESL students in each school and access to these students were obtained through the principal or teacher in charge of ESL provisions in the school. In five schools reported as having Southeast Asian students permission was readily granted for these

students to fill out the questionnaire. Four principals declined access to pupils on the grounds that they might be seen as "different".

The questionnaire was initially trialled in a secondary school with two fourth form Khmer students who were able to complete it in less than twenty minutes, felt no students should find it too difficult to complete and found no questions likely to cause confusion or offence. The questionnaire was then administered to all available respondents.

Of a total of 23 primary (estimate only) and 16 secondary school students attending schools in the area, responses were obtained from a total of 16 Southeast Asians, seven primary school and nine secondary school students. Five secondary aged students were not available as they were on study leave sitting external examinations, and three primary students were considered too young by their teachers to be able to cope with the questionnaire.

In each primary school the questionnaire was administered by the researcher. While in one school all students for whom English was a second language, including other than Southeast Asian students, were brought together in one room to fill out the questionnaire, in most schools they were withdrawn individually or in twos from classes to complete the form. In all cases the situation was kept as informal as possible and students were told that they did not have to answer questions if they did not want to. Primary students were not asked to answer the attitudinal questions as they did not understand the nuances of the words used.

While the two students available in one secondary school were used to trial the questionnaire, it was handed out to students in the other secondary school by the teacher in charge of ESL to complete as most were senior school students and therefore on study leave when schools were visited in late October - early November. Completed questionnaires were collected by the teacher in charge of ESL and returned to the researcher.

Interviews

Information was also obtained through interviews and informal discussions with principals and teachers in schools which had Southeast Asian refugee students, and through conversations with adult members of the target group about their own and their children's language situations. Information from schools included both quantitative and qualitative data pertaining to the issues surrounding provision of ESL, and comments on language abilities and perceived linguistic difficulties in students. Information obtained from members of the target community through conversations with members of the community known to the researcher and others met while delivering questionnaires was mainly qualitative and often included concerns about their children's lack of mother tongue or English and discussions regarding which languages were spoken in the home and elsewhere.

Language provisions survey

The investigation of language provisions for Southeast Asian refugees in New Zealand was similarly conducted at a national and local level through:

- an investigation of official documents including the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives and departmental files made available by the Department of Labour,
- information on national and regional provisions in New Settlers and Multicultural Education Issues and its predecessors,
- questionnaires sent to technical institutes and community colleges throughout New Zealand,
- questionnaires completed in Palmerston North by schools and teachers.

A considerable amount of information on regional provisions was obtained from the Department of Education publication New Settler and Multicultural Education Issues in which brief reports are provided by those involved in the provision of ESL to Southeast Asians throughout the country. These reports were particularly useful in that they

indicated regional variations and provided endorsement of and elaboration on programmes mentioned in questionnaires.

The results of the questionnaires completed by institutions, teachers and home tutors are reported in chapter 7 together with information obtained from the newsletter, official documents and interviews with key persons involved in the resettlement process.

Questionnaires.

Questionnaires were devised for administration to technical institute and schools, teachers in these institutions and home tutor coordinators. Copies of these questionnaires are to be found in Appendix 1.

While there were a number of examples of individual questionnaires used in previous research on language needs and provisions which could be considered when designing the questionnaires which were to be administered to members of the target refugee population, there were few examples of questionnaires administered to teachers and institutions in previous research which could be considered. The questionnaires used to assess provisions made under the Contingency Program for Refugee Children in Australia (Spearitt & Colman, 1983) provided some ideas regarding suitable questions for schools and teachers and examples of format but these required considerable adaption to render them suitable for administration to institutions and personnel involved in language provisions in New Zealand.

Moreover, it was found that questionnaires for different institutions and groups of language providers required different questions to reflect the varying nature of schools and tertiary institutions, teachers and home tutor coordinators. Separate questionnaires were developed to be completed by:

- -technical institutes, resource centres and community colleges,
- -schools,
- -teachers,
- -home tutor coordinators.

Copies of each of these are provided in Appendix 1.

Each questionnaire was piloted in Palmerston North in September and alterations made to clarify questions and to facilitate easier completion. The survey of technical institute, resource centre and community college provisions throughout New Zealand was then conducted with questionnaires being posted out in late October - early November. A number of teacher questionnaires was included with each posting with a request that principals or heads of departments responsible for ESL provision in the institution have available staff complete them. Where home tutor coordinators were connected to an institution an appropriate questionnaire was included in the posting to the institution. In the few cases where it was not clear whether or not a home tutor coordinator was connected to an institution or not, a questionnaire was sent separately to this person.

Replies were received from 17 (63%) of 27 of the home tutor schemes contacted (four contacted being defunct or currently in recess giving a total return of 74%), and 15 (75%) of 20 technical institutes, resource centres and community colleges contacted. Questionnaires were also returned by 24 tutors employed by 15 technical institutes, community colleges and resource centres. No total number of teachers in these institutions was available against which to assess this response rate.

The timing of the questionnaire distribution was unfortunate for the study in that it clashed with the end of the year for many institutions to which questionnaires were sent, producing a response rate which was lower than hoped for. Fortunately, however, questionnaire information on institutional provisions was able to be supplemented by information from the Department of Education newsletter and from informal information received from various individuals involved in the provision of ESL in Palmerston North and elsewhere.

Interviews.

Information was also gathered from unstructured interviews and conversations with key persons involved in the resettlement process but not directly involved in the formal education process. These persons included the local immigration officer, public health nurses and the educational officer for the Department of Health in Palmerston North,

and the Assistant Director, Advisory staff and Resettlement Unit staff of the Immigration Division of the Department of Labour in Wellington.

Consideration was given to devising a questionnaire that might be distributed to government departments and other bodies involved in Southeast Asian refugee resettlement. However, too few questions were relevant in any one structured form for all potential recipients to make such a questionnaire practicable. The use of structured interviews was also considered but discounted as too rigid an approach. As Whyte (1977:88) comments, nonstandardised, free interviews

> "encourage respondents to present not only his (sic) perception of the situation, but to let him define that situation in his own terms and include what he himself sees as relevant."

Notes were jotted down during most interviews after approval for this procedure had been obtained from the respondent. This practice was not sustained where it was seen to make the other party "uneasy and uncommunicative" (Martin, 1969:3). Nor was it used when talking to members of the refugee community.

Issues arising from the methodology used

Several important methodological issues pertaining to carrying out investigations on an ethnic and linguistic minority group arose during the research. These shall be further discussed below.

Questionnaires versus interviews.

Initially it was hoped that enough information could be obtained from a local subsample of the refugee population (supplemented by a survey of the Lao community in another region) through interviews conducted with the assistance of interpreters to provide a fair representation of the total refugee population. Although this would have necessitated the use of several interpreters to cover the various mother tongues of the subjects, or at least languages which they had as functional second languages, interviews were seen as the preferred method as they would offer better return rates than questionnaires, either hand delivered or mailed. Research in Australia and further afield had used interviews to

obtain information from Southeast Asian refugee populations with considerable success.

However, problems associated with finding suitable interpreters in the local population led to a decision to use questionnaires. There was no pool of regular or qualified interpreters available in the local community to carry out such interviews. Furthermore, there was no clear leader (or leaders) who had the support of the whole community and adequate English to interpret for the researcher.

Most of the leaders in the local Cambodian community who had sufficient English to act as interpreters were in their thirties and associated with one of several factions within the community which was at that time fragmented on ethnic and family lines. The few older men who may have culturally commanded greater respect as authority figures were not known to the researcher and as each was associated with one of several family and ethnic groups it was felt that none would have been universally accepted either. Moreover, had one of these older men been acceptable to the local population he would not have had adequate English for the task of interpreting. Thus the decision was made to use questionnaires although they are a less immediate and less adequate tool for such research.

Questionnaire translation and back-translation.

The questionnaire for the local adult Cambodian population in Palmerston North was translated into Khmer by a native Khmer speaker and then back-translated by a Chinese-Cambodian. As the back translator's stronger literary language was Mandarin questions and wording which caused concern were often routed from Khmer through Chinese to English. This introduced a third language into the equation, a situation seen as favourable by Brislin (1973) in back-translation.

It was also valuable to have a speaker of a Chinese dialect involved in the translation process as, while it was affirmed that Chinese speaking would be able to answer the questionnaire in Khmer thus avoiding the necessity of a further translation into Chinese, the implications of questions tended to change for a Chinese speaker. Therefore it was necessary to be more longwinded and redundant than it would have been had the questionnaire been only for Khmer speakers.

Self-reporting of language ability.

As New Zealand does not have any national proficiency assessment rating by which the target population could be accurately assessed self-reporting of English and mother tongue ability was used to gauge language proficiency in the regional subsample. While the validity of self-assessment is questioned, studies in Australia have shown a clear relationship between subjective and objective assessments (using the Australian Second Language Proficiency Rating [ASLPR]).

Manton, McKay and Clyne (1983) cautiously acknowledged the relationship between the two ratings but warn that "self-assessment is certainly not a completely accurate way of assessing the level of English competence" (Manton, McKay & Clyne, 1983:94) King and Palser (1984) similarly cautioned against unrestricted acceptable of self-assessment ratings. They noted, however, that the correspondence between self- and objective assessments among their inner Sydney migrant subjects was "especially close in the case of speaking skills." (King & Palser, 1984:21) They suggested that self-assessment may be less reliable for reading and writing skills than for listening and reading skills where there is a tendency to underestimate one's own ability.

In this research self-assessment was used in the local survey where it was seen to be relatively accurate for young respondents regarding their oral/aural skills. If anything, some over-assessed their ability a little. This may reflect a positive attitude to their ability and/or a lack of a strong mother tongue against which to judge their English. Older students and adults were more likely to be over-critical of not only their literacy-related skills but also their oral/aural skills. This may, in turn, reflect the stronger cultural pressure to be modest about one's own ability as well as a lack of self-confidence especially in the literacy-related skills as a result of many years without any formal education and subsequent loss of fluency. This appeared to be the case with those involved in the translation of the questionnaires.

At the national level English language ability was not self-assessed but was ascertained from comments on case file records by third parties.

Questionnaire response rates.

Discussing research that is not crosscultural in nature, Abrahamson claims that the cutoff rate for questionnaires is nonspecific as information can often be obtained from other sources. These can then be compared with questionnaire responses. Abrahamson (1983:214) also notes that "if a systematic comparison of refusals and participants discloses no differences, then a lower response rate is probably acceptable." He cite 70% as possibly adequate in such circumstances. For research involving a different culture from that of the researcher a further important variable is introduced further lowering response rates, that of crosscultural research.

Calling on his ten years of research with Samoan communities in New Zealand, Cluny Macpherson (1983) cites different attitudes to research between the researcher and the researched and the belief that the group being researched is a more tight-knit community than it actually is as two factors mitigating against cooperation in crosscultural research. He believes that there is a need not only to identify all the leaders of subgroups, but that there are issues of etiquette, confidentiality, language and lack of feedback from research which need to be overcome if cross-cultural research is to be conducted successfully.

These are very relevant factors when considering the Cambodian subsample used in this research. Not only were there a number of ethnic and family groupings within the community but the adult members of the community had survived a regime that punished education with death. When lack of literacy in the mother tongue, lack of adequate English, lack of understanding of the aims of the research and wariness regarding giving any information on the part of respondents are combined with the researcher's inability to converse in the minority language and belonging to the dominant culture one cannot assume that one's aims however well-intentioned are going to be understood, positively received or rewarded.

Kempen (1982) found that government enquiries aroused suspicion and apprehension among the target population in Australia. Most were aware that refugees were under continued media scrutiny and felt threatened

by the number of questions put to them in the early phase of their settlement, particularly questions regarding their reasons for going to Australia and considerations of returning home . Unable to understand the reasons for many of the questions they responded with the information that they thought was required, with politeness and prudence rather than the frankness that is more an attribute of Western culture and democratic processes than of Asian culture. As "guests" they were reluctant to offend, especially by voicing criticisms of their new home and what was being provided for them.

Similar politeness and apprehension among adult respondents was noticed by the researcher in this survey. While some of the depressive effect this had on returns may have been overcome by insisting on the return of all questionnaires, this was not seen as an ethically acceptable alternative and could have, if implemented, had serious repercussions,damaging not only trust and goodwill for future studies but also the whole settlement/ESL process.

While the low return rates in the survey of the local adult subsample of Cambodians (32.8%) were of concern to the researcher, it was realised that return rates for crosscultural research are almost invariably lower than would be acceptable in intracultural research. Even where the researcher speaks the language of and has close social links with the target group, returns may be relatively low.

Natusch (1986) reports a response rate of 44.9% for his study of the cultural and linguistic adaption of Japanese women migrants in New Zealand. In this research snowballing techniques through a network of Japanese contacts were replaced by contact by letter only when subjects from the total population located in New Zealand (169) could not be otherwise contacted. Snowballing led to face-to-face interviews for 40.2% of the total sample of 76. Contact by letter drew only a 4.2% increase in this total, with 27.1% replying to letters mailed out and 12.5% of these prepared to be interviewed.

Although Natusch's total response rate of 44.9% was low when compared with acceptable intracultural research response rates, it was considerably higher than that found in some other crosscultural research. Borland (1976), for example, reports a mean response rate of

only 26.99% for questionnaires in his Australian Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs survey of interpreting and translating needs in an Australian community. Despite the low response rate on many of the questionnaires the findings were still considered usable if handled with caution.

In the current research the low response rates from the local adult population mean that results must remain tentative for this group. However, the regional survey was able to be supplemented by a survey of over 11% of the total Southeast Asian population in New Zealand. The 785 individuals in the national sample omitted no cases or individuals from the systematic sample of one in seven of the total intake from the establishment of the formal programme to the end of June 1986 and thus provides a representative sample of the total Southeast Asian refugee population which has a high degree of validity.

CHAPTER 6.

LANGUAGE NEEDS

Research findings on the target population are presented below in two broad sections. The first provides data on the 785 individuals investigated in the national sample taken from the case records of the Department of Labour. The second addresses the subsample and provides data obtained through questionnaires administered to the adult Cambodian and wider Southeast Asian school-aged population in Palmerston North. In each section an analysis of general background characteristics is followed by findings related to language backgrounds in country of origin and language experiences in New Zealand.

NATIONAL POPULATION SAMPLE

National and ethnic background.

The major population sample investigated through the case records of the Department of Labour included 785 individuals in 230 cases. This represented 11.18% of the total 7023 Southeast Asians admitted to New Zealand in 1612 cases between April 1979 and 30 June 1986 under the official Southeast Asian resettlement programme. The sample included a total of 326 from Vietnam, 380 from Cambodia and 79 from Laos, 41.5%, 48.4% and 10.1% respectively of the total sample of 785 individuals. By country of origin this represented 10.53% of the total intake from Vietnam, 11.13% of the total intake from Cambodia, and 15.45% of the total intake from Laos.

Ethnic origin was identified by nationality, place of birth, parents' place of birth, and mother tongue as stated on the application for permanent entry to New Zealand completed by all principal applicants for themselves and spouses, and mother tongue and any additional information provided on interview sheets completed by selection officers from the Immigration Division of the Department of Labour, plus reports from the Mangere Reception Centre for arrivals from 1981. The sample contained 161 ethnic Vietnamese and 165 ethnic Chinese

Vietnamese, 227 ethnic Khmer and 153 ethnic Chinese Cambodians, and 79 ethnic Lao. Table 6.1 indicates all those included in the sample by ethnic origin and date of arrival.

Table 6.1 Date of arrival by ethnic group.

	V	Ch-V	Khmer	Ch-Cam.	Lao	sample total
1979 programme	6	38	40	4	0	88
1980 programme	81	78	23	12	20	214
Jan.81-June 82	28	28	37	54	20	167
1982/83	14	9	24	15	3	65
1983/84	3	4	38	32	7	84
1984/85	13	4	37	20	8	82
1985/86	16	4	28	16	21	85
Sample total	161	165	227	153	79	785

The sample totals for each year represent 10% or more of the total intake for the period except in the case of the 1979 programme where only 8.3% is represented in the sample. Total intakes for each period, with the percentage of each represented in the sample in parentheses, are:

1979 programme	1056	(8.3%)
1980 programme	1801	(11.88%)
1981/82	1009	(16.5%)
1982/83	650	(10%)
1983/84	508	(16.5%)
1984/85	721	(11.37)
1985/86	753	(11.29%)

(Figures taken from Department of Labour Manual [1986] ch.14, Appendix 1, p4 plus update to 30 June 1986.) [1]

Family size and type

Case files are based on family units which enter the country as one "case". In the sample these varied from individuals to family groups of from nine to eleven persons. The largest proportion of cases (21.4%)

---

1 Earlier arrivals not represented in the sample included:
112 between 1975 and 31 March 1977
412 between 31 March 1977 and 31 March 1978
11 between 31 March 1977 and 31 March 1979

included four individuals which is near the overall mean average of 4.36 persons per case for all cases in the target Southeast Asian refugee population to the end of June 1986.

In the sample 365 (46.5%) of all arrivals came in family groups of a couple plus children, 96 of these in family groups with two children. Only 40 (5.1%) arrived in family groups containing three generations but many joined family units already within New Zealand that contain three generations or were elderly or young relatives establishing three generational units with their arrival. A quarter of the sample (196 individuals) arrived in two generational groups which included non-immediate family.

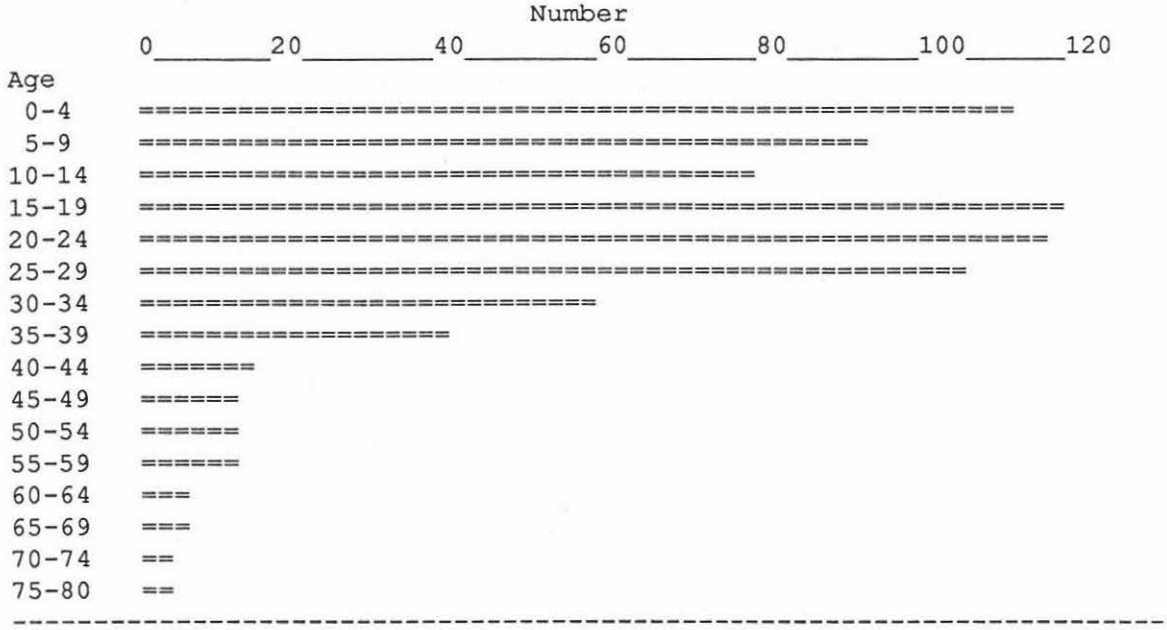
20 ethnic Vietnamese and 13 Chinese-Vietnamese, compared with three Khmer, four Chinese-Cambodians and five Lao, arrived as individuals. At the other end of the scale only nine Vietnamese and 11 Chinese-Vietnamese in the sample entered the country in families of nine or more compared with 20 Khmer, 36 Chinese-Cambodians and 19 Lao. The larger number of cases containing a single individual among those originally from Vietnam reflect their method of escape.

Age

An analysis of age on arrival indicates a relatively young refugee population (Table 6.2). A quarter of the sample was under nine, a half twenty or younger, three quarters under thirty and over 80% under thirty-five years of age on arrival. Only 10% were over forty and a little more than 2% over sixty.

While all ethnic groups registered a large number of preschool children the highest percentage was found among the Khmer where some 22% of the sample was under five. Vietnamese and Chinese-Vietnamese groups had larger percentages of their respective totals in the 15 to 25 age bracket, particularly among the single men.

Table 6.2 Age on arrival.



Sex

The sample included a few more males than females but there was no significant imbalance. Females represented 48% of the total sample (377 individuals) and males 52% (408 individuals). 50% of the female population was under 20 with nearly 15% under five. A further 38.2% was between 20 and 40, with many at home looking after young children. Only 6% were between 40 and 54. The remaining 5.6% were between 55 and 80 and therefore unlikely to be in the workforce. A small number of this last group were reported to be caring for young children and so releasing younger mothers to join the workforce. Of the 408 males in the sample the largest groups fell between 15 and 24 followed equally by the 0-4 and 25-29 age brackets. The large numbers in the 15-24 group were particularly noticeable among the Vietnamese and Chinese-Vietnamese, being 39% and 39.8% of their respective totals.

Educational backgrounds

Educational background was not always provided for each individual in a case but information was obtained from applications for permanent residency, interview schedules which offered varying amounts of information and, from 1981 on, from Mangere Reception Centre reports.

Table 6.3 Level of education reached in country of origin by ethnic group.

	None	Primary	Second.	Tertiary	Camp only	Other
Vietnamese	6	56	42	10	0	1
%	5.2%	48.7%	36.5%	8.7%	0%	0.9%
Khmer	28	86	42	5	8	1
%	16.5%	50.6%	24.7%	2.9%	4.7%	0.6%
Lao	9	19	23	8	0	0
%	15.3%	32.2%	39%	13.6%	0%	0%
Ch.-Viet.	11	48	63	1	0	0
	8.9%	39%	51.2%	0.8%	0%	0%
Ch.-Camb.	10	70	26	1	1	3
%	9%	63.1%	23.4%	0%	0.9%	2.7%
Total	64	279	196	25	9	5
%	11.1%	48.3%	33.9%	4.3%	1.6%	0.9%

Reported educational levels for 578 individuals (73.6% of the total sample) ranged from no formal education for 64 individuals through to 21 years of education with post-graduate qualifications for two individuals. Omitted from this assessment were children aged 0-5 apart from one child who was reported to have received preschool education and was recorded in the "other" category in Table 6.3 along with four who had received private tuition.

Where the level (by years) of education was not stated in the case report, primary level was adjudged to require six years and secondary education a further six years, these schooling periods having been specified in a large number of reports. This division produced a break between primary and secondary schooling at around the New Zealand intermediate/form 3 level. It was found, however, that in some cases primary education was seen as the first five years only and in other cases considerably longer attendance than six years did not take students beyond the primary or secondary level as might have been expected. In many cases this was due to individuals having attended both Chinese and Vietnamese or Khmer schools at the same level.

Some ethnic group differences appear in Table 6.3 . Few Vietnamese over five were reported to have received no formal education but a large number of individuals from other areas fell into this category,

particularly Khmer and Lao. However, while six of the Lao were in the 60-80 age bracket and therefore might be expected to have had no formal education, only four Khmer fell in this age bracket, representing a small proportion of the 28 Khmer reported as having had no formal education.

75 individuals were reported to have undertaken occupational training either for a technical occupation or trade (56 individuals) or for a professional qualification (17 individuals). Three medical and several other university students had not completed their qualifications.

Years in camp

More than a quarter of the sample had spent two years or more in a refugee camp. A further 26% were reported to have spent not more than two years in a refugee camp. This does not include those 374 individuals who arrived in New Zealand before August 1981 and for whom no information on length of stay in camp is provided, but it can be assumed that these persons would not have been in a camp for more than two years, from 1979. However, although they may have been in a camp for less than two years before coming to New Zealand, many refugees had already been in a country of first asylum (Thailand or Vietnam) as refugees without official status for up to four or more years. The long periods spent in camps by many recent arrivals are reflected by the figures in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 Full years in camp.

Years	Frequency	Percent.
Not stated	374	47.6
0	69	8.8
1	135	17.2
2	61	7.8
3	63	8.0
4	33	4.2
5	30	3.8
6	20	2.5

Language backgrounds

Mother tongue

161 were reported to use Vietnamese as their mother tongue, 257 Khmer, 79 Lao and 269 Tieu Chau (Chao Zhou), Mandarin, Cantonese or another, usually unspecified dialect of Chinese as their mother tongue. All Vietnamese, Khmer and Lao were reported to use their corresponding ethnic language, although some Khmer who had lived many years in Vietnam also reported Vietnamese as a main language.

However, not all those identified as ethnic Chinese by parents' mother tongue or place of birth identified a Chinese dialect as their mother tongue. 19 identified Vietnamese and 30 identified Khmer as their mother tongue although they also spoke a dialect of Chinese. A large proportion of those who identified with one of these two alternative languages was under 20 years of age.

Within the Chinese speaking group 91 were identified as Tieu Chau speakers. Only 70 were identified as speaking Cantonese and ten as speaking Mandarin as their mother tongue. A few spoke Hainanese but for most of the remaining 98 no dialect was specified. Some of these, therefore, may have been Tieu Chau, Cantonese or Mandarin speakers, although the last is less likely to be a mother tongue than a second dialect except for Chinese born in China.

Table 6.5 Literacy in mother tongue by ethnic group.

	Lit.	Total prelit.	(Under seven)	Not stated	Total
Vietnamese	84	50	31	27	161
%	52.2%	31.0%	19.2%	16.8%	100%
Khmer	107	95	58	25	227
%	47.1%	41.9%	25.6%	11%	100%
Lao	44	29	18	6	79
%	55.7%	36.7%	22.8%	7.6%	100%
Ch-Viet.	109	29	16	27	165
%	66%	17.6%	9.7%	16.3%	100%
Ch-Camb.	60	43	22	28	153
%	39.2%	42.4%	14.3%	18.3%	100%
Total no.	404	123	145	113	785

51.5% of the sample was indicated as having some degree of literacy in

the mother tongue. Of the 34% judged to be preliterate 18.5% (145 individuals) were under seven years of age on arrival in New Zealand. No information was given for 14.4% of the sample (113 individuals) but a large proportion of these had only a few years of formal education.

A cross-tabulation of literacy in the mother tongue by age and ethnic group showed 12 of the 22 aged between 60 and 80 to be illiterate, with no information given on a further four in this age group. Of the eight Lao over the age of 20 who were reported to be illiterate in the mother tongue four were in the highest age bracket. A large number between 15 and 39 in all ethnic groups were reported as literate in their mother tongue, as were most middle aged ethnic Chinese, particularly Chinese-Vietnamese. A high percentage of young Chinese-Cambodians were reported to be illiterate in Chinese but none between 25 and 35 were reported to be illiterate with only one case in this age bracket not stated. A similar trend towards illiteracy among the young but literacy among those who would be old enough to have received some formal schooling is noted for Chinese-Vietnamese subjects and for the Khmer although the trend is not so marked for the latter group.

Second languages on arrival.

Other than English.

A large number reported speaking at least one language other than their mother tongue, not counting English. 180, predominantly but not exclusively ethnic Chinese, reported speaking at least one dialect of Chinese, with two of these speaking four additional dialects. Most ethnic Chinese also spoke Khmer or Vietnamese depending on where they lived. Altogether 266 of the total sample of 785 spoke one or two other Asian languages (Thai, Vietnamese, Khmer, Lao, and one Burmese) and 66 a European language other than English. The most common European language was French which had usually been learned at school. One subject was communicatively competent (and literate) in four European languages.

151 reported literacy in at least one of these other languages. There were 55 cases where the subject had some knowledge of a second language

but literacy was not specified. A further five who were reported to speak a second language were under seven years of age and therefore not likely to be functionally literate in the language.

English.

61.4% of the sample had no English on arrival. A further 14.9% had only minimal English, being reported as having only very basic, very little or a few words. 17.9% were reported to have some, a little, OK, or simple conversation. Only 6.2% were reported to be good, very good or fluent in the language. Most placed in these last categories had studied English in school and/or in a refugee camp and had used it in their occupation in country of origin and/or as an interpreter in the camp.[2]

Table 6.6 English on arrival by ethnic group.

	none	minimal	some	good	v.good	fluent
Vietnamese	102	26	22	5	4	2
%	63.4%	16.1%	13.7%	3.1%	2.5%	1.2%
Khmer	140	29	44	8	6	0
%	61.7%	12.8%	19.4%	3.5%	2.6%	0%
Lao	56	5	11	4	3	0
%	70.9%	6.3%	13.9%	5.1%	3.8%	0%
Ch.-Viet.	105	29	27	2	2	0
%	63.6%	17.6%	16.4%	1.2%	1.2%	0%
Ch.-Camb.	79	28	34	10	2	0
%	51.6%	18.3%	22.2%	6.5%	1.3%	0%
Total	482	117	138	29	17	2
%	61.4%	14.9%	17.6%	3.7%	2.2%	0.3%

12.2% (95 individuals) were reported to have some degree of literacy in English on arrival. 83.4% (655) had no literacy in English. The remaining 4.3% were unspecified but had some spoken English and may have had some degree of literacy. The highest percentage with literacy in English by ethnic group was recorded among the Khmer (16.3%) and the lowest among the Chinese-Vietnamese (9.1%). While only 11.1% of

---

2 Three subjects were interpreters in the camps, one worked for the N.Z. Medical team and two for the U.S. Armed Forces in Vietnam.

Chinese-Cambodians were reported to be literate in English a sizeable percentage (13.1%) was unspecified compared with low percentages (1.3%-2.5%) for other groups. By age, literacy in English was concentrated in the 10-44 age range with only three persons over 44 reported to be literate in English. 50% of those with some English but not specified as literate were between ten and 20.

60.7% (477) had undertaken no English studies before arriving in New Zealand. 4.3% (34) had studied English at school and a further 0.6% (5) at school and in a refugee camp. 20.4% were reported to have studied in a refugee camp, 11.7% for up to three months and 8.7% for over three months. For 13.6% (107) where they had learned their English was unspecified while a very small group (0,3%, 2 individuals) had studied their English from books. A correlation between English on arrival and previous study in English is provided in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7 English on arrival by previous English study.

	Previous education							
Engl.on arriv.	none	school	camp	to 3mth	school 3mth+	unspec- + camp	other ified	Row total
none	453	0	11	0	0	18	0	482
%	95%	0%	12%	0%	0%	16.8%	0%	61.4%
min.	18	5	50	17	0	27	0	117
%	3.8%	14.7%	54.3%	25%	0%	25.2%	0%	14.9%
some	6	12	29	38	5	46	2	138
%	1.3%	35.3%	31.5%	55.9%	100%	43%	100%	17.6%
good	0	6	2	11	0	10	0	29
%	0%	17.6%	2.2%	16.2%	0%	9.3%	0%	3.7%
v.good	0	9	0	2	0	6	0	17
%	0%	26.5%	0%	2.9%	0%	5.6%	0%	2.2%
fluent	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
%	0%	5.9%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.3%
Column total	477	34	92	62	5	107	2	785
	60.8%	4.3%	11.7%	8.7%	0.6%	13.6%	o.3%	100%

A breakdown by ethnic group indicates that over 50% of each group had no English on arrival, the smallest number with no English being recorded by the Chinese-Cambodians (51.6%) and the largest by the Lao (70.9%). While there were proportionally more Chinese-Cambodians in the "minimal" category, there were also more of them in the "some" and "good" categories than for other groups (see Table 6.6).

Table 6.8 English on arrival of students entering schools and universities in New Zealand.

	Level of English on arrival						
	none	minimal	some	good	very good	fluent	
preschool	22	1	0	0	0	0	
primary	84	8	13	1	0	0	
intermediate	13	3	8	1	0	0	
secondary	25	12	11	2	0	0	
tertiary	0	0	1	0	3	0	
Total	144	24	33	4	3	0	N=208

An analysis of the English proficiency of students who entered schools and universities in New Zealand shows a large percentage of students to have very little or no English (Table 6.8). Only three students, all of whom entered the education system at the tertiary level, were noted as having very good English on arrival.

Language & language-related experiences in New Zealand

English study

While the number of missing observations regarding English study in New Zealand in each Department of Labour progress report is large even in first reports, a summary of the information (Table 6.9) offers some indication of trends in this area.

Reports indicate a predominant use of home tutoring provisions among new arrivals. Combining the scores for home tutor, home tutor and technical institute, home tutor and school, and study by correspondence which usually involves a home tutor produces figures which surpass those for combined technical institute attendance and all but the fourth report figure for schools. While attendance at full-time technical classes fell to nil in fourth reports, that at part-time classes remained relatively stable.

The accumulated figures for total studies involving home tuition are:

1st report	152	29.4%
2nd report	113	33.2%

3rd report	72	30.9%
4th report	38	22.6%

Although home tutoring was offered across all age groups, including incidentally to young children when classes were conducted in their presence, the highest demand for home tuition and other provisions was, as would be expected, among the largest age group (20 - 35 year olds) in the first three reports. Heavy demand from this group tailed off by the final report as work and other commitments took over and "adequate" English was achieved. Reports of having home tutors were higher for women than men.

Table 6.9 English study in New Zealand.

Where studied	Reports 1st	2nd	3rd	4th
None	73	54	41	41
%	14.1%	15.9%	15.8%	24.3%
School(main-stream)	139	92	75	60
%	26.8%	27.1%	29.0%	35.5%
School(reception cl.)	8	11	8	4
%	1.5%	3.2%	3.1%	2.4%
Tech.(full-time)	24	8	4	0
%	4.6%	2.4%	1.5%	0%
Tech.(part-time)	94	48	37	26
%	18.1%	14.1%	14.3%	15.4%
Home tutor (HT)	117	83	56	27
%	22.6%	24.4%	21.6%	16.0%
HT + tech.	15	12	14	6
%	2.9%	3.5%	5.4%	3.6%
Correspondence	3	6	2	1
%	0.6%	1.8%	0.8%	0.6%
HT + school	17	12	10	4
%	3.3%	3.5%	3.9%	2.4%
Other	28	14	12	0
%	5.4%	4.1%	4.6%	0%
Total comments	518	340	259	169
%total sample	66%	43.3%	33%	21.5%

English progress.

Problems were also experienced in obtaining information on English progress from the follow-up reports because of the incomplete nature of these reports and the lack of specific comments on this issue. Information on English progress was provided in only 335 first reports, 300 second reports, 250 third reports and 160 fourth reports.

Table 6.10 English progress in New Zealand.

English progress		Reports 1st	2nd	3rd	4th
None		9	13	8	5
	%	2.7%	4.3%	3.2%	3.1%
minimal		67	30	20	13
	%	20.0%	10.0%	8.0%	8.1%
some		121	90	44	28
	%	36.1%	30.0%	17.6%	17.5%
good		98	122	103	67
	%	29.3%	40.7%	41.2%	41.9%
very good		33	43	57	33
	%	9.9%	14.3%	22.8%	20.6%
excellent		7	2	18	14
	%	2.1%	0.7%	7.2%	8.8%
Total		335	300	250	160

While a little over a third were reported to be making good, very good or excellent progress in the first report a similar portion was reported as making only some progress and a large number were making only minimal progress. A trend towards increasingly better comments is noted with successive reports and increased length of residence.

Results obtained from a cross-tabulation of English progress by age suggested that English progress was influenced by age. The slowest progress was reported among older refugees in the sample while progress was most marked among young subjects, particularly those of primary school age and preschool age where older siblings were at school. In the 50+ age group only three were noted in any of the reports to be making good or very good progress whereas of all children in the sample under the age of 14 only two preschoolers were reported to be making no progress in English. Seven under 15 were making minimal progress in the first report but in following reports only one was recorded in this category (in the third report).

Educational progress

Initial and final comments on the educational progress of students in

schools and universities were taken from Department of Labour follow-up reports. 144 initial and 107 follow-up comments were provided on students' school progress (Table 6.11). All of those who were reported to be having difficulties with their studies were attending secondary schools, as were those who two of the three who were reported to have dropped out or left. Several in the latter category were reported to have been behavioural problems at school before they left.

Table 6.11 Educational progress.

	Initial	Latest
very little	3	3
%	2.1%	2.8%
some	24	4
%	16.7%	3.7%
good	92	57
%	63.9%	53.3%
very good	13	23
%	9.0%	21.5%
excellent	7	12
%	4.9%	11.2%
difficulties/not	5	2
coping %	3.5%	1.9%
dropped out/	0	3
left %	0%	2.8%
some problems/	0	3
overcome %	0%	2.8
Total comments	144	107
%	100%	100%

Attitudes

Comments on attitude and problems of adult subjects who were not students were also provided on follow-up reports. Again, a large number of reports made no comment on individuals' attitudes and there were only 59 references to passing or persistent problems for all age groups but as these comments appear to fall into a pattern and most of the problems were at least partially language related and considered to affect second language acquisition they shall be briefly considered here. A full table of comments appears in Appendix 3.

Attitude was mentioned in follow-up reports on 314 individuals. Although many of these comments were of a negative nature, an interested, positive attitude was mentioned in 206 instances and a

further 57 were reported to be mixing with English native speakers and using a lot of English at work, school or through other activities. Mixing with English speaking New Zealanders was reported across all age groups from preschoolers to persons in their early forties, but was not mentioned for anyone over the age of 44. The cut-off point for comments on an interested, positive attitude to learning English was higher, at 59. Twelve instances of taking an English name were reported.

Of the 22 subjects in the total sample aged between 60 and 80 one was reported to be not interested and nine more were reported to be reluctant learners. Two between 15 and 19 and four between 30 and 34 also fell in the "not interested" category, and two between 35 and 44 and two between 50 and 54 in the "reluctant" category. A lack of time for English studies was noted for seven individuals aged 15 to 34, and shyness was hindering progress in 13 instances, 11 of them involving individuals aged between five and twenty-four. Seven instances of improved attitude were noted across a wide age range while only one person between 45 and 49 was reported to have become negative.

Occupations

Occupational and student status in country of origin was provided for 444 individuals and in New Zealand for 401 individuals. If the 109 under the age of five are removed from the sample total these give valid percentages of 66% and 59%. Updates on occupational status in New Zealand was provided for 387 individuals.

A relatively large number of Southeast Asian refugees who entered the workforce in New Zealand had been students predeparture (or, in the case of refugees from Cambodia, before Pol Pot took power in 1975). Very few resumed their disrupted studies; most entered the workforce in unskilled occupations. Similar percentages had been employed in professional positions (14.8%) and in agriculture and fishing (mainly self- or family-employed) (15%). Only a very small number who had held professional positions were able to maintain their previous professional standing once in New Zealand. The main reasons for this would appear to be lack of accreditation for foreign qualifications, inadequate skills in English to practise or to return to study, and the

need to earn money to support family members in New Zealand, in refugee camps and still in the country of origin.

A small number of persons who had previously been involved in agriculture worked in market gardens, orchards or forestry in New Zealand, but this number dropped as families moved to larger urban areas. Only two ex-fishermen undertook employment related to their previous occupation (and relinquished it when they left the provincial town where they had first been settled).

For the large number who had been in trade / blue collar employment, the range of occupations in country of origin varied widely and included a large number of occupations involving self-employment in skilled crafts and trades which are not found in New Zealand and difficult to place on the Elley-Irving socioeconomic index (Elley & Irving, 1985) including noodlemakers, cooked food vendors, plastics factory owner-operators, gem collectors, bone and wood carvers. These occupations which were seen to require some skill, knowledge and entrepreneurial skills beyond those required for urban labouring positions were mainly listed under "Trades". Street vendors were itemised separately with shopkeepers to see if there was on-going employment in the retail trade in New Zealand.

Reported occupations in New Zealand were heavily weighted in favour of urban, labouring employment with increasing numbers engaged in manual, process type work in follow-up reports. Reasons commonly given for this were secondary migration to Auckland, working with other refugees, higher basic wages and the chance to do overtime and so earn more money in this type of work. There was a trend, however, for some upward mobility from process working, unskilled positions into other positions and trades involving increased skill. The marked increase in the numbers and percentages registered as "at home" reflect the large numbers of young women at home with small children and therefore unavailable for the workforce. While unemployment was noted for one in ten in first reports which were conducted after only three months in New Zealand, by final reports, which varied from second reports at six or nine months to fourth reports at two to three years, only 2.8% were still reported as unemployed.

Regarding whether those working were self- or family employed, or working for someone else in their country of origin, no clear indication was given for 486 cases (61.9% of the sample). 186 (23.7% of the sample) were reported to have been self-employed or work in a family business in their country of origin. While only 12.7% of Lao were reported to have been self-employed the figures were considerably higher for other ethnic groups: 18.6% of Vietnamese, 20.3% of Khmer, 29.1% of Chinese-Vietnamese and 34.0% of Chinese-Cambodians. Except in the case of the Lao, these percentages were higher in each case than those for persons who were clearly not self employed: 16.5% of Lao, 16.8% of Vietnamese, 11.5% of Khmer, 23.6% of Chinese-Vietnamese and 5.2% of Chinese-Cambodians. Only eleven persons in the sample were clearly self-employed in New Zealand.

Four individuals with good English were reported to act as interpreters at work. In eight instances lack of English was noted as a severe occupational handicap, and in two cases a persistent handicap.

Table 6.12 Occupations.

	Country of origin		1st in NZ		Latest reported in NZ	
Professional	66	14.8%	8	2%	13	3.3%
Trades	172	38.7%	73	18%	104	27%
Urban labouring	7	1.5%	153	38%	169	43.7%
Agriculture/fishing	67	15%	15	3.7%	5	1.3%
Restaurants	0	0%	5	1.2%	3	0.8%
Vendors/shopkeepers	24	5%	2	0.5%	3	0.8%
Part-time	1	0.2%	2	0.5%	4	1%
Student	80	18%	13	3.4%	2	0.5%
At home	26	6%	64	16%	59	15.2%
Retired	2	0.4%	13	3.2%	13	3.4%
Unemployed	1	0.2%	40	10%	11	2.8%
Totals	444	100%	401	100%	387	100%

Where settled in New Zealand.

The final issue that shall be of concern here is the locations in which Southeast Asian refugees were settled and any indications that might be provided in the sample of secondary migration. These issues are important for initial and more longterm language planning for the provision of ESL and mother tongue language maintenance and development.

No place of first settlement was provided for five individuals, leaving 780 with known destinations. Although the largest numbers in the sample were settled in Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington and Christchurch, subjects were settled in a total of 31 locations including 10 in the South Island. Vietnamese in the sample were settled in a total of 17 locations, Chinese-Vietnamese in 17 (not all the same as the former), Khmer in eight, Chinese-Cambodians in 11 and the Lao in 5.

By the final follow-up for each case, which was made from six months to two years after arrival in New Zealand, 82 individuals were known to have moved. Known destinations were Auckland which registered a rise of 52 by final reports, Wellington with a rise of 17, Australia with four and the United States with one.

PALMERSTON NORTH SUBSAMPLE FINDINGS.

At the local level the Southeast Asian refugee population was surveyed in two sections. Although many questions overlapped two separate questionnaires were used, one with the adult population and the other with the school population. The results are reported separately below with the adult findings reported first.

ADULT SURVEY

Information was obtained from twenty-two (22) Cambodian individuals within the Palmerston North area, with a predominance of male respondents - fourteen males to eight females. All had come to New Zealand from camps in Thailand, with the earliest arrivals coming in the first intake under the official Southeast Asian refugee programme in 1979 and the most recent having arrived in late 1984.

Age

Although ages ranged from 18 to 73 most of the sample fell within the 20 to 40 age group as is shown in Table 6.13 and most of these were

married couples with young children. Five families included at least one child born in New Zealand. Through an active family reunification programme which operates in the city, most respondents are representatives of large family groups which include one or more grandparent.

Table 6.13 Age on arrival & current age.
(Each asterisk represents one individual.)

	On arrival	Current age
0 - 4		
5 - 9		
10 - 14	*	
15 - 19	**	**
20 - 24	****	****
25 - 29	*******	****
30 - 34	***	**
35 - 39		*****
40 - 44	*	
45 - 49	*	**
50 - 54	**	
55 - 59	**	
60+	*	*

Educational background

While the oldest respondent reported no formal education, the mean average length of education in the country of origin was 6.8 years and the highest level of education reached was two years tertiary study toward a medical degree. Two others had completed specialised training after the completion of basic educational studies, one professional training and the other trade training.

The age at which respondents started school varied from 6 through to 12 years of age, with four of the twenty-two in the 10 to 12 year age bracket when they first attended school. This late start did not, however, necessarily indicate very brief studies as one late starter attended school for seven years to the age of 19. Nor was one age or sex group particularly over-represented in any one starting age or length of studies as might have been expected with education for boys generally considered more important than education for girls in many Khmer families.

Half (11) of the sample, seven males and four females, indicated that they would like more formal education. This represented an even balance by sex given the proportions of the total sample (14:8). The few who indicated the areas they would like to study in favoured study in a technical institution but within these bounds elected a wide range of subjects from accounting to history.

Table 6.14 Education in country of origin

Sex	Current age	Years of education	Starting age -completing age
M	15	1	
M	18		
M	20	2	8-10
M	22	8 + tech.	7-15
F	22	3	12-15
M	24	.. + tech.	
M	25	7	
F	27	2	12-14
F	28	6	7-13
F	29	1	6-19
F	31	2	8-10
M	33	7	7-14
M	35	17	8-25
M	35	7 + 5 apprent.	6-13
M	35	2	
F	35	12	6-18
M	36	13	6-19
M	45	9	10-19
M	56	5	12-17
M	55	6	8-16
F	75	0	

Of the factors preventing study, lack of English appeared as the most important, with fifteen citing this as a reason for undertaking no further general studies. Eleven also cited lack of money and four the related factor of needing to work. As most of the respondents are members of extended families including older non-earning members and many of the men are more immediately supporting young families and wives, lack of money and the need to work would doubtlessly take priority over further full-time studies even if their English was felt to be adequate, although the alternative would be more viable (and possibly, therefore, more unsettling). The need for more qualifications was seen as a hindering factor in six replies and inability to get a bursary in three. Four with secondary level or higher qualifications felt that their qualifications would not be recognised and three lacked

adequate information regarding options and requirements to undertake further study.

Language backgrounds

Mother tongue

In all but two cases the mother tongue was given as Khmer. One of the two remaining persons gave Mandarin as the mother tongue while the other offered two mother tongues, Hainanese and Khmer. Only two cases reported no literacy in the mother tongue, both Khmer and one having had no formal education. Eight felt that they could read and write a little in their mother tongue, nine that they could read and write it quite well and three that they could read and write it very well.

Other languages

Nine individuals spoke at least one language other than either their mother tongue or English, and six had some degree of literacy in at least one of these other languages. Most of these languages had been learned either at home, work and /or in a refugee camp (Thai-6 individuals, Vietnamese-2, Tieu Chau-3, Hainanese-2, Cantonese-1) rather than in school (French-3).

English on arrival

Fourteen respondents reported having no English when they arrived in New Zealand. Eight reported having "some" English on arrival and six of these eight also reported some degree of literacy in English. None had learnt English in a formal situation other than classes in the refugee camps where some reported to have studied for over a year and none considered him- or herself to have good English on arrival.

Language use

The mother tongue was spoken to parents, wives and husbands but three reported also using English or another second language to their children and one reported speaking only English to his children. In seven cases a variety of languages including English were used within

the home to friends . Many, however, spoke their mother tongue at work to friends. This trend reflects employment in the same firms as other refugees or self-employment (particularly among Chinese-Cambodians in food-oriented businesses). Only three respondents, two still at school and a third who had studied at a tertiary level in Cambodia but had had no English on arrival, reported that they used both English and Khmer for thinking. All three read a considerable amount in English - books, newspapers and magazines.

While most children were reported as having literacy skills only in their second language, English, some parents also reported their children as speaking English but not the ethnic language. This was especially the case when an older child or children within the family had already been at school for several years when the second or following siblings started school. This was also the case with a six year old and a four year old where the older siblings were teenagers who had had no English on arrival in New Zealand.

English in New Zealand

English study

All twenty-two respondents had passed through the four or six-week orientation programme at the Mangere Reception Centre on arrival in New Zealand. Sixteen, six women and ten men, reported having had a home tutor. The shortest period of home tutoring reported was three months and the longest six years three months and on-going. Of these sixteen, four (three men and one woman) were also studying through the Correspondence School programme. The length and on-going nature of most of the home tutoring situations reflects the strong links that may build up between tutors and students especially where the refugee population is settled in the wider community. Two of the respondents were still at secondary school full-time, each having been at his respective school for two years since arriving in Palmerston North. Eight adults had attended Saturday morning classes at Queen Elizabeth College, including two who had attended for two years and two who had also attended day classes at the Manawatu Polytechnic.

There is also known to be a strong attendance at the Monday morning class where two tutors provide classes through the Polytechnic for migrant women who would otherwise be house-bound. Attendance is facilitated by the provision of a minibus, for a small financial contribution from the class participants, by the Manawatu Polytechnic which is responsible for the course.

Table 6.15 English study reported in New Zealand.

	Total no.	Study on-going
Home tutor	16	5
Correspondence School	4	3
Secondary school - full-time	2	2
Night class/Sat morning class	8	1
Polytechnic - day class	2	2

Nine of the respondents reported having taken advantage of more than one of the avenues available to learn English in Palmerston North and eight were still receiving English instruction from at least one source.

Fourteen anticipated further English study in the future, most from more than one source. Eleven wanted to study with home tutors, eleven in classes, two by continuing at school, five from books and nine by correspondence. Most were satisfied with the courses being offered. Asked what they would like to see changed, six wanted more information on courses, six more vocational teaching, and three more practical teaching methods. Two wanted classes at work and one more night courses. Five, four men and one woman, would like to see bilingual courses in English and their mother tongue provided. Only three offered comments on which provisions best met their needs. One man and one woman specified home tutoring while the third, a man, preferred the combination of home tutoring with correspondence school lessons.

Two women reported still having no English, while three other women and two men reported only minimal progress in any of the four skills. An underestimation of ability in both oracy and literacy skills was noted among those with considerable previous education and those who were still studying, reflecting self-expectations of levels of competence required to be communicatively competent and the high linguistic demands of academic study compared with everyday survival English.

Considering the possibilities that would be opened to them if their English were better three felt that it would bring promotion at work while five were not sure and two felt it would not. Five, however, said that they would change jobs against two who would not and four felt that they would be able to use their qualifications compared with three who did not and three more who were uncertain. Five felt that it would lead to more study while five also reported that they would use it at home. This latter group probably reflects the amount of English that is being brought into the home by primary school aged children and their dominant use of English even to their parents. More English was also seen as a catalyst to having more English speaking friends in six cases.

All but one respondent, a student, reported having a television set. Hours spent watching television were estimated at between one and a half and ten hours per day. The highest estimate was from a mother with a baby who in her time in New Zealand had availed herself of considerable language instruction and who still received instruction through a home tutor plus correspondence school and the Monday morning class.

Few of the respondents reported belonging to clubs or other organisations. Seven belonged to a church where English was the main language spoken. Another cited the Cambodian Society in Wellington, reflecting a trend for Palmerston North Cambodians to retain close links with the larger Cambodian community in Wellington. [3]

Asked whether they would ask a stranger for directions even if they thought they would make mistakes with their English, five said they always would. Two of these five were males in their thirties who had considerable educational background although no English on arrival in New Zealand and who now spoke very good English while a third was a

---

3 Although a Cambodian Association has since been set up in Palmerston North, strong links have been retained with the Khmer community in Wellington which includes relations. Wellington also now has a Cambodian Buddhist Temple.

young male college student, also with very good oral skills in English. All had been in New Zealand for at least three years. Two female respondents also replied that they would always ask. One had been in New Zealand over three years and had had twelve years education before leaving Cambodia but the other had been here just over a year and reported only three years educational background.

Table 6.16 Frequency by which respondents would ask a stranger for directions even though they might make mistakes with their English.

Always	5
Often	5
Sometimes	7
Rarely	0
Never	0
No response	4

STUDENT SAMPLE

A sample of 16 primary and secondary students was obtained, excluding the two secondary school pupils who answered the adult survey. Seven of the 16 were primary school students aged from six to ten years old while nine were secondary school students aged from 14 to 22.

Mother tongue and other languages

Although representing only a small sample the student population surveyed reflects the trend for many refugees to speak a number of languages (See Table 6.17). It also shows a trend for young ethnic Chinese to identify first with the "national" tongue, with only one claiming a Chinese dialect as the mother tongue but several speaking at least one dialect of Chinese which had been learned in the home.

All regarded their mother tongue as important or very important. The only secondary school aged respondent who chose "important" rather than "very important" spoke Cantonese as well as his mother tongue, Vietnamese.

Considering where they would like to learn their mother tongue, six indicated they would like to learn it at school (2 primary, 4

secondary), four that they would like to learn it at home (2 primary, 2 secondary) and three that they did not want to learn it at all (0 primary, 3 secondary). One primary student was not sure, and two did not answer the question. All three secondary students who did not want to learn their mother tongue were already literate in it.

Table 6.17 Languages spoken by age.

Age	Mother tongue	Literacy MT	Other languages excluding English	English on arrival
6	Khmer	0	0	0
7	Khmer	0	0	0
7	Khmer	0	0	0
7	Vietn.	0	Chinese	little in camp
8	Khmer	0	0	0
10	Vietn.	quite good	Chinese	some in camp
10	Khmer	quite good	0	0
14	Hain.	little	Khmer(lit) Thai	0
15	Khmer	quite good	0	0
15	Khmer	little	0	little in camp
16	Khmer	littleR	Thai Lao Vietn.	3 mths in camp
16	Khmer	very good	TieuChau Hain.	8 mths in camp
17	Vietn.	0	Cantonese	0
17	Khmer	quite good	0	0
17	Khmer	quite good	TieuChau Hain.Thai	0
22	Vietn.	very good	0	0

Abbreviations:

Vietn.	Vietnamese
Hain.	Hainanese
lit	literate
R	reading
0	no proficiency

English proficiency

Students were asked to rate their own proficiency in English in the four skills, speaking, understanding, reading and writing. At the secondary school level this was done without the researcher being present except in two instances. All of the primary students completed the questionnaire with the researcher present. At one primary school where the ESL students filled out the questionnaires together (four Southeast Asian refugees and three others) some discussed their ability with siblings or others in the mother tongue but with others in English. Older students were found to be more concerned about limitations in their English than were younger students.

Table 6.18 Present English ability.

Age	S	U	R	W	LOR
6	QG	VG	VG	QG	2yrs6mths
7	-	-	-	-	2yrs
7	L	L	L	L	1yr
7	(VG)	(VG)	(L)	(L)	9mths
8	VG	QG	QG	QG	2yrs6mths
10	VG	VG	L	VG	1yr
10	L	L	L	L	7mths
14	L	QG	L	L	?
15	QG	QG	QG	QG	3yrs
15	VG	QG	L	L	4yrs6mths
16	L	QG	QG	L	1yr9mths
16	QG	QG	QG	QG	8mths
17	L	L	L	L	3yrs
17	L	QG	L	L	4yrs2mths
17	QG	QG	QG	L	2yrs
22	QG	QG	QG	QG	5yrs6mths

Abbreviations:

S	Speaking	VG	Very good
U	Understanding	QG	Quite good
R	Reading	L	little
W	Writing	()	Researcher's assessment
LOR	Length of residence in New Zealand		

Language choices.

The students were asked to indicate which languages they spoke in the home and at school and which they used to think about school work and other things. In Table 6.19 the numbers who indicated that they spoke more than one language in each situation are in parentheses while those who spoke only one language are unmarked.

While English was reported as being used at home to parents, siblings and other relations by only one secondary school student, most reported using English at school to school friends and for thinking about school work. All but one of the primary school students and three of the oldest secondary school students reported the use of only English in these two situations. One student reported thinking about school work only in his mother tongue. This student also spoke three other languages and reported engineering and woodwork to be his two easiest subjects and mathematics, science and English to be the hardest.

Table 6.19 Language choices.

	Numbers using each language		
	Mother tongue	Other	English
To parents	8 (5)	1 (3)	1 (2)
To siblings	5 (5)	1 (3)	2 (2)
To other relations	7 (4)	1 (3)	1 (1)
To school friends	(4)	(3)	11 (4)
Thinking (school work)	1 (4)	1 (1)	10 (3)
Thinking (other things)	6 (5)	(2)	(3)

Among the primary school respondents there was wide variation in the choice of easiest subjects. Those considered the easiest included: printing, writing stories, reading (2), mathematics (2) and making things.

Among the secondary school students the range was smaller and degree of accord greater. Of the eight who answered this question five felt mathematics was the easiest, three chose engineering and two woodwork, one indicated technical drawing, one typing and one physics and accounting (in contrast to economics which she saw as one of the hardest). Only one student listed science among the easiest subjects. Seven of the eight secondary students listed English among their hardest subjects. Four listed science. Two listed mathematics, two social studies and one economics.

Asked whether they would ask a stranger for information even if they knew that they would make mistakes with their English, two replied that they often would, four that they sometimes would and one that he never would. The last was a student of eight months residence in New Zealand.

CHAPTER 7.

NEW ZEALAND PROVISIONS

Language provisions for Southeast Asian refugees in New Zealand can be divided into English second language provisions and mother tongue provisions. They can also be addressed according to whether they are offered through government or voluntary programmes. However, the amount of overlapping of language provisions according to source of supply, personnel involved and anticipated outcomes, renders such divisions very arbitrary and artificial. Hence, such divisions shall not be used in the analysis of language provisions which follows although they should be kept in mind as important variables for consideration.

The provision of English as a Second Language (ESL) in each area where Southeast Asian refugees have been settled has involved one or some combination of home tutoring, day or evening classes, women's classes, adult training or retraining programmes, withdrawal classes, reception classes, English for Specific Purposes and bilingual classes. There have been wide variations in both the nature and timing of these provisions across various regions. Less has been provided in the area of mother tongue maintenance and development but, again, situations vary between regions.

Provisions shall be examined under the following broad sections:

- Mangere Reception Centre provisions
- Home tutoring
- Institutional provisions for adults
- ESL and mother tongue provisions in schools
- Further ESL provisions
- ESL qualifications
- First language provisions

Sources of language provision have been organised in a sequence which reflects the order in which different provisions have typically been made available to recently incoming Southeast Asian refugees. According to date of first provision home tutoring preceded the language and orientation programme offered by the Mangere Reception Centre but, as

nearly all Southeast Asian refugees are now required to attend the Centre before being dispersed to their various resettlement locations, the provisions made available through this Centre shall be discussed first, before turning to an examination of other provisions.

Mangere Reception Centre

Background

1977 marked the first intake of Southeast Asian refugees into New Zealand. The 400 selected were brought on a charter flight from their refugee camp selection to New Zealand and sent directly to church sponsors arranged by the Inter-Church Commission on Immigration and Refugee Resettlement (ICCI) in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. However, it was noted by both the Immigration Division of the Department of Labour and the ICCI that these groups lacked a support community of any note to aid their resettlement in a culture very different from that which they had left such a short time before. While previous intakes of refugees had been made up of predominantly urban Western and educated Europeans, the selection of Southeast Asian refugees was not restricted to an urban, educated elite which was accustomed to a western lifestyle and even those from the cities were imbued with very different, eastern cultural values and customs. Moreover, although a number spoke more than one language, many were illiterate, few spoke a European language and even fewer spoke any English.

Added to this were the particular health needs of the target population, many of whom arrived with infectious illnesses from the camps, and the fact that unlike other refugees most arrived in New Zealand with nothing, not even blankets and clothing. These factors led to a decision that there should be a period of orientation including semi-isolation and health and educational provisions before intakes were transferred to resettlement areas.

In 1978 the poorly patronised workers' hostel run by the Department of Labour at Mangere was chosen as a location for the orientation programme. Built by the United States forces during World War II for convalescing soldiers, it had been used post-war as a hostel for

British and Dutch immigrants admitted under assisted passages. From the 1960s to the early 1970s it had been used for apprenticeship block courses and it was in the late 1970s being sparsely used as a workers' hostel. Although rather old the hostel block was seen to be central to facilities and adequately integrated into a New Zealand urban setting to which the refugees required orientation without being submerged in the city environment. It could also provide the accommodation required for proposed intakes of 150.

One million dollars was spent refurbishing the hostel and providing the extra classrooms and other facilities required, and 150 of the 200 beds were allocated to the Immigration Division for Southeast Asian refugees brought into the country under the Southeast Asian refugee resettlement programme. While the Department of Education was directed to provide the on-arrival orientation and English programme and the Department of Health was to be responsible for the medical screening of all new arrivals, the Department of Labour was to be responsible for liaison between the departments involved and for the day to day administration of the overall programme.

Orientation and language programmes in migrant hostels were not a new phenomenon with the opening of the resettlement unit at Mangere. Some early post-war displaced persons and other European immigrants had been sent to the Displaced Persons' Reception and Training Centre at Pahiatua, which had previously housed the Polish orphans and supporting adults who had arrived on the "General Randall" and were given asylum in 1943. However, for those who passed through the Pahiatua programme many more went to the Assisted Immigrants' hostel at Trentham which provided accommodation only and was available for all assisted immigrants, not just refugees. Others went straight into the community. In 1981 and 1982 small intakes of Polish refugees were to stay at Mangere for a week before moving on to their sponsors. The 1983 intake of Polish refugees, however, did not stay at Mangere Reception Centre but moved directly to their sponsoring areas, as have other recent refugee intakes such as the Chileans and Assyrian Christians.

Not all Southeast Asians underwent the orientation programme at Mangere. A special intake of 50 Vietnamese was sponsored by the Returned Servicemen's Association and families of Vietnam War veterans

in Rotorua. This intake in 1980 did not pass through the hostel but went to the Te Amorangi complex administered by the Anglican church. After this initial intake to Te Amorangi was judged successful, the complex hosted a small number of family reunification cases for ten day medical-only stays. However, after several months the voluntary aid through which the complex was operated dried up and the programme ceased.

From the end of 1980 all Southeast Asian intakes were to pass through the orientation programme at the Mangere Reception Centre except for those arriving during the August - September 1983 closure and Orderly Departure Programme (ODP) cases from Vietnam who, although they arrive under the family reunification scheme and the auspices of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), are not technically refugees. To July these ODP cases numbered some 128 cases or 347 individuals with 47 cases or 102 individuals awaiting exit clearances and 98 cases under processing action by the New Zealand Immigration Division. Further exceptions to the orientation and English language programme have been anticipated with increased intakes predicted for early 1987 in response to requests from UNHCR to take larger numbers of Cambodian refugees from the border camps in Thailand including Khao I Dang before their threatened closure and the forced repatriation across the border of those remaining.

Intakes to Mangere Reception Centre proceeded at 100 per month in 1979 rising to 150 per month in 1981 and reduced numbers of around 80 to 100 when the length of stay at the hostel was increased to six weeks in 1981. The initial four weeks stay was lengthened by two weeks in response to continued pressure from the Department of Education which was charged with the provision of the language programme and considered the three to four weeks available for orientation and language provisions inadequate. This lengthening of the course countered the wishes of many refugees who were entering the country under the family reunification programme and wanted only to get out of the hostel to be with their families and work.

Nor did the Department of Health favour the six week programme. In his final medical report in 1982 the retiring Medical Officer at the centre criticised the already extended orientation programme and concomitant

reduction in the maximum size of each intake from 150 to 100. He suggested that the most cost effective time should be spent on those who needed it most. Preschool children could be "ignored as far as (formal) education goes". This was, in fact, largely the case although Milmine in 1982 reported that contact had been established with a nearby playcentre "to enable the refugee parents to meet New Zealand parents, to let all the children play alongside each other, and generally to make the refugees aware of this social-educational group in our community." (Milmine,1982:2-3) Primary school children were felt by the medical officer "to make faster and better progress in the public school system" and "older refugees will probably never learn or change their ways." He saw teenagers and breadwinners as the key group for education and with reference to them vocalised the dilemma that was facing decision makers regarding lengthening or shortening such courses. It was suggested in his medical report that if this age group spent too long in the initial orientation programme they risked "being institutionalised or neurotic and yet the need is for enough basic English to obtain work, before being thrust into the outside environment." (22/1/27-24-4 pt.13) For this to be achieved he suggested a period of three weeks to three months according to need.

The views of the Department of Labour "lay somewhere in the middle" regarding the length of the programme, respecting the wishes of refugees, Department of Health and Department of Education. The six week programme remained - too long for all except the Department of Education with its language provisions brief for which it was considered too short.

Further strong pressure was exerted by the Department of Education in August-September 1983 to have the programme extended beyond the six weeks so that they might be able more effectively to meet the directive from Cabinet to the Department to provide basic English language training. The Labour Department,on the other hand, felt that six weeks was "more than enough for the refugees" and adequate for "survival language training", thus reflecting the aims of the programme (N.Z. Department of Labour 22/1/27-24-4 pt.14). However, concern that some refugees were leaving the centre early to take up employment rather than for personal safety or health reasons was acknowledged and the minimum stay was to be to be enforced.

ESL Programmes

The language programme which was established in early 1979 is prepared and run by staff of the Language Section of the Auckland Technical Institute for the Department of Education. Classes are provided through interpreters with assistance from ESL teachers. The more recent introduction of videotapes has aided the development of materials and their presentation in the mother tongues of the refugees.

Interpreters have usually been former students. In 1979 three interpreters were employed under the Temporary Employment Scheme for the four weeks duration of each course. Problems occurred with an intake of Vietnamese where at least one interpreter provided information in Chinese only which resulted in ethnic Vietnamese walking out of the classes. This reflected the tension that existed between ethnic Chinese and ethnic Vietnamese and underlined the need for multilingual interpreters. For the 1980 programme the Auckland Technical Institute employed one full-time multilingual interpreter, with three further interpreters employed under the temporary scheme as per 1979.

There is currently one interpreter employed in a permanent position while two others are employed under the temporary staff ceiling slot when their services are required for an intake of refugees. Apart from their interpreting services for new refugees, these interpreters are involved in translating a number of publications for government departments, particularly Social Welfare, The Ministry of Transport and the Department of Health.

In his 1981 Annual Report on Medical Screening (22/1/27-24-4) the Medical Officer reported that "the greatest problem with interpreters since the programme started was that they were employed and paid by the Labour Department. They were therefore regarded as their staff and outside of any control or training from Health" and that no training in interpreting skills or further English training was given to them. As a result of his complaints a further interpreter was attached to the Centre and paid for by the Department of Health.

A further outcome of the problems with interpreters was that while with early intakes of Southeast Asian refugees there was a tendency to emphasise the characteristics that they had in common as refugees and Indochinese, with later intakes there was a greater awareness of the ethnic, cultural and linguistic differences between the groups and more homogeneous intakes have minimised potential intergroup friction and interpreting problems. It has also, undoubtably, reduced the diversity of linguistic problems faced when teaching English to a group. For example, while Vietnamese speakers have at least some familiarity with a romanised script, their language having been converted to a romanised script by French missionaries in the 19th century, Chinese, Khmer and Lao speakers often lacked any such familiarity with the script.

Classes

Intakes in 1979 were divided up into six classes of 12 or 13 students according to results of initial testing on day three of ability in "survival English", literacy and previous education. Classes involved four hour per day including half an hour daily in the language laboratory, a total of approximately 64 hours. At the conclusion of the course refugees were tested for level of attainment in English and a report was prepared on their progress.

With the romanised script new to many of the refugees an objective of the ESL programme is that by the end of the course all can at least read their own names and recognise one or two signs in English. A functional approach is adopted in the two texts which have been specifically produced for the teaching of Southeast Asian refugees in New Zealand. Beginnings (1979) and Starting Out (1983) are both survival English courses designed for learners from very limited English backgrounds, the latter specifically offering a literacy programme for adults.

1979 saw the provision of a classroom at the Centre for primary school children and the appointment of a primary school teacher and teacher's aide by the Department of Education. As most of the children in the 5 to 12 age range have had severely disrupted, if any, education the basic priority of the school has been seen as the preparation of children for entry into the New Zealand primary school system by establishing routines and classroom procedures.

The school programme is of six weeks duration but involves frequent interruptions to meet other requirements such as health checks and welfare requirements. These reduce the effective teaching time to "20-24 actual school days in any 6 week programme." (Stout,1982:39) The final two days are normally spent in ordinary classes at Jean Batten School, to which the refugee classes are attached.

The "actual teaching of English is an important secondary function" of the primary class at the centre. Within language teaching heavy emphasis has been placed on pronunciation which has been seen as essential to confident language learning (Stout,1982). At the end of the course each child's English language ability and special needs or problems are assessed and reports written to provide information for receiving schools. These reports were originally transmitted to the schools through the sponsors but now involve a three sheet beige progress report which is sent to the Resource Teacher for Southeast Asian children in the appropriate main centre for forwarding to the receiving school.

Similarly blue report forms for each secondary aged child and adult were provided for the confidential use of the New Zealand sponsor but as the system of sponsoring changed to one of sponsorship by one's own family this system was felt to be inappropriate. Therefore it was replaced by white single sheeted reports for the use of home tutors which comment on the languages used by the individual, past education, courses studied, English level, materials received and general comments. These reports are supplemented by a sheet reporting how much has been taught from the Starting Out or Beginnings programme. These two reports are forwarded to the home tutor schemes in each area for dissemination.

On leaving Mangere Reception Centre refugees are provided with a mother tongue/English dictionary where this is possible and copies of the Learning English at Home (LEAH) series published by the Department of Education. Book 1 of this series is available only from the refugee language programme at Mangere, but books 2 to 6 in Khmer, books 2 to 5 in Chinese, books 2 to 7 in Lao, and books 2 to 7 in Vietnamese are also available from government bookshops in Auckland and Wellington.

Until recently a charge was made for these publications but they are now available free of charge. Set notes on teaching to accompany the LEAH publications have been developed at Carrington Technical Institute in Auckland but are not in wide circulation.

Home tutoring

The home tutor scheme provided the basis of English language provisions for Southeast Asian refugees from the first intake in 1977. The voluntary community-based nature of this scheme echoes the voluntary nature of the sponsorship programme administered through the ICCI. The growth of the programme illustrates the pressures that expansion and longterm provisions place on voluntary system and the demand that exists within the community among refugees and other migrants for ESL aid on a personalised basis.

Essentially home tutoring involves the matching of lay volunteers who have been given some basic instruction in second language teaching methods with individuals, pairs or family groups who desire language instruction but cannot or do not want to attend formal classes, or those who do attend such classes but want and are felt by a home tutor coordinator to benefit from additional one-to-one instruction. These benefits may be seen to include not only linguistic progress but the effects of social and cultural interaction with "ordinary" New Zealanders.

Home tutoring is usually carried out, as its name suggests, within the home of either the tutor or the learner or both. The timing, nature and duration of lessons vary widely and depend on the personal arrangements made between tutor and student. Most pairs meet for one to two hours per week. The duration of home tuition for one student varies from a few months to a number of years.

A survey carried out in 1985 by the home tutor coordinator of the Central Auckland Scheme which covers an area from Herne Bay to Howick found that most pairings in this area were of limited duration with classes lasting one to three months for fifty-four tutors, four to six months for 30 tutors, seven to nine months for 17 tutors and over nine

months for only 28 of the 129 pairings. Although several matchings were ongoing the trend was for classes to terminate when students moved to other districts, went on shift work or were encouraged to attend ESL classes at an institute to build on their basic English and move more into the community.

Where home tuition is arranged for a student studying English by correspondence home tutoring will involve a home tutor working with the student on lessons and activities provided by the Correspondence School in Wellington.

Home tutor schemes

In the 1986 directory of Adult English as a Second Language Organisations and Institutions in New Zealand published by the Department of Education in Wellington twenty-six persons were listed as Home Tutor Coordinators in twenty towns and cities around New Zealand, including four in the greater Auckland area and four in the Wellington catchment including Porirua, Wainuiomata and Upper Hutt. In the 1984 directory thirty-one contact persons were listed in twenty-four areas. By 1986 schemes were no longer listed for Te Aroha (Thames Plains), Dannevirke, Feilding, Blenheim, Wainuiomata, Ashburton or Gore while Morrinsville and Tauranga had been added.

Known destinations of refugees leaving areas were:

from	destination
Northland	Auckland
Gisborne	1 family to Auckland, 2 to Wellington
Wairoa	Auckland
Wanganui	Australia
Feilding	Auckland
Levin	Wellington
Palmerston N.	Wellington, Auckland, Australia.
Hutt Valley	Australia
Nelson	Auckland, Christchurch, Australia
Timaru	Christchurch (12 of 18 on to Australia)
	New Plymouth then Australia
Gore	Dunedin, Auckland, Australia
Invercargill	Australia.

A home tutor situation operated in Rotorua in 1979-1980 but it no longer exists. Home tutoring had similarly ceased in Wairoa where all Vietnamese families who had been receiving home tutoring had left. A

scheme operates in New Plymouth but the resignation through family pressure of the home tutor coordinator resulted in no return from this scheme. A new coordinator had been appointed in Hamilton. The scheme there was reported to be in its infancy. Hutt Valley returns included figures for Wainuiomata and Upper Hutt. A separate coordinator was to be appointed for Upper Hutt in 1986.

Table 7.1 Student /Tutor numbers by scheme, 1985. (N=13)

	Southeast Asians			Others	Total
	In area	Left area	Receiving tuition	receiving tuition	receiv. tuition
Northland	70	2 fams.	6 V.	27	33
Central Akld	?	?	77=29C,41V,7L.	59	136*
Gisborne	10	20*	2V	18	20
Wanganui	1 fam.	?"Rest"	1V	14	15
Feilding	6	2Ch-C	2Ch-C	0	2
Levin	3 fams.	5Ch-C	2K	?	2+
Palmerston N.	200*	?	78=63K,15V	23	101
Hutt Valley	?	?=V.	57=35K,12V,10L.	39	96
Nelson	54	10K.*	49=31K,18V.	16	65
Timaru	50	69V.	11V	13	24
Dunedin	680	40+	80=60K,20V.	30	110
Gore	11	3V.	4V	0	4
Invercargill	8 fams.	2 Ch-V fams.	6Ch-V	16	22

	Students awaiting tutor	Home tutors Current active	Total trained	Total no.of training courses
Northland	1	21	140	10 from 1980
Central Akld	20*	71		2-3/yr from1978
Gisborne	0	20	150*	2-3/yr
Wanganui	0	12	20	None in 1985
Feilding	0	1		Under ARLA scheme
Levin	0	2	2	Under ARLA scheme
Palmerston N.	20	95	237	15 courses
Hutt Valley	14	61		4-5/yr over 4yrs
Nelson	3	38	59	2/yr 1982-1985
Timaru	2	18	39	3/yr
Dunedin	10	110	220*	15 courses
Gore	0	3	10	4 courses
Invercargill	0	13	14	2/yr with ARLA

Key to symbols and abbreviations:

L Lao
K Khmer
Ch-C Chinese Cambodians
? numbers not known
fam. family
ARLA Adult Reading and Learning Assistance
* approximately
V Vietnamese
Ch-V Chinese Vietnamese

Home tutor coordinators

The establishment of home tutor coordinator positions in Hamilton and New Plymouth in late 1982 was seen to complete the formalising of home tutor schemes in all areas with any significant numbers of refugees and other new settlers for whom English was a second language. Home tutoring was already being provided in these two areas but without the services of a coordinator. The main responsibilities of home tutor coordinators are the initial assessment of students and tutors and matching of student-tutor pairs, the organisation of home tutor training programmes and the effective ongoing functioning and administration of the scheme in a particular area. Conditions of appointment vary greatly from area to area.

In many areas close links are maintained with Adult New Reader (ANR) and Adult Reading and Learning Assistance (ARLA) Schemes. The dual roles of home tutor coordinators as ANR coordinators in Northland and Wanganui, continued home tutor training through the Adult Literacy Scheme in Invercargill and shared office space in many areas reflect the ANR/ARLA origins of a number of home tutor schemes and the similar nature and aims of these two language programmes.

According to their educational employing authority and other local ESL provisions home tutor coordinators may operate out of technical institutes, community colleges, or educational resource centres (Pacific Islands Educational Resource Centre - PIERC, Wellington Multicultural Education Resource Centre - MERC). Some home tutor coordinators effectively work out of more centrally located premises supplied by local councils as in Northland, Lower Hutt and Upper Hutt.

Apart from three full-time Department of Education appointments, in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch respectively, and home tutor coordinating positions which are incorporated into broader ESL positions as is the case in Dunedin, home tutor coordinator positions are part-time, or occasionally voluntary (eg Levin). At the end of 1985 positions varied from .15 of a full-time position in Timaru through .26 in Nelson, the Hutt Valley and Invercargill to .3 in Central Auckland, Gisborne, Wanganui (ARLA combined) and Palmerston North, and .4 in Northland (ANR combined). Feilding, Horowhenua and Gore positions were voluntary.

Almost invariably one of the problems reported by the fourteen coordinators who returned information was that the time allocation was inadequate, with extra hours being worked voluntarily. The trend for personnel involved in the provision of English as a second language to find the time allocated for their positions inadequate and to contribute hours beyond those for which they are paid to complete tasks that are perceived to be needed was noted in a large number of responses and endorsed from personal observations of those involved in the field in Palmerston North and elsewhere.

While the Volunteer Occupational Training Programme (VOTP) for unemployed persons was in operation it was possible for home tutor coordinators to apply for assistance under the programme and many took advantage of this. However, as applications for such assistance could be applied for only by incorporated societies, many ESL home tutor groups formed themselves into such societies and elected committees to represent their interests and apply for VOTP assistance. A result of this development was that more areas now had working groups which represented a variety of persons involved in ESL provisions,including recipients of the services.

Funding for postage, newsletters and other running expenses vary from area to area. While funding was often only generally mentioned in replies, examples ranged from only "unofficial" use of institute facilities to a "small budget" of $1200". Many institutes and community colleges and/or local public libraries also provided some funding for the development of library resources for tutors and students.

Regional developments within home tutor schemes

The wide regional variations apparent within the home tutoring system exemplify the influence of historical developments, the voluntary localised nature of initiatives, and the rapid growth and expansion of provisions offered by many schemes, often in conjunction with government-sponsored courses. Five schemes shall be further considered below to illustrate these differences.

The Wairarapa.

In the Wairarapa where 6 Vietnamese families were being tutored by volunteer ESL teachers an ESL home tutors' group was formed in 1981 by those involved. It was felt that it would be easier to provide mutual support through the group structure and to pool the materials and other resources available in the area, including the establishment of a small library. Assistance was to be extended to Chinese and Island students who desired tuition and a group meeting was to be held once a week in addition to 1:1 tuition. There was also a plan to have a group for the children two times a month where they could learn Vietnamese culture and language.

South Canterbury.

Home tutoring in South Canterbury had early beginnings, with the arrival of two families from Vietnam in 1977. To 1982 28 families comprising 87 people had been sponsored to the area, settling in Geraldine, Pleasant Point, Temuka and Timaru. However, secondary migration to Auckland and Christchurch by nine families (27 individuals) saw this number reduced to 19 families or 60 individuals by the Autumn of 1982 (Verity,1982). These included 34 adults, 26 in full-time employment, and 26 children, two at secondary school, 15 at primary school and nine preschoolers. All adults were receiving home tuition and ESL classes at two levels were being provided at Timaru College, with a further class proposed for Saturday mornings. Monthly gatherings of refugees and sponsors organised by the sponsoring groups, initiated in 1980, were on-going.

Porirua.

The Porirua ESL Home Tutors Scheme was established in late 1979 - 1980 as an offshoot of the Adult Literacy (AL) Scheme. Both the Home Tutor Scheme and the Adult Literacy Scheme were administered under the umbrella of the Citizens' Advice Bureau in Porirua. By the end of 1981 some 60 tutors were administering to 80 learners and three training courses for new tutors were being organised each year, one per term over two weekends with follow-up workshops and small area groups. Most learners were Southeast Asian as the scheme could only just keep up with requests for tutors for this group and many others in the area who could benefit from the scheme did not know it was available (Jensen & Elliot, 1982).

The Citizens Advice Bureau sponsored the programme and provided a budget of several hundred dollars for resources, travel and other expenses, a telephone, secretarial help and office space, and in 1981 employed one extra staff member on a .4 basis for AL and ESL. Five ESL classes were started in 1981, growing initially out of the Home Tutor project but administered by Mana College as part of their evening class programme. These were expanded to seven classes in 1982 and were relocated outside the college in primary schools, a community house and a playcentre, closer to where the students lived. Classes and home tuition were seen as complementary services which recognised the changing needs of students, with most beginners having home tutors while those at the intermediate level and in jobs or studying attended classes to further their English. 1982 saw one full-time joint coordinator provided under the Voluntary Agencies Job Creation Scheme for the ESL and Adult Literacy schemes in the Porirua Citizens Advice Bureau. The personal cooperative nature of the project was seen as a positive aspect.

The cooperative nature of the scheme in Porirua was illustrated when the Porirua Home Tutor Project cooperated with Mana College to provide an ESL Summer School for two weeks over the summer holiday period of January 1982. The classes were attended by 48 students mostly from the Home Tutor Scheme. Advertising and organisation of the course plus the three ESL teachers required for the programme were provided by the Home Tutor scheme. As the photocopying machine at Mana College was not available during the holidays all the necessary photocopying was provided by the Porirua City Council.

Dunedin.

Before the establishment of the Refugee Programme in the city in mid 1980 tutor training in Dunedin was undertaken through the Otago Polytechnic under the Adult Literacy programme. A more formal ESL programme was devised to meet the needs of a large influx of Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees in late 1980 and 1981. Five evening classes replaced one but the needs of refugees at home and those who could not get to evening classes had to be met. With the help of the Department of Labour an Adult Learning Centre was established off-campus but within easy walking distance of the centre of the city. This Centre was

to house the Adult Literacy and ESL programmes which were to be staffed by one full-time coordinator, two PEP workers and four ESL tutors working on a part-time basis.

Home tutors were trained in 18 hour training programmes at the Centre. By 1982 the aim was to have a home tutor for each class student attending the polytechnic, with particular emphasis on beginners and advanced students whom it was felt would benefit most from the personal assistance available through a home tutor. 120 volunteer tutors were in 1982 supporting the work carried out in the class programmes (Verboeket,1982). At September 1982 there were reported to be "over 90 voluntary home-tutors working within the S E Asian refugee programme at the Otago Polytechnic." (Anderson,1982: 54). By the end of 1985 some 220 home tutors had been trained and 110 were actively tutoring.

Class tutors help with home tutor training courses while another trained volunteer maintains personal contact with each tutor and assists with team teaching in a classroom situation at the polytechnic. The use of home tutors to reinforce class work and the class tutor/home tutor link mean that tutors do not have to work in isolation. To strengthen the cooperative ties class tutors call meetings of the home tutors involved with their students each term. Anderson (1982) noted in her appraisal of the class/home tutor liaison system that it was often the home tutor working in a 1:1 situation who picked up personal or social problems affecting students' learning .

Auckland North Shore.

The Auckland North Shore Scheme found that it had a large number of young men, both students and workers, within its catchment area who were unwilling to accept the limitations of "unskilled" wages and were aware of their English language needs. Attendance at formal technical institute classes was not always possible, or seen as appropriate for the specific academic or work-related needs of these young refugees. Individualised "Bridging Packages" were being developed at Carrington Technical Institute but these were directed mainly towards English for Academic Purposes and the needs of ESL students in tertiary institutions. Auckland Technical Institute Saturday morning classes were similarly seen to attract the more academic students, with initial attendance at the tutorial support class dwindling as students

succumbed to work and family pressures and tiredness. Hence, while the group of young men were encouraged to attend classes they were also provided with home tutors drawn from a pool of tutors with specialised skills in technical subjects. Some of the tutors helping students still at school were reported to be working within the school system. Others worked outside of the system but in close contact with the students' schools.

Extensions from home tutor schemes

Women's classes

The need to cater for the ESL language needs of mothers with young children and of the elderly has been recognised with the setting up of classes for refugees and others in these subgroups in various areas. The perceived success of a women's class established in the Hutt Valley by the regional home tutor coordinator in 1982 led to a proliferation of similar classes in other areas.

In 1983 two classes were established in Wellington under the auspices of the Wellington Home Tutors Scheme, one in Johnsonville and the other in Newtown. The Johnsonville class was located in the Johnsonville Community Centre with a donation made for the use of the premises. Initially the tutor worked voluntarily. Transport to and from the class was provided each week by three or four home tutors from the area who were reimbursed for travel by the Wellington Home Tutors Project which also paid for the hall and a child care supervisor. The class applied for funding as a college community programme, the requirement for which was 12 students to begin classes and a regular attendance of at least nine to maintain funding. During 1983 payment for the class tutor was made available from the Onslow College Community Fund. Some of this funding was diverted to subsidise the child care necessary and hall rental. The Newtown class was established in the second term of 1983, operating on a voluntary basis. It was to apply for a teacher's salary under the community programme in 1984. The Newtown Community Centre provided its rooms free and as most of the women attending lived within walking distance of the centre transport was not a problem.

A similar class was established in Palmerston North in 1983. Ten ten-week courses had been held to the end of 1986, with meetings held each Monday morning during term time in a centrally located church hall. Two tutors share the tutor's position for the course. Voluntary childcare facilities are provided and one of the tutors drives the local polytechnic's minibus which provides transport to and from the class for students and children. Students pay $9.00 for ten weeks of classes to help cover costs. English is provided through a wide range of activities with social and cultural import. Although both mother tongues and English are used between students, as the tutors have only English and students from a wide variety of linguistic backgrounds have joined the group English is a necessary lingua franca.

The Hamilton home tutoring group established a class for refugee women in 1983-84 at the Hamilton In-service Training Centre. In 1984 the class was sponsored as a community class by one of the local high schools which provided funds for the running costs of the course. Students contributed $2.00 per term to this funding.

The Wanganui home tutor coordinator reported that a very successful new group for women had been started at the end of 1985. Nine women and their preschool children were attending at that point.

Classes for the elderly

Womens' classes provide access to ESL and social interaction not only for housebound mothers but also for the elderly, particularly women. Men are reluctant to attend classes where women predominate in such numbers and the teachers are women.

Skinner (1985) reports on a class provided at Mangere Technical Institute for older Asian women, which provided the first "formal" education that the six students who attended had ever received. Aged from 60 to 79 these students were provided with a six week course where English was taught in a socially relaxed environment where their own languages and linguistic ability in them was appreciated by their tutor. In the Hutt Valley a class for older people is similarly provided, operating from a community centre. A community programme was operating in Sydenham, Christchurch, in 1980 and was reported to have

an interpreter available to assist with social problems (Trinh, 1980). The elderly are also included in the social activities provided by most home tutor groups at the end of each year which draw sponsors, tutors, students and their families together, usually for a "pot luck" dinner to which all contribute.

Concerns within the home tutor programme.

All active home tutor coordinators who returned the questionnaire felt that the home tutoring scheme was valuable and worked well enough. Most, however, also expressed concerns regarding its administration. The main concerns reported by the 14 home tutor coordinators who responded were:

lack of time for duties,
limited resources,
inadequate contact with tutors/students,
problems of establishing and maintaining contacts,
lack of support in position,
shortage of tutors.

The most cited problems centred around time allocations for positions, lack of resources and concern that more contact should be maintained with tutors and/or students within the scheme. In Wanganui the .3 position was to become two tutors at .25 each for ESL and ANR in 1986 while the .26 position in Nelson was also to split between two tutors. In each case it was felt that this would alleviate some of the time/contact concerns. The need for tutors was most marked in the Auckland region, with many Immigration Division follow-up reports commenting on the shortage. This was also shown in the questionnaire returns where the Central Auckland Scheme reported approximately 20 persons awaiting tutors. The annual meeting of home tutor coordinators with the National Coordinator for New Settler Education was seen as a valuable forum for the sharing of ideas and problems, while many schemes also held "in-service" training sessions, workshops and/or informal meetings to provide support for tutors.

Institutional provisions for adults

Integrated with home tuition is the provision of a range of classes through technical institutes, community colleges and regional resource centres throughout the country. The proliferation of ESL courses was reported by one coordinator not only to be complementary to home tutoring and beneficial to learners but also to take some of the pressure off the home tutoring system. Most classes provided by technical institutes concentrate on the provision of ESL and ESL-related courses but in some areas classes have now expanded to include mother tongue maintenance and development provisions. A summary of language provisions in various tertiary institutes around New Zealand, provided in Table 7.2, illustrates the very chequered nature and varied timing and development of these provisions.

Table 7.2 ESL courses offered in technical institutes with year first offered and number of courses to the end of 1985 in parentheses.

Key to symbols and abbreviations:

*	Commented on in notes below
+	Offered but no further information
X	Not offered
ARP	Adult Retraining Programme. Also used for YPTP,TAP/ESL & Access Programmes.
HTT	Home tutor training
ALP	Adult Literacy Programme

Notes:

*1 In 1985-86 a Certificate in English as a Second Language (C.E.S.L.) was being developed to offer students a certificate indicating levels of ESL proficiency in the four main skills - speaking, listening, reading and writing.

*2 In 1982 Auckland Technical Institute provided a two week intensive course for learners at the beginner, post-beginner and intermediate levels. The three classes centred their teaching around what were seen as the six most immediate needs of refugees in the area: 1.Understanding New Zealand customs and behaviour, 2.Gaining confidence in learning and using English, 3.The acquisition of social English, especially phatic communion, 4.Pronunciation and intonation, 5.Writing notes and letters, 6.The acquisition of job skills and training. The lower than expected attendance was attributed to holiday work, people enjoying their holidays and financial concerns such as transport costs to attend the course.

*3 One night class has a Khmer-English speaking teacher.The class is reported to be operating very successfully.

*4 U.E. maths and N.Z.C.E.Maths students - referred to Adult Literacy tutor for ESL help.

*5 Sunday afternoon class has ESL trained (Dip.TESL) Vietnamese bilingual teacher.

Table 7.2 contd.

Institution	Fulltime ESL	Parttime ESL	ESL-related Block	Other
Northland Community Coll.	X	Conversational English (11)		HTT(1980)
Auckland Tech. Institute	+*1	Chinese cooks Night classes Day classes	ARP	+*2
PIERC	X	X.Offered 1977.		HTT(1978)
Waikato Tech. Institute	X	Day class (several yrs) 8 evening (3 new 1985,1 new 1984)*3	1 wk May, Aug.,Nov.1984	HTT Homework class for school&tech.
Waiariki Community Coll.	X	1 day (1985) 1 night (1979)		
Tairawhiti C.Coll	X	X	X	HTT as req'd
Taranaki Polytech.	X	None 1985 (1982;6)	X	*4
Manawatu Polytech.	X	2 day 3Sat.am(1982) Migrant women (1983;7)	ARP(1984;3)	HTT
Wellington Poly.	5levels	Night classes		
Petone Tech. Institute		Night classes Sun.aftern*5 Women (1982) Older persons	ARP	HTT Hutt Language Group (1985)
Nelson Polytech.			ARP	HTT
South Cant. Community Coll.	X	Classes in past None last 2 yrs	ARP being investigated	HTT(1983;3)
Otago Polytech.	X	6 day(1980;30) 3night(1980;15) ESL for mothers	ARP(1985)	HTT(1981;12)
Southland Community Coll.	X	1 day. No current night (1983;6)		HTT in conj. with ALP.

In 1982 ESL classes at Christchurch Polytechnic were being providing for over 150 students in morning and evening classes. All new arrivals in the area were required to attend a 6 week block course. Ongoing students were reported to be regularly switching classes because of shift work and other demands on their time.

Employment-related ESL programmes

In October 1983 a letter was received by the Department of Labour and the Department of Education from a sponsoring group in Palmerston North. In it concern was expressed that little training was available for refugees in the 17 to 18 age area who were too old for school but lacked work skills. The Department of Labour was requested to set up a work skills scheme for refugees. In a reply the Department of Education acknowledged the problem, stating that it was "an issue involving Labour and Education,...wider than Palmerston North and therefore needs more attention than it has received in the past."(22/1/27-24-4) The Department of Labour also acknowledged the problem, but replied that training programmes offered by the department were for all "registered unemployed job seekers." It was suggested that the sponsors met with local Department of Education and Department of Labour Employment and Vocational Guidance Services representatives to discuss the development of a scheme that would be implementable not only in Palmerston North but elsewhere. Discussions were undertaken and the first Manawatu vocational ESL programme was provided in 1984.

Concurrently with this discussion the first Young Persons' Training Programme (YPTP) course for ESL students was piloted by Carrington Technical Institute for the Department of Labour as part of its employment training programme directed at unemployed persons in Auckland. From a list of 30 unemployed migrants ten were to be selected by the course controllers for the initial full-time six week course. Of the ten chosen only seven attended the first lesson and of these two were found to lack adequate English to cope. Two more students were found and the course was able to proceed. The class comprised five Samoans and two Niueans. Although few of the students were placed at the end of the course the Department of Labour approved two further courses at Carrington and for provision to be extended to other technical institutes where a need was expressed for similar courses.

Programmes have subsequently been designed and mounted in various areas to meet the needs of Southeast Asian refugees and other migrants. While courses in Auckland and Porirua have catered predominantly for students from the Pacific Islands, those in Nelson and Dunedin have met refugee demands - newly arrived Khmer in Nelson and Vietnamese and Cambodians with five months to two years length of residence in Dunedin and others have been undertaken by mixed groups.

Course lengths have also varied from the six weeks of the pilot course at Carrington Technical Institute and an Auckland Technical Institute course in early 1985 to the maximum 20 weeks (700 hours) at Otago Polytechnic. Institutes which initially offered six week courses have extended them, reporting six weeks to be too short to be more than a "filler" and "a way of pretending that something is being done to help those who are unemployed." (Day et al,1985:77) Auckland Technical Institute appended a six weeks works skills block to their six weeks ESL programme. The April-June 1985 Nelson Polytechnic course was extended from six to 12 weeks which became 15 weeks, and in 1986 a 20 week, three module course similar to that in Dunedin was mounted. The Manawatu Polytechnic course was extended from ten to fifteen weeks.

All course lengths have been reported to have advantages and disadvantages. The six week module at Auckland Technical Institute was found to be too short for new arrivals and preliterates while 20 weeks in Dunedin was too long for two students (Day et al,1985; NZ Department of Education,1986a). The 20 week course in Nelson in 1986 was reported to be a success with jobs arranged for all but one student two weeks after the completion of the course and all "settled well into the community."(Nelson Polytechnic,1986) Varying length of residence and ability in English have necessitated diverse teaching methods and materials. In several instances more advanced students have spent more time in work experience situations (Morrison,1985) and /or have left the course early. Otago Polytechnic hoped to cater for those requiring general and those requiring ESP in 1986 by mounting two courses.

In January 1986 tutors involved in organising Adult Retraining Programme- Young Persons' Training Programme (ARP-YPTP)/ Training Assistance Programme -ESL (TAP-ESL) courses met for the first time at

the Lopdell Centre in Auckland to discuss progress and share resources. At this course the basic aims of TAP-ESL programmes (at the beginning of the 1986 course "ARP-YPTP", currently "TAP-ESL" and to become "ACCESS" programmes) were defined as:

> "-To increase students' choices and personal development in terms of :
> -training for work
> -employment
> -language acquisition.
> -To facilitate understanding across cultures among students within Institutes and in the community at large."
> (New Zealand Department of Education,1986b:2)

Rehabilitation League, Dunedin

The Dunedin branch of the Rehabilitation League, in conjunction with the Otago Polytechnic Institute, assessed and trained some 65 Southeast Asian refugees between 1982 and the end of 1985. Its contribution to ESL-employment related training was noted in November 1983 in a memorandum from the Department of Education to the Department of Labour where its training of Khmer women to operate industrial sewing machines, ESP instruction and help to find jobs were mentioned (22/1/27-24-4).

In an article on the work of the Rehabilitation League in New Settlers and Multicultural Education Issues the Senior Rehabilitation Officer in Dunedin states that the major problem faced when assessing and training Southeast Asian refugees is language: "most Southeast Asians have to concentrate when conversing in English and therefore the instruction situation is beyond their capabilities." He reports that only a small number are taken at any one time as "they 'stick together' and do not mingle with the rest of the clients very well." (Latham, 1985:94)

Industrial Language Training Unit

An Industrial Language Training Unit was established at Manukau Technical Institute in Auckland in 1986. The development of the unit followed trends in Great Britain where Industrial Language Training (ILT) developed initially with a language orientation in the mid 1970s.

Operating in South Auckland the unit caters mainly for Polynesian needs in the area.

As with the trend in Britain for ILT courses to become increasingly sensitive and responsive to an anti-racist lobby, so the ILT Unit in Auckland has been seen to become something other than what was expected at its inception, viz. a neutral language-oriented " ESP unit for non-native speakers at work with supporting sessions in communication for the native speaker front-line managers." (Fox, 1986:62) Among reasons Fox offered for this change were: the slowing of immigration, new settlers developing coping strategies, the economic climate, and reaction against white-offered services by more politically active Polynesian minorities.

The needs of students in technical institute courses

Responses from tutors in technical institutes regarding the needs of students in their courses (Table 7.3) reflected a growing awareness of the need for communicative competence and a variety of specific language skills beyond the basic survival level. Longer term ESL residents were seen to require more than survival English to gain equity and access to further educational opportunities.

Half of the tutors specified a high level of aural/oral skills as one of the greatest language needs of students and unnativelike pronunciation was identified as a serious barrier to communication by three further respondents. Confidence in themselves and their ability to use English was identified as an important factor in the use of the language and the development of fluency, as was nativelike grammar particularly for those who had been in the country three to four years. Social, integrative mixing skills were also specified as important for the development of communicative competence in the target language.

The need for employment/work-related language to train and retrain students, particularly young people, for employment and for subject oriented language instruction for those wishing to undertake further study were similarly seen as important by many respondents.

Table 7.3 The main ESL needs of Southeast Asian students in their institutions as seen by tutors.

	No.of references
Aural/oral skills	12
Employment/work related language	7
Confidence with selves & language	6
School subjects/access to education	5
Pronunciation	5
Integrative/social skills	4
Grammar	3
Survival	2

Concerns of staff within technical institutes

Tutors were asked to rate each of six given areas of concern on a five-point scale from "no concern" to "major concern". The frequency of each response is given in Table 7.4. 22 of 24 respondents completed this question, though one of the 22 did not offer any response for the third or fourth issue. While all areas were of concern to some of the tutors, the area of greatest concern was whether or not programmes were meeting the needs of students. Tutors were also asked to comment on any other issues that concerned them.

Table 7.4 Concerns regarding provision of ESL.

	No concern 1	2	Some concern 3	4	Major concern 5
Location of room	10	4	5	0	3
Manageability of class size	7	5	6	1	3
Adequate time for programme	5	6	4	1	5
Enough textbooks/resources	8	1	7	3	2
Adequate staff support	8	3	6	3	2
Programme meeting needs of students.	1	4	8	3	6

Mean scores:

Location of room	2.18
Manageability of class size	2.5
Adequate time for programme	2.5
Enough textbooks/resources	2.5
Adequate staff support	2.0
Programme meeting needs...	3.3

Other issues which concerned respondents included:

-lack of adequate New Zealand made resources,
-problems meeting individual needs when there are a lot of levels in one class (This was seen as a major problem in small communities where there was a lack of choice.),
-the gap in catering for elderly men,
-problems reaching those who need ESL provisions,
-piecemeal nature of provisions after Mangere,
-bureaucratic and administrative issues particularly where more than one department is responsible for a programme.

Technical institute staffing

Personal data was received from 24 persons employed by 15 technical institutes, community centres and resource centres ranging from Whangarei to Invercargill. Five respondents worked in schools, seven in community colleges, 11 in technical institutes, one in a resource centre and one in a university. In three instances work in a school was combined with teaching in another institution. One respondent was no longer in any institution.

Only five reported to be employed full-time fully or mainly in the ESL field. All five were employed in large polytechnic institutes and three of the five were men. Only one of the male respondents was not in a full-time position in the field compared with 18 female respondents. (These trends for staff to be mainly female and male staff to be full-time are supported by the researcher's knowledge of others actively engaged occupationally in ESL provision.)

19 were employed as part-time ESL tutors and often combined this position with home tutor coordinating, classroom teaching, home tutoring and/or remedial reading positions. Much of the contribution of a large number of the 24 to ESL teaching is, therefore, provided on a voluntary basis.

A predominance of the 24 respondents held tertiary qualifications plus ESL qualifications. Only two had no tertiary level training, one of these being a native speaker of a language other than English who spoke three further languages while the other reported some knowledge of two languages other than English (Maori and French). Three reported having trained teacher's certificates. 19 had university degrees, including ten at the post-graduate level. Of the four who had no specific ESL training one was currently enrolled in a post-graduate course and two were ESL speakers. Short courses in New Zealand or overseas had been completed by nine, while eleven held post-graduate ESL qualifications.

Most of the respondents had been working in the ESL field for a number of years. One reported 14 years full-time involvement, one over ten years full-time and one over ten years part-time. Five more had four years plus full-time experience and nine had four years plus part-time.

Thus 17 had four years or more of involvement in ESL teaching. This suggests that a large number had worked in ESL from the earliest intakes of Southeast Asians to their area and would have accumulated a considerable amount of ESL teaching experience through working with these refugees and/or other ESL groups.

Two thirds had some degree of competence in at least one language other than English. Some degree of competence in one other language was reported by six, of two others by three, of three others by three, of four others by two and of nine others by one. Two respondents were native speakers of a language other than English. Although none spoke Vietnamese, Khmer or Lao, several spoke Chinese (Cantonese and/or Mandarin).

ESL and mother tongue provisions in schools.

Primary schools

An Inner City Language and Reception Unit has been attached to Richmond Road School in Auckland since 1975. This unit caters for children from seven to ten with little knowledge of English. Students at this unit have been predominantly from the Pacific Islands but some Southeast Asian children have attended. However, most Southeast Asian and other ESL children in primary schools are mainstreamed, being withdrawn only for short periods for special tuition.

Contact with most primary schools with Southeast Asian and other ESL students is established and maintained by the Regional Resource Teacher for the area whose brief it is to provide advisory and material support for primary and secondary schools receiving these students. In primary schools with significant numbers of Southeast Asian students teacher equivalents or teacher aides may be employed using discretionary hours allocated to Regional Resource Teachers. These aides generally teach students on a withdrawal basis. In schools which do not receive a discretionary allocation language support may be provided by the remedial reading teacher, a volunteer, or a peer teacher.

In the national survey of 785 individual Southeast Asian refugees through Department of Labour case follow-ups few language problems

among young children were reported beyond a reluctance to contribute in class. Most young children were reported to be making good progress, many markedly better than their parents and older siblings.

A handbook on English language teaching in primary school was to be available from the Department of Education in 1986. This publication would deal with the issues of teaching ethnic minority children of immigrant and refugee backgrounds.

Secondary schools

At the secondary level there are currently five reception classes for secondary school-aged ESL students including Southeast Asians. These are located in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin, at Mount Roskill Grammar School, Wellington High School, Hagley High School and Bayfield High School. In other areas students are, as in primary schools, mainstreamed and withdrawn for extra ESL instruction.

The five schools named above provide special reception classes for ESL students which are separate from mainstream classes but with provisions made for attending students to be included into wider school activities and attend some mainstream classes. This particularly involves subjects in technical and manual areas which are less linguistically demanding. In Auckland a large proportion of students are referred to the units from surrounding schools for short stays after which they return to their own schools. In Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin some attend on this temporary basis but more attend the designated schools as regular students and move from the reception class on into the mainstream system within the school, where they continue to receive ESL assistance from ESL staff.

In Auckland an ESL unit was established at Mount Roskill Grammar School in 1975, giving the school two units, an English Language Teaching Unit catering for Pacific Island students and a Physically Handicapped Unit. In 1980 an Asian Language Unit was added. By 1985 the ELTU comprised three classes with a total of 36 students and three teachers. Students attended this unit for a period of six weeks to a year, with two intakes from February to August and September to December. A further class took Southeast Asian students as they entered the school system.

In Wellington a reception unit was established at Wellington High School in 1980 to meet the needs of a large influx of Southeast Asian students to the area. This unit was staffed by two teachers for two and a half years. In 1983 staffing numbers were reduced to one teacher working full-time. In that year the ESL unit at the school was offering support to 117 students, 50 of whom were Southeast Asian refugees, in the reception unit and throughout the school.

Hagley High School in Christchurch received its first Southeast Asian refugee students in 1979 and a reception class was established in June 1981. In 1983-84 the unit provided ESL programmes for over 50 students including Vietnamese, Chinese-Vietnamese, Khmer, Dutch, Samoan and Tongan students. The Unit also provides a language maintenance and development programme for minority group children (and interested majority group students).

Bayfield High School also has an attached ESL reception class which was established in July 1982 with a roll of six Southeast Asian refugee students. In 1985 teachers' aide time was being used to employ two bilingual aides, one Samoan and the other Khmer, to provide language and cultural maintenance plus mathematics and one-to-one tutoring in the mother tongue. The initial reaction of Khmer students toward the Khmer teacher were reported to be negative. They could not see the use of Khmer in an English speaking system, but as understanding of subjects in Khmer was positively transferred to understanding in English studies their attitude changed, confidence was seen to increase, as was English output and comprehensible input (Rawlinson, 1985). For teachers, knowledge of the levels of students in their first languages was available through the bilingual aides.

Summer intensive courses

Over the summer of 1982 an access skills programme was organised by the Wellington Southeast Asian Resource Unit to provide extra tuition for students undertaking study towards School Certificate and University Entrance. The three week intensive course involved four teachers and eighteen students from five secondary schools within the area, each of whom contributed $5.00 to attend the course.Emphasis was on vocabulary, and reading and writing skills .

The special needs of secondary school students were similarly recognised in Christchurch where a twenty hour holiday course was provided in September 1982 for Southeast Asian students in forms 5 and 6. ESL Unit teachers and four secondary school teachers from local secondary schools offered English for Special Purposes to the 25 students who attended. (of an eligible 31). The course concentrated on the English requirements of examinations designed for native English speakers in English, Science, Technical Drawing and Accounting and on vocabulary building. The course was provided in response to the yearly distress of students regarding the examination requirements which require that they sit the same examinations as first language English speakers. It was felt by tutors that two courses per year would be better especially with the demands of internal assessment placing heavy demands on students throughout the year.

Provisions in Palmerston North schools

Seven of fifteen primary and intermediate schools and two of six secondary schools in Palmerston North reported having Southeast Asian students in 1985. All but two of these nine schools with Southeast Asian students and several others in the city reported having ESL students other than Southeast Asians.

Primary & intermediate schools

The number of ESL students per school ranged from two to fifteen with the highest number of Southeast Asians being eight at an intermediate school. Most schools had three or four Southeast Asian students and two or three other ESL students.

The attitudes of principals to enquiries about Southeast Asian students and ESL provisions within their schools varied from very positive in most cases to pleasantly uncooperative in one case. In this last school it was felt that children should keep their own languages for home; English was the language of the school and all children in the school learned Maori, no matter what their language background. Two further principals offered support to ESL students and teachers but

felt that students should not be singled out to answer questionnaires as this would make them seem different. The remainder of the principals were favourable to students completing the questionnaires either singly or in groups and to classroom and specialist ESL teachers being interviewed where they were available.

Few problems were reported in primary school classes with English being learned through participation in activities and interaction with peers. Several teachers reported the successful use of a "buddy system" with one teacher using the whole class in rotation. Some schools provided special needs programmes and reading recovery programmes to accelerate the acquisition of spoken English and literacy skills. Among teachers there was some desire for more support from ESL personnel and provision of resources. One school reported the problem of children changing schools during the year into a receiving school which did not have any time or staffing allocation for ESL.

Most teachers reported neutral or favourable attitude towards children's use of their mother tongues among themselves. Two teachers positively encouraged their ESL students to teach the rest of the class some of their own language.

The use of withdrawal was more evident in intermediate schools, in one instance reportedly to counter a student's increased violence. Several teachers at the intermediate level expressed the need for more hours of specialised ESL and more staff with one feeling that ESL needs at the intermediate level were "only barely being met."

Secondary schools

Although no official ESL reception class has been established in Palmerston North the influx of large numbers of Southeast Asians to the city in 1979 led to the provision of ESL at Queen Elizabeth College. In 1985 ESL help was being made available to some 27 students (several part-time) including five Khmer, three Vietnamese, three Chinese-Cambodians and one Chinese-Vietnamese, and nine Pacific Islanders. This involved students being withdrawn from other classes, particularly English and Social Studies, for individual and small group ESL instruction with further assistance being offered within regular

classroom teaching by three part-time ESL teachers, a remedial reading teacher, a volunteer tutor and a full-time classroom teacher who had overall responsibility for the provision of ESL as part of his administrative duties.

Concern was expressed over the ad hoc nature of the staffing arrangements. These made the timetabling of classes within a six day timetable very difficult, and mitigated against ongoing planning and longterm provisions. In 1986 the .8 part-time ESL position was filled by one teacher and in 1987 .2 was to be added to this from the Regional Resource Teacher's discretionary allocation, making a full-time position which was to be shared by two teachers.

Some concern was expressed regarding the manageability of class size, by the reading teacher working within the classroom, and of class composition, by an ESL teacher working in a withdrawal group situation. In the latter case the exigencies of timetabling led to groups with widely disparate subject needs and language abilities which could not be regrouped during the year. The recent allocation of a centrally located classroom specifically for ESL was seen as advantageous to language provision.

Staffing was seen as the biggest barrier to provision for first language maintenance and development. Samoan was taught for a short time in 1985 and the speaking of Cantonese as a mother tongue by one of the ESL teachers was seen by the teacher in charge as positive reinforcement for the mother tongues of Southeast Asian students.

Not all Southeast Asian or other ESL students attend Queen Elizabeth College. In 1985 four Khmer, seven Polish, three Pacific Island and two other ESL students were attending St Peter's College. These students were being helped on an individual or small group withdrawal basis by a reading specialist (completing ASTU papers in second language teaching) and a retired speech specialist.

At this school lack of time allowance for ESL assistance was seen as the greatest problem regarding ESL provision. With no separate time allocation for ESL time was being used from the reading teacher allocation to meet the needs of these students. A long "campaign" to

get time allocated for ESL was to result in one half day per week in 1986 with the position filled by the reading teacher who was already fulfilling this role. With more time and staff cooperation the teacher would prefer to work within the classroom alongside regular teachers rather than withdrawing the students for ESL instruction.

In both secondary schools those ESL students who were considered unable to cope with the demands of School Certificate and University Entrance English were encouraged to take the regional alternatives. This option was, however, seen to be against the wishes of family members in some cases. There was strong familial pressure on many students who entered the system with little or no previous education or English to succeed academically in the New Zealand examination system.

Further ESL provisions

Correspondence School

The first major impetus for ESL teaching by correspondence came in 1977 when Chilean refugees were settled in areas where ESL help was not readily available through technical institutes. The Individual Programme Section of the Correspondence School in Wellington was asked to help by providing individual programmes for these people. With the arrival of large numbers of Southeast Asians from 1979 demand increased and in 1980 a separate ESL Section was created. This continued to develop and provide individualised instruction for school and adult students, particularly Southeast Asians and East European refugees who were encouraged to make use of the courses provided.

The Correspondence School now offers ESL course to adults and to students who are enrolled in schools which cannot otherwise adequately meet the particular language needs of these students. If studied through school,ESL correspondence lessons are meant to be used during school time and to be treated as a full subject rather than as an extra to be completed as homework or merely as a filler for time-out from other subjects which the student cannot cope with because the language or subject matter is too difficult.

Initial analysis of each student's needs is provided through a questionnaire completed by each student at the commencement of studies combined with information from the associated home tutor, regional home tutor coordinator and/or student's teacher. Ongoing analysis is provided in and through written and oral work returned to the Correspondence School for marking and assessment plus feedback from the teacher/tutor. At each level course material is selected to meet as nearly as possible the interests and needs of each student.

As emphasis is placed on communicative language activities, course materials are designed to be used with an English speaking tutor who can act as a language model, provide guidance to the student and participate in aural/oral interactions. This tutor also provides considerable incidental language and valuable social contact with a member of the host community for the student. Some use is made of radio broadcasts to supplement ESL language programmes but this does not constitute a significant portion of the provision.

Within the adult individualised programme a more standardised, broad communicative syllabus is being developed to replace the individual courses of study which were a heavy drain on staff time and resources. The resulting course is a three level programme designed to meet the needs of beginners, intermediate and advanced students. The course is cyclic and a student can start with any module within his or her appropriate level. A small annual enrolment fee is charged for the course. ESL correspondence courses for adults are very heavily subscribed and there is often a waiting list of students wishing to enrol in the programme.

Educational Resource Centres

The Pacific Island Education Resource Centre (PIERC) and the Wellington Multicultural Education Resource Centre (MERC) were both established by the Department of Education in the mid 1970s, PIERC to meet the needs of the increasing numbers of Pacific Islanders in New Zealand, particularly in the Auckland area and MERC to meet the broader multicultural demands of immigrants in Wellington.

A considerable amount of ESL and multicultural resource material has been developed by staff working at each Centre. Educational advice is also made available to government departments, institutions and other organisations with multicultural staff and clientele. Designated staff at each institution are responsible for coordinating a home tutor scheme and the training of home tutor coordinators.

In 1985 MERC in Wellington was working on expanding resources especially in subject areas where there is seen to be a dearth of language support material. The Centre sought to pool teachers' work while offering an advisory service to teachers responsible for learners from different cultural backgrounds in cooperation with the Southeast Asian Regional Resource Teacher for the Wellington area. Similar work is carried out by PIERC in Auckland.

Regional Resource teachers

In late June 1980 the Department of Education appointed five Southeast Asian Regional Resource Teachers to meet demands for ESL help from schools serving the 1600 Southeast Asian refugee children in New Zealand schools at that time. These Regional Resource Teachers were stationed in Auckland, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Wellington and Christchurch with teachers seconded from the teaching service to fill the positions initially for a two year term. A sixth Regional Resource Teacher was added in Dunedin in 1984, bringing the number in each Regional Office - Northern, Central and Southern - to two.

1981 saw some 1100 Southeast Asian children in New Zealand schools. Most were Vietnamese, while about a third were Cambodian. The existence of five district resource units, ten teacher equivalents and five part-time teacher aides working directly in schools, and a National Coordinator, left the then Minister of Education satisfied that enough was being done at the time. The position was to be reviewed at the end of 1981, with possible further input for 1982 (NZ Parliament House of Representatives Debates, 1981:2912). By 1983 there were a total of 17 teacher equivalents providing ESL to schools throughout New Zealand. Of these two were teachers at the Mangere Reception Centre, five were Regional Resource Teachers working with school teachers, and ten were teacher equivalents to help teach ESL.

Annual reviews confirmed ESL positions and provisions provided under the Education Vote until 1984 when the National Coordinator's position was confirmed for five years to 1989 and the provision of six Regional Resource Teachers/advisors, twelve teacher equivalents, six half time teachers' aides, and travel and materials expenses were confirmed to the end of the 1987/88 financial year.

National Coordinator

In June 1981 a National Coordinator of Southeast Asian refugee education was appointed within the Maori and Pacific Island Division (Head Office) of the Department of Education, "to assist schools and to liaise with adult education programmes working with migrants." (NZ Dept of Education Annual Report, 1982:25). This position, along with the Regional Resource Teachers' positions, was reviewed annually until 1984 when it was confirmed for five years to 1989. In 1987 it became a permanent Education Officer position within the Maori and Pacific Island Division (Head Office).

The National Coordinator's brief encompasses a wide coordinating and liaising role including:

-overseeing ESL provisions in schools;

-liaison with home tutor schemes, adult ESL programmes, any other areas of the education system involved in ESL provision to Southeast Asian refugees including the Correspondence School and teachers' colleges, the English Language Institute at Victoria University, the Second Language Teaching and Linguistics Section at Massey University, and the School Library Service;

-liaison with government departments involved in resettlement and the ICCI;

-liaison with migrant organisations;

-the processing of overseas qualifications;

-regular visits around New Zealand;

-the organisation of in-service courses at both school and tertiary levels;

-and liaison with relevant overseas organisations.

The National Coordinator is also responsible for the publication of a newsletter which is published two or three times per year. Initially published as the Southeast Asian ESL Migrant Education News this publication became New Settler Education Issues in 1984 and New Settlers and Multicultural Education Issues in 1985. Published through the Maori and Islands Division (New Settlers Education) of the Department of Education, Wellington, the newsletter has become a more substantial journal for the dissemination of information on broad ESL and multicultural issues as well as information on ESL and mother tongue provisions and ethnic group information within New Zealand. Originally specifically for information as it pertained to provisions for Southeast Asian refugees, the publication expanded to cover other ESL immigrants and then to cover all multicultural education issues. A similar broadening of perspective has been seen in the briefs of the National Coordinator and the Regional Resource Teachers.

December 1982 saw Lopdell House host the first meeting of ESL personnel from all over New Zealand under the chairmanship of the National Coordinator to plan priorities in migrant education. A second meeting was held in 1984 to which Maori and Pacific Island representatives were also invited.

ESL Teaching qualifications available in New Zealand.

A Diploma in Teaching English as a Second Language (Dip.TESL) was introduced at Victoria University with funding from the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1961 as part of New Zealand's aid programme to the Pacific basin and Southeast Asian nations. It is a one year full-time course for mainly post-graduate students. A small number of places each year are reserved for New Zealand teachers. In recognition of the need for further teachers trained in ESL teaching the Department of Education selected and provided leave with pay for 12 teachers to undertake the Dip.TESL in 1983. In 1984 a further eight teachers were at Victoria University completing the course under department sponsorship, bringing the total trained through this course to 77, with 35 operating in primary schools, 28 in secondary schools and 14 in tertiary institutions (NZ Department of Labour, 1984).

The Diploma in Second Language Teaching (Dip.SLT) which has been offered by Massey University since 1974 provides a similar, post-graduate course of study for New Zealand second language teachers. As it is offered extramurally as well as internally this course has provided the theoretical grounding for many graduate teachers already working in the second language field who cannot or do not wish to break their teaching to study full-time. It has increasingly catered for teachers of English as a second language rather than teachers of other second languages.

Auckland University will introduce a Diploma in Teaching English as a Second Language in 1987 as a one year full-time course with an initial intake of 15-20 students. Consideration is also being given to offering this diploma on a part-time basis over two years.

As the university courses currently offered require pre-experience in teaching a second language they are not accessible to those teachers who have not already had at least several years of part-time teaching of ESL in the classroom or through home tutoring.

Teachers colleges now have a compulsory 100 hour multicultural component for teacher trainees but a large proportion of this component is usually concentrated on biculturalism and taha Maori rather than the principles and practices of ESL teaching and multicultural issues. Practising teachers can undertake some further ESL training through the Advanced Studies for Teachers Unit. Several language teaching papers are available for study by correspondence through this Unit.

Part of the rationale for the introduction of the First Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults was that there were no institutions offering basic training on a part-time basis for other teachers of adult learners. To this was added the need to supplement the few trained teachers available to staff the increasing number of community English programmes being developed for adults. A Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adult Learners was piloted at Auckland Technical Institute and is now also being offered in Wellington by the Wellington Polytechnic in conjunction with Wellington Multicultural Educational Resource Centre. This is a part-time, short course with classroom observations with a written report on each, and two assignments.

First language provisions

Interpreting and translating services

As has been mentioned above Mangere now employs one full-time interpreter and three further part-time interpreters through the Department of Labour under the temporary staffing ceiling plus one through the Department of Health to interpret for staff and refugees alike. Outside of this centre available individuals are employed as interpreters for Southeast Asian languages on a temporary, ad hoc basis as required by the various government departments.

Interpreting staff at the Mangere Reception Centre also perform translation services for various departments involved in resettlement. A considerable number of service booklets and other publications have now been translated into several of the languages used by Southeast Asians. The driving tests were translated into Khmer and Vietnamese in 1982 and the road code into Khmer, Vietnamese and Chinese in 1982-83.Recognising the language problems of refugees completing the oral test for a driver's licence in English the Ministry of Transport also allows ESL candidates to use an interpreter for this test. A PIERC publication on buying a house already available in Pacific Island languages and English, was translated into Vietnamese, Khmer and Lao in 1982.

As a result of language differences which were creating a barrier to dealings with refugees through the public health system the Department of Health in Dunedin issued a questionnaire to public health nurses to obtain a list of common questions that needed to be asked of refugees. These were then sent to the Department of Internal Affairs for translation into Chinese, Vietnamese, Khmer and Lao. Translations have also been provided for publications from the Family Planning Association and Plunket Society.

In Palmerston North the use of these translations was reported to have lessened the need to call on interpreters. However, in 1985 the written translations were still being supplemented by the use of interpreters

obtained through the home tutor coordinator and by using children as interpreters. Problems were associated with the use of interpreters from both of these sources. The use of non-accredited interpreters was seen as a problem particularly when the issue under discussion was of a personal nature or required a high level of linguistic skill on the part of the interpreter. The use of children to interpret for their elders was practical, easily arranged and commonly practised, but went against the cultural values of the group regarding the relative positions of men and women and older and younger members of the society.

Counselling services

Mental health problems were foreseen particularly among the elderly and young women. These were anticipated to be partially a consequence of communication problems related to languages. The Inter-Church Commission on Immigration and Refugee Resettlement (ICCI) recognised that refugees might be reluctant to discuss their problems with sponsors but would often communicate readily with someone who knew their language and cultural background. Hence, in 1982, three Field Counsellors were employed " to meet the psychological, social and spiritual needs of 'refugees' in New Zealand." (ICCI,1982)

These ICCI Field Counsellors are funded by short-term grants from various organisations and are limited to the areas of greatest concentration of refugees - Auckland and Wellington. Two of the counsellors serve the Southeast Asian refugee population in these areas. While the counsellor in Auckland speaks Vietnamese, Khmer, two dialects of Chinese and French the other in Wellington speaks Khmer and caters for the large Cambodian community in that city. The third counsellor, a 1956 Hungarian refugee, serves the European refugee population of Wellington.

Cultural and language maintenance provisions

The establishment of a large number of ethnic associations in the main centres through 1981 and 1982 provided the various ethnic groups with networks through which they could maintain customs, religious observances and languages.

The Vietnamese Association established in Christchurch in 1981 organised Vietnamese classes, while that established in Wellington in 1982 organised homework classes for Vietnamese secondary students one evening per week. 1982 also saw the establishment of a Young Vietnamese Association in Auckland. Its aims centred around the provision of Vietnamese language, culture and history to young refugees. A Canterbury Vietnam:Cambodia Chinese Association was formed in Christchurch in August 1982 mainly for liaison between ethnic Chinese from Cambodia and Vietnam. Activities involved sports and Chinese language classes.

The small community of Lao refugees in New Zealand formed a Xao-Lao Association to operate in Auckland and Wellington in 1982. Language maintenance and development classes were offered through Russell School in Porirua on Sundays and were open to all members of the Lao community. Two volunteer teachers staffed the classes which were attended by children. The Department of Education supplied text books for the programme.

The Khmer community in Dunedin established an association in 1982 which represented the over one hundred Khmer in Dunedin at that time. The organisation published a Khmer language newsletter, taught children Khmer dances and hoped to be able to maintain the Khmer language, culture and history within the community. Homework and language maintenance classes were introduced in Wellington in 1982 for approximately 17 students from seven to fifteen years of age. An English class was also provided especially for those from middle age up in which English was taught with Khmer explanations. These classes in Wellington were jointly organised by the Khmer Association and the Southeast Asian Resource Unit of the Department of Education.

Some of the voluntary classes organised by the various ethnic Associations were no longer being offered in 1985. A number of them had been replaced by programmes operating in schools and technical institutes. For example, the termination of Khmer classes for students in Wellington in 1984 led Mount Cook School to offer two hours per week for Khmer language teaching to the ethnic Khmer in the school if a teacher could be found. The arrival of a Khmer Buddhist monk provided

the teacher and in 1985 seven Khmer children aged from four to twelve were receiving two hours of instruction in Khmer per week. The mother tongues of several other ethnic minorities in the school were able to be similarly provided through teacher aide allocation.

At Hagley High School support including bilingual aide time is received from the Regional Resource Officer for language maintenance classes for reception class and ESL third formers. Classes offered in 1985 were Samoan, Gujarati, Mandarin, Vietnamese and Khmer. Several English speaking New Zealand students plus a Vietnamese student from an intermediate school also attended these classes. As has already been mentioned Bayfield High School in Dunedin was running a similar language maintenance programme for its Khmer and Samoan students in 1985. As the bilingual aides used for this programme had only temporary employment it was feared that the services of the Khmer teacher would be lost as soon as he obtained a job.

Chinese language maintenance classes were being offered at Auckland Technical Institute in 1985. 30 students were reported to be attending two one and a half hour classes per week over a twenty-four week period. Cantonese was being offered at Waikato Technical Institute and it was hoped to start Khmer, Vietnamese and Lao classes for the refugee communities in the city. A weekly Khmer evening class was introduced in Hamilton in 1985 on a trial basis in response to a community request. Twelve New Zealand students were attending the class which was being provided through Fraser High School as a community class. Khmer classes elsewhere are normally directed at ethnic Khmer adults and/or children. A Khmer class was introduced in Palmerston North in 1985 under the auspices of the Manawatu Polytechnic. Problems were experienced in this class meeting the needs of the adults while also catering for the needs of the children who came. The division of the group into two classes with two teachers sharing the single tutor's allowance overcame some of these problems.

A Cambodian Theravada Buddhist temple was opened in Wellington at the end of 1985. This is likely to provide further impetus to maintain Khmer among members of the Cambodian Buddhist community, particularly in Wellington.

CHAPTER 8.

REFUGEE STATUS AND RESETTLEMENT

The initiation of an official Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement Programme by the New Zealand government in 1979 marked the formalisation of a resettlement programme which was to present the country with its most comprehensive resettlement challenge to date. Destined to be both extensive and long-term it was to alter expectations about resettlement needs and provisions for non-English speaking settlers, refugees and voluntary migrants alike.

While New Zealand had previously offered asylum to groups of refugees, it had been generally assumed that they would quickly and willingly be assimilated into New Zealand society. Consequently, few special measures were taken to provide English language classes or otherwise assist this assimilation process. Initial accommodation and language provisions in government immigration hostels were provided for post-war Dependent Persons (DPs), but these provisions were reduced for later refugee intakes from Europe, even when the numbers arriving were significant (as was the case with the 1117 Hungarian refugees from the 1956 uprising). Language and orientation programmes not completed on the shipboard voyage were compressed into the on-arrival processing time before dispersal to the receiving communities and to employment.

Any assessment of the longer term degree of success with which refugees and other migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds were assimilated into the wider anglophone New Zealand society was discouraged by an official laissez-faire approach. Fortunately, most traditional refugees came from ethnic and cultural, if not linguistic backgrounds that were closely akin to those of the receiving society, arrived in relatively small quotas, and resettled in times of economic growth and prosperity. Patent failure to adjust was, therefore, minimal. The acceptance of large numbers of Southeast Asian refugees was to change this.

The seven and a half thousand refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos

admitted into New Zealand up to June 1986 is still very small when compared with the 670,000 plus resettled in the United States (Strand & Jones,1985) and the 100,000 accepted by Australia. However,it represents a substantially larger, more visible, and more drawn out refugee intake from a single source of migration than any previous intake. This assumes even greater significance in resettlement terms when the wide disparity between home and host cultures, the traumatic refugee backgrounds of most Southeast Asian refugees, changing attitudes to cultural assimilation, and the economic and social climate in the host society are taken into consideration.

Language needs of Southeast Asian refugees

The arrival of Southeast Asian refugees in continuing large intakes, their resettlement from a non-traditional source of migration, and the wide cultural and linguistic disparity between the incoming refugees and the host society pose major problems regarding resettlement and second language learning in an English speaking environment. Knowledge of the language (or languages) of the host culture is, for voluntary migrants and refugees alike, widely accepted as a sine qua non of successful adaptation to the new environment (Ex,1966; Trlin,1974; MacRae,1980; Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983). Of the 785 surveyed in the national sample drawn from the files of the Department of Labour for this research only two were reported in the case studies to be fluent in the language. Over 60% were reported to have no English on arrival and a further 15% were reported to have minimal proficiency. This position is in marked contrast to Fitzgerald's survey of earlier immigrants of whom 60% were reported to have more than a little English on arrival. (See Table 6.6)

Some refugees have arrived fluently bilingual with impressive academic qualifications and occupational records, but only in very rare cases have these individuals had a command of English commensurate with their other skills. Others have arrived with no English and skills which are not marketable in a western industrialised and pastoral nation. Since most Southeast Asians have arrived without having had any contact with western industrial values or with the English language in their

countries of origin, their needs for cultural orientation and the language of the dominant group have been profound.

Problems associated with acculturation and language learning have been aggravated by the degree of dislocation which has been suffered by most of these people over the past decade in their country of origin, during flight, in refugee camps and in the process of resettlement in a third country, New Zealand. Not only have most of those resettled under the Southeast Asian refugee programme been markedly different, both culturally and linguistically, from any major group within the receiving community but they have also brought with them the effects of the social and psychological dislocation and trauma that are associated with protracted warfare and long-term refugee status. These factors all have mitigated against a smooth entry into the workforce, the education system and the wider society.

A measure of cultural orientation and a minimal proficiency in English is needed for social survival in the wider anglophone community. Common to all non-English speaking migrants is the need for a greater degree of linguistic competence if equity is to be achieved. These needs are further magnified by those characteristics of the incoming Southeast Asian population which are associated with their cultural backgrounds and refugee status, and the changing language needs of second phase learners, longer term versus more recent arrivals, and a second generation of New Zealand born Southeast Asians entering the education system.

English language needs cannot be isolated from other aspects of resettlement. Rather, they are related to and often dependent upon such factors as ethnic group, age, education, occupation, language background and date of arrival. It is only after the broad language needs of the incoming refugee population and the more specific needs of subgroups within this target group have been assessed that the language provisions which have been made nationally, regionally and locally for English as a second language instruction, for mother tongue maintenance and development programmes, and for service-based language provisions can be evaluated. From the conclusions which can be drawn regarding the nature and effectiveness of these language provisions, a number of

implications regarding language provision for the Southeast Asian refugee population in particular and the wider English as a second language (ESL) community in general can be discussed together with suggested areas for further research.

Ethnic backgrounds

The refugees from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia who have been resettled in New Zealand represent a diversity of Asian cultures, languages, educational and occupational backgrounds. This variety is often overlooked in discussions about the "Indochinese" or "Southeast Asian" refugees. However, they do share some basic language needs and cultural and demographic characteristics. These similarities and the differences between national and ethnic groups are important factors in any consideration of language needs and provisions.

The Southeast Asian refugees resettled in New Zealand represent the three main indigenous ethnic groups of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia plus a small number of members of minority groups. (See Table 6.1) Apart from a small number of Vietnamese embassy staff and university students and several tourists, there were no people from this area in New Zealand prior to 1977. Not only have those who resettled in New Zealand been drawn from a nontraditional and little known source of migration, but they are predominantly people who have not had a history of external migration or international travel to prepare them for the dislocation and resettlement they have suffered through the nineteen-seventies and eighties. Apart from a small number of urban centres, Indochina remained, even under French colonial rule, a traditional village-based rice growing society. Strong in its own Indo-Asian history, traditions,religions and languages it was both prosperous and insulated from western influences.

The protracted Vietnam War of the sixties and seventies drew active outside involvement including that of New Zealand and greater contact with western culture in the towns, but the three nations which provided the main theatre for that war -South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos- remained remote and largely unknown. When the first intake of some four

hundred and seventy Southeast Asian refugees arrived in New Zealand in 1977 they were predominantly middle class, urban Chinese Vietnamese and ethnic Vietnamese, from the same background as those who were already in New Zealand (university students and embassy staff) and had been granted political asylum following the fall of Saigon in April 1975. Predominantly educated, urbanised and from among the first wave to flee South Vietnam, the refugees of our first intake were ill-prepared for the pastoral rural setting where many were initially resettled but they were rather better equipped for life in a western, urbanised environment than the refugees from rural and less well educated backgrounds who arrived later.

While accepting this initial intake from Vietnam New Zealand was still very reluctant to undertake any large scale resettlement of Southeast Asian refugees. It was not until the height of the "boat people" exodus from Vietnam in 1979 (when some 200,000 reach landfall in widely scattered parts of Southeast Asia or were picked up by passing ships), and the diaspora of land refugees from Cambodia following the collapse of the Pol Pot regime, when pressure was brought to bear by the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) on western governments to open their doors to Southeast Asian refugees, that the New Zealand government cautiously responded by establishing the Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement Programme. This programme has been renewed year by year since 1979 and is now scheduled to terminate in March 1989, completing the orientation and resettlement of some eight thousand refugees plus a small number of "voluntary migrants" from the area over the ten year period. (See Table 6.1)

Annual intakes have, apart from several large intakes early in the programme, averaged around six hundred to seven hundred refugees, with arrival figures restricted by the availability of sponsors to resettle families and the government's unwillingness to commit itself to a larger programme. Arrival figures for the Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement Programme indicate a changing emphasis in resettlement by ethnic group (Table 6.1). This, in turn, reflects the family reunification programme. While total resettlement figures to 1984 recorded an intake of 5696 Southeast Asians (2819 Vietnamese nationals compared with 2591 Cambodian nationals and 286 Lao) the figures for

June 1986, two years later, gave a total of 7023 (3095 from Vietnam against 3415 from Cambodia and 513 from Laos).

Those who arrived in New Zealand in 1977 were predominantly Vietnamese. The figures for immigration by ethnic group follow a trend with large numbers of ethnic Vietnamese and Chinese-Vietnamese included in early intakes followed by a decline in their numbers in more recent intakes. Many who initially settled in New Zealand moved across the Tasman to Australia, often to join relations who have been among the 100,000 plus mainly Vietnamese Southeast Asian refugees settled in that country.[1] This secondary migration has reduced the number of family reunification applications lodged by Vietnamese refugees in New Zealand, and thus the numbers within this group entering the country.

The marked reduction in the size of the ethnic Vietnamese refugee population in New Zealand in particular has serious ramifications for those remaining, both socially and linguistically. The maintenance of culture and language is threatened as the diminishing size of the community reduces the viability of ethnic associations and informal interaction with members of this community in the mother tongue. The support community in New Zealand has declined to a point where there is considerable pressure on those remaining in small communities to join the migration to larger communities, in Auckland and ultimately Australia. The stresses of this lost support are felt particularly by those who, for financial or other reasons, are not able to move but cannot obtain permission to bring other family members into the country because these relations are not closely enough related or because there are too many members of the family still in Vietnam or settled

---

1 While the large number of Chinese-Vietnamese resettled in New Zealand in 1979-80 formed part of the second wave of refugees, they were still more likely to be urban, educated and entrepreneurially oriented than were members of other ethnic groups. In Vietnam they had been severely affected by harsh discrimination which included the closure of all Chinese schools and newspapers in 1976, dismissal from jobs, the stopping of food rationing and the banning from traditional occupations in 1977, the confiscation of property and expulsion to "new economic zones".

elsewhere to allow the balance of family members to weigh in favour of the New Zealand applicant. This stress is particularly apparent in young single refugees.

The relatively large intake of Lao in 1985-86 reflected recognition by the government of the need for a sizeable and culturally supportive community in New Zealand if a refugee population from such a different cultural background was to be satisfactorily settled. The increased size of the Lao group by some 400 individuals in these years provided (with the secondary migration of many Lao from smaller centres to larger communities in Auckland and Wellington) for the maintenance of viable ethnic associations through which cultural and linguistic practices could be sustained in the old and nurtured in the young.

Unlike the refugee intakes from Laos taken by some other Western countries, those admitted to New Zealand have not included members of the Hmong or Mien ethnic groups from the highlands of Laos for whom settlement in urban conurbations and the literacy and other requirements associated with formal education have been shown to cause particular stress (Bruno,1983). Rather the point of departure for most of the Lao refugees has been Vientiane, with a large number of ex-students, bureaucrats and other highly qualified professional people included in the sample studied. However, resettlement problems have arisen for this group since only a very small number have had any English on arrival.

Ethnic variations within the Southeast Asian refugee population also reflect the more recent weighting in favour of Khmer and Chinese Cambodians through the continued family reunification requests from these groups. This is likely to continue since few Cambodians have migrated to Australia and there is increased urgency to reunify those family members still in the refugee camps in Thailand which are threatened with or have already been affected by closure. (Khao I Dang was officially closed January 1, 1987.) The youthful nature of the Khmer population, illustrated by the national sample where over a quarter were reported to be children under the age of five, is likely to continue as large numbers of young couples who have entered this country have New Zealand born offspring.

Notable among the minority groups found in the total intake are the ethnic Chinese. While they have been estimated to comprise no more than 5% of the total population of any of the three countries from which Southeast Asian refugees have come, they represent a disproportionate number of refugees from the area and of arrivals in New Zealand. Of the 326 refugees from Vietnam and 380 from Cambodia who were sampled, 50% and 40% respectively were identified as ethnic Chinese. That no Chinese speakers were identified among the Lao sampled may indicate that the Chinese minority has responded more tardily to the flight option. However, it is believed to be more a reflection of the greater assimilation of the Chinese in Laos. Similar identification with the national group was found among school aged Chinese speaking students from Cambodia and Vietnam in the local sample.

A background of displacement and persecution, knowledge of urban life, links with the People's Republic of China, with Hong Kong, and with Chinese already settled in other parts of the world, including New Zealand, who shared cultural values and often a dialect of Chinese with this group, have rendered resettlement less traumatic for them than for the ethnic Vietnamese, Khmer and Lao. These peoples had no history of major displacement and resettlement and few from the west had had any contact with them, even through generations of French colonial rule and the Vietnam War era.

Even the Chinese who had settled in Southeast Asia, particularly the early influx of namyang, could not be seen as orthodox migrants (Grief, 1974). When those who fled China to escape the oppression of the Manchu dynasty resettled in Vietnam the bones of their ancestors went with them to be reinterred in the soil of their new land. Thus their links with the past and the soil were retained, and responsibilities to ancestors were fulfilled. Their links with the soil of their "new" homeland were, then, similar to those of other Southeast Asian groups who also revered their aged and practised ancestor worship, customs which were to torment those in exile and to hinder cultural adaption.[2]

---

2 The later Cantonese settlers who followed European settlement and

However, many of the Chinese settlers in South Vietnam were farmers and entrepreneurs who, along with Catholic Vietnamese, had already been displaced from North Vietnam in the internal migration which accompanied the partition of Vietnam in 1954. Many of these same people were to be included in the mass exodus of Chinese Vietnamese refugees from South Vietnam as "boat people" a quarter of a century later.

Familial migration patterns

That 50% of the refugee population was under 21 on arrival (Table 6.2) reflects the youthfulness and young family based nature of the arrivals. While there are noticeable similarities in family size and composition across ethnic groups from within a country there are marked differences between national groups. This may reflect the nature of the escape routes used from different countries.

Where family members have left in groups these have usually constituted only a sufficient part of a family estimated to ensure the survival and/or success of at least some family members. The cost of escape by boat and the risk of capture were high even in 1979 when the Vietnamese government was placing very heavy pressure on ethnic Chinese to leave the country in this way (Grant, 1979; St.Cartmail, 1983) and they have remained high, as have the dangers of starvation and drowning on the high seas and hijack by pirates.[3] Hence, there has been a trend for Vietnamese families to send a young man from the family first so he

---

business expansion into the region had not gone to such lengths to take their past with them but they were voluntary migrants who were therefore able to retain links with their home communities in China. Some of these later arrivals tended neither to think of themselves nor be thought of as permanent settlers in Southeast Asia.

3 Other individual Vietnamese have arrived directly from Vietnam through the Orderly Departure Programme (ODP). These are not strictly refugees as Vietnam technically has open borders but the ODP is supported by UNHCR and individuals, usually wives, enter N.Z. under the family reunification programme. They are not however included as refugee cases and do not undergo orientation at Mangere Reception Centre on arrival but travel directly to join their relations.

might gain an education, provide support for his family still at home and provide a future for the family in the free world. This is reflected in the large numbers of single youths from Vietnam in the 15-24 age bracket. Among those refugees rescued at sea and subsequently accepted for permanent settlement in New Zealand were a number of unaccompanied minors who were settled in Dunedin. For these single young refugees the normal problems of adjustment have been further compounded by issues associated with the continued separation from family members still in Vietnam, the diminishing size of the Vietnamese community in New Zealand and the lack of older family members in New Zealand to ease the burden of decision making and provide familial and linguistic nurturance.

Cambodian refugees in New Zealand have come mainly in family units from camps in Thailand with a smaller number from camps in Vietnam. Most have been land refugees with some escaping in large family groups and others travelling to particular camps to be reunified with family members.[4] While Cambodian refugees have been less likely than Vietnamese to resettle as single young men, they are more likely to have had very little, if any, formal education apart from a short period of English for longer stayers in the camps. Family units are also more likely to have included young children. Nearly a quarter of the Khmer in the sample comprised children under the age of five. (See Table 6.2)

A large proportion of the total Lao sample studied (43 individuals representing 54.4%) arrived in New Zealand as nuclear families with between two and eight children. Representing 15% of the total Lao intake, the cases studied for this ethnic group included slightly larger family groups than was the mean for the group but illustrate the large numbers included in some case loads.

---

4 Of those arriving from Vietnam, some had formed part of the 500,000 Khmer population living in the Mekong Delta area of South Vietnam but many had escaped on foot from Cambodia in 1975 and had lived in Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) or other Vietnamese communities for several years before entering a refugee camp. As a consequence many of these Khmer refugees also speak Vietnamese, just as many of those who spent a number of years in Thailand have some knowledge of Thai.

The patterns of family reunification have meant that many family units have been swelled by the arrival of relations. This has often resulted in several generations and large numbers of people sharing one dwelling. Such housing situations have had important ramifications for both English needs and mother tongue maintenance patterns among individuals. They have facilitated: the movement of younger women into the workforce while grandmothers or other relations look after preschool children, the continued use of the mother tongue by grandparents to young children surrounded at school by English, the bringing of English into the home by younger members and the use of these individuals as interpreters by other members of the family unit, the use of the mother tongue to communicate with new arrivals and older relations who have no English.

They have also provided for the linguistic and cultural support of those who cannot speak English or understand the new society and culture by those who do. While this may lead to ethnic shielding and the creation of a backlog of persons without English it also reduces the trauma of resettlement in a new cultural environment by providing a familiar and supportive environment. This, in turn, is likely to reduce the effects of culture shock and hasten acculturation including the acquisition of the new language (Brown,1980). At a practical level it also increases the likelihood that company and transport will be available for those who wish to attend night classes.

Forced migration

While all migrants to New Zealand face resettlement problems of adaption and integration, these problems are magnified for individuals who enter New Zealand from such a different cultural background as that from which the Southeast Asian refugees come. They are further compounded by the refugee status of the arrivals which, in turn, is the raison d'etre of the flood of refugees from Southeast Asia and the humanitarian grounds on which the acceptance of migrants without English or marketable skills is based.

Refugees have not left their homeland by choice but have been pushed out by the disruptions of war, defeat by an opposed regime, fear of,

and often experience of, oppression and reprisals. Unprepared psychologically and materially for resettlement elsewhere but unable or unwilling to return to their homeland, they may have spent long years in limbo in a country of first asylum awaiting acceptance for permanent resettlement in a third country.

Kunz (1973) has noted that the main feature of refugee migration is that it is essentially forced. The characteristics of this compulsion include a reluctance to leave the homeland, a hasty and often traumatic departure which leaves refugees socially, psychologically, and culturally unprepared for resettlement, a lack of resources (including language) for adaption to the new environment, fear and mistrust of authorities, and a sense of powerlessness over the conditions affecting their lives.

In-camp and post-settlement refugee populations are highly vulnerable to disease and illness, and to the depression and psychosomatic disorders which are associated with "survival syndrome", guilt at having been spared and resettled when others are still in the country of origin, are still in refugee camps awaiting selection, or have died (Stein,1979; Cohen,1980). This is aggravated by concern for relations in camps from which resettlement is not permitted by the authorities and by the long waits and bureaucratic wrangle that surrounds obtaining the release of "voluntary migrants" from Vietnam. Many also have the trauma of having been raped, or of having seen family or close companions raped, drowned or otherwise killed in the homeland or during flight. These factors all add to the already severe trauma associated with escape from one's homeland (Simpson, 1934), and further compound the adaptation problems presented by a strange culture and a new language. Language has, in turn, been identified (along with age) as one of the two situational variables which have been found to have the greatest effect on the health of resettled refugees (Cohen, 1980).

The problems of cultural, political and economic adjustment associated with refugee resettlement in a very different cultural milieu have been acknowledged by the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) in its attempts to either repatriate refugees or to resettle them in neighbouring countries where either of these options is viable. For a quarter of a million ethnic Chinese refugees who fled Vietnam into

southern China permanent resettlement in a familiar environment has been achieved. However, this is an exception and most Southeast Asians have either been resettled in Western countries or continue to exist in refugee camps, awaiting acceptance by one of these powers or some action from the Thai government to repatriate them.[5]

The length of residence in refugee camps has varied from less than a year for some early arrivals in New Zealand to over seven years for some recent arrivals. (See Table 6.4) Although 75% of those included in the survey were reported to have spent not more than two years in camp, many had spent from 1975 in exile in a neighbouring country before entering a camp to seek resettlement selection. These events have added extra dimensions to the traditional cultural backgrounds and life experiences of most older refugees, and many young refugees arrive in New Zealand with dislocated cultures that involve only experiences of a refugee existence and camp life.

Some Cambodians have arrived with an unexpected familiarity with a romanised script, the result of a decade's sojourn in Vietnam; others have arrived conversant in Thai, French, English, Vietnamese or Russian, a byproduct of working alongside camp officials, aid agencies or military personnel from occupying forces. However, while war, flight and camp life have produced some linguistic gains which may assist the resettlement process these are heavily outweighed by the dislocation of social, educational and occupational backgrounds associated with forced migration.

Age

The nature of the struggle which Southeast Asian refugees fled, their methods of escape and familial survival patterns have all contributed to the migration of a very young population. It is notable that three quarters of the intake studied were under 30, half were under 21 and a quarter were under 9. (See Tables 6.2 and 6.13) While this already

---

5 At 30 June 1986 155,593 cardholding refugees were reported by UNHCR to be still in camps awaiting resettlement or repatriation (Refugee 1986).

produces a sample more youthful than that remarked on by Strand and Jones (1985) in their study of Southeast Asian refugees in San Diego, it gains even greater significance when the more markedly youthful figures for the Khmer population (of which nearly a quarter was under 5 on arrival) and the probable numbers of New Zealand born off-spring (for whom no records are, unfortunately, available) are considered.

The preponderance of young working aged adults and preschool and school aged children is important for language planners at all levels of education - preschool, primary, secondary and tertiary.

The large proportion of young refugees in intakes has included 14% in the preschool age group on arrival including 22% of the Khmer population, nearly a quarter (23%) between five and 18, with 19% between 5 and 13 and of primary school age and 14% between 14 and 18 and of secondary school age, and therefore likely to attend school or require skills training. It is obvious that a very large number of children have entered the school system from very varied educational, linguistic and cultural backgrounds but with a shared need of English to function in the monolingual education system. (See Tables 6.8 and 6.17) Not only have children entered the school system at all levels with very varied linguistic and educational backgrounds but large numbers of young adults have arrived who are, because of their linguistic, educational and occupational backgrounds, ill-equipped to enter the workforce. A further 20% of the national sample were between 18 and 25 on arrival and therefore potential candidates for some sort of language and work skills programme.

Apart from the very small number with English from the camp schools, most children have had no English on arrival. The first priority in education, therefore, has been to provide them with adequate support and sufficient English to use in the learning situation. For all levels of students this has involved the acquisition of an adequate social language to function in a classroom and the wider environment, to follow instructions and routines, and to read in the second language. At secondary school levels this task has been compounded by a need not only for the more specialised academic language of specialist subjects but also for the academic content of these subjects.

While young children, particularly those who have lived in New Zealand for some years, have rapidly acquired adequate communicative competence in English to function at or near their age level (orally if not in the literacy skills where many have been judged using monolingual English testing methods and so "failed") older students have entered the education system more disadvantaged by their lack of English. (See Tables 6.17 and 6.18) They have had to overcome not only the disadvantages of a lack of formal education, disrupted backgrounds and the demands of subjects and occupational training in areas in which they have had no academic background but also with having to study in a new language, English. Apart from ethnic Vietnamese students, many of whom had had relatively uninterrupted education before their flight from Vietnam, most refugee students of secondary school age had had little formal education on arrival in New Zealand.

To these difficulties must be added the social pressures concerning language identity and conflicting cultural values so clearly expressed by Miller's London students (Miller, 1983) and reported as problems on some resettlement case reports. While very few teenage and young adult females were reported to be experiencing difficulties settling in New Zealand, a large number of young males were concerning resettlement agencies.[6]

The most unsettled appeared to be a group of single youths from Vietnam who were reported to be leaving jobs regularly, to be refusing to attend English classes but blaming their lack of employment on lack of English, and to be suffering from extreme isolation and loneliness. Since all were reported to be from Vietnam they may reflect the nature of the escape routes from their country and the trend for Vietnamese families to send a young man from the family first so that he might gain an education, provide support for the family still at home and provide a future for the family, even if only through his achievements, in the free world.

---

6 This should not be taken as an indication that young women were experiencing no problems adapting to their new environment, but rather that their reactions to the disruption and stresses in their lives were more contained and less openly aggressive, and consequently often went unheeded by resettlement agencies. Perhaps the young men were luckier in that their outwardly expressed discontent brought a reaction.

Such expectations place very heavy demands on young men thrown suddenly on their own devices without either the secure authority of the head of the household or a clear place in the wider kinship network. Where contact was made with other family members, these young men became more settled and positive not only about English but also about other study and employment. The presence of family support eased the cultural and personal stress of these young men and thus aided their acculturation and language acquisition (Lambert,1974; Schumann,1976a,1976b; Brown,1980).

Among those rescued at sea and subsequently accepted for permanent resettlement in Dunedin there was also a number of unaccompanied minors for whom, as for the Christchurch youths, the normal problems of adjustment were compounded by issues associated with the loss of the family networks which form the basis of Vietnamese society. Continued separation from family members still in Vietnam, the lack of older family members in New Zealand to ease the burden of decision making and provide familial nurturance and guidance, and diminishing support from the Vietnamese community in the area as secondary migration to the warmer and culturally more supportive cities of Christchurch, Auckland and ultimately Sydney has taken place have placed major, and sadly sometimes unbearable, stress on these young people. This has, in turn, affected their ability to settle, to learn English and to study. The lack of academic success which has ensued has further compounded the stress. Without special dispensation being given to accept parents and other family members from Vietnam [7], this problem seems destined to continue.

The quickest and easiest transition to a New Zealand environment and new language has been made by young arrivals of preschool and early primary school age. One in four refugee arrivals over the seven years

---

7 Currently the balance of family is still in Vietnam and immigration requirements are therefore against the admission of these people unless they undertake the major risks of pillaging, rape and death on the high seas (if indeed their escape is successful and they do not end up in a reeducation camp), and subsequent arrival in a refugee camp where they may have to wait interminably because earlier arrivals have not been resettled.

of the official programme to 1986 was under the age of 9 on arrival, and hence fell in this bracket. (See Table 6.2) The extreme youthfulness of the arrivals has been even more marked in the case of Khmer refugees where a quarter has been under five and therefore of preschool age on arrival. To these preschool and primary school aged refugees must be added the large numbers children who may have been born to Southeast Asian couples in New Zealand over the past decade. While such children are technically not refugees and do not appear in the national sample, they cannot be overlooked as they will enter the school system speaking a mother tongue other than English and so will require linguistic assistance and considerations similar to their refugee counterparts.

As with older students, the primary need of young children entering school is for the language needed in the classroom, viz. English (See Table 6.17). Against this need, however, must be balanced the advantages of bilingualism and the very real danger that these children face of passing through a state of bilingualism to become monolinguals again, this time in their second learned language, English. Since such rapid language shift is common among young immigrants, particularly when they come from a folk bilingual situation where the parents are not literate in the mother tongue and few resources are available to encourage the maintenance and development of the mother tongue (Clyne,1982; Veltman, 1983), first language issues must be considered alongside English language needs and provisions if the benefits of additive bilingualism are to accrue and the danger of semilingualism is to be avoided (Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983).

A large proportion of preschool children who have lived for some time in New Zealand have already acquired some English before entering school. The most common sources of English have been television, older school aged siblings who have already learned some English at school and have taken it into the home, and preschool education. Bilingualism is acquired simultaneously by children under three and sequentially by others from these sources, being added to the mother tongue which is still used at home to parents before the dominating influence of the school as a secondary socialising force disrupts this balance in favour of the mother tongue. (See Table 6.19)

In a few cases parents have used English to communicate with these children in the home, responding to societal pressure from schools and individuals in the belief that this is the best way to help prepare their children for schooling in the new language. Despite these good intentions,unless a parent is fluent in the second language the language models provided are not likely to provide an accurate model or rich enough linguistic environment for significant language development to take place. Although Jamieson published research which showed this in the New Zealand context in 1976, subtle or overt pressure on parents by educational personnel to use the mother tongue at home is still widespread. This is clearly misinformed pressure when one takes account of Jamieson's findings with Tokelau children in Wellington and overseas findings on bilingualism among both minority and majority children (Cummins,1981; Swain & Cummins,1982; Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983). Nor do the children fail to gain only in English. Communicative competence in the mother tongue is threatened and the potential linguistic and cognitive benefits associated with bilingualism may be lost (Cummins,1976,1979, 1981; Grosjean,1982; Ben Zeev,1984; Swain,1984). In more extreme cases children will gain a minimum threshold level of language skills in neither language and semilingualism will ensue (Cummins,1979; Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983).

Fortunately, most Southeast Asian parents wish to retain their mother tongue through the family and speak this language to their children. While school aged children bring the new language into the home many adult refugees speak little English, or none at all in the case of new arrivals and elderly folk, and retain use of their own languages for the family domain. Hence infants are exposed to rich linguistic input, in the mother tongue, through their early years. If this input can be continued despite the pressure from English which mounts with enrolment at school, later problems associated with language development, cognitive development, emotional adjustment and self identity are less likely to occur.

While children entering primary school have initially been disadvantaged in the monolingual (or bilingual Maori) setting, the educational programme at this level is based on teaching methods that encourage activity and language development without the specific language and subject requirements found in secondary school studies.

Time is also on the side of younger migrants. While it has been found that immigrant students may take up to four or five years to approach the norms of native speakers (Cummins,1984a,1984b,1984c), young children generally have more time to achieve this and need less English to learn to perform at a level of competence similar to that of their peers. This is graphically illustrated in Ngan's discussion of the vocabulary levels required at different levels of education (Ngan,1980).

Younger children also have lower affective filters (Schumann,1976a, 1976b) and hence are less likely to be self-conscious and more likely to risk take in the second language than older learners. However, they still need time, the acceptance of acquisition-related errors in the target language, and language input which is adequate both qualitatively and quantitatively for successful acquisition to take place. It must also be recognised that even if they do not speak English, the more difficult to assess receptive language will precede production and as speakers of another language they are not linguistically deprived or handicapped.

Unfortunately however, after several years at school some have not retained the strong oracy skills in their mother tongue from which to transfer skills for second language development. English was shown to be gaining dominance over the first language of many young refugees. They were using the new language at home, even to parents who were becoming concerned at their children's lack of facility in the mother tongue. (See Table 6.19) Without the model of parents and older relations who spoke no English, some children were reported and observed to have already become passive bilinguals after only one or two years in New Zealand and could no longer communicate easily in the mother tongue with newly arrived peers. Young respondents in Liev and McLaren's study reported a similar loss of first language competency (Liev & McLaren, 1983).

The second language position of these children is very important when English literacy is introduced since they are not only learning how to read and write in the language but they are also in the process of learning the language in which these literacy skills are being presented. Moreover, most do not possess the literacy skills in the

mother tongue which can be transferred to the second language. (If they do these will still be, for all bar the Vietnamese, in a different script.) (See Table 6.17) With considerable emphasis on literacy skills, a "language net" to catch slow readers at 6 for Reading Recovery at 7 and monolingually based testing and remediation for literacy throughout the primary school system, it is essential that comparison with native speaking children and a "double standard" be avoided when assistance is provided for non-English and emergent English speaking refugee children. Second language acquisition, cultural knowledge and the development of oral skills must come before or alongside literacy skills. Until an adequate base in the former is attained reading and writing skills in English will lack a firm base.

The problems faced by primary aged students are compounded for those who enter the school system at a secondary level. Not only do they need the basic English required for social interactions but they also need the more abstract academic language associated with different subjects. As the ethnic representation of refugee intakes has shifted from Vietnamese to Khmer, increasing numbers of students between 13 and 18 have arrived from backgrounds which have included only very disrupted education or without any formal education at all. This has ill-prepared them for entry into either the education system or the workforce. (See Tables 6.3, 6.14 and 6.17)

Not only have they themselves nurtured hopes of success in the system but many of them have also carried their family's hopes for future reinstatement to a previously held economic and social position. For most Southeast Asian refugees attending school for the first time or returning to school after a long break the expectations and the reality of the situation have been far apart; the disadvantages of background have been too great for the short time available to achieve academic success. Some at the upper end of the system have "dropped out" of school when they could no longer cope but younger students have had to continue at least until they are 15 and usually considerably longer if aspirations are to be realised. (See Table 6.10 and 6.11) Unable to leave and destined to complete their education in English, these particularly vulnerable secondary students need a protective and supportive environment which assists them with their English development while allowing them to achieve so far as is possible in different subject areas.

Older students who lack work skills of any sort or who need retraining or "upskilling" are usually socially too old to fit into a secondary school situation, although some have returned as adult students where the option to attend has been available. For most, however, the academic syllabus of secondary schools does not meet their job training, specialist subject or professional retraining needs. Hence, they have been potential clients for tertiary institutions.

Using children as interpreters

A consequence of children's rapid acquisition of English when they have retained communicative competence in the mother tongue has been their use as interpreters in interactions between parents and schools and other social agencies. While this is pragmatic, seems almost inevitable and, indeed, provides an effective motivation to maintain productive skills in the mother tongue, it is often a source of social stress. Asian families are traditionally strongly patriarchal and hierarchical in nature. Young people are expected to show due deference and respect for their elders. These values are almost inevitably eroded in young people growing up in a modern western society. As they acculturate more to the dominant culture and gain communicative competence in English more quickly and effectively than their parents tensions arise. The use of children as interpreters in interactions with their elders further undermines this authority structure and raises the need for interpreters to be available from outside of family units who are acceptable to members of the local community. It also underlines the need for translated material to be made available in the language of the different groups. Even if this written material cannot be read by all members of the family, it can be understood by them when read by another and its provision shows respect for their own languages.

Age, language maintenance & language shift

Age and amount of formal education are seen as important for both language maintenance and the development of the mother tongue (including literacy issues) and for the development of English. With such a large proportion of the population under 35 and the trend for those under 35 to undergo at least a partial language switch to cope

with new experiences the chance of any long-term language maintenance without formal promotion cannot be seen as a real possibility. Language competence in the mother tongue is, in turn, seen as important for second language development (Cummins,1979; Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa,1976; Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas,1977).

Study of the language use patterns among Southeast Asian refugees in New Zealand suggests a rapid language shift among first generation children. All children in the local sample valued their first language and expressed a desire to learn it, if they did not already have literacy in it.[8] Reports on language use patterns, however, showed that not only had English gained preeminence in the public domain but it was already being used side by side with the mother tongue in the family and private domains (cf Fishman,1966). See Table 6.19) Reports of young children born in Thailand or New Zealand being communicated to in English by siblings, even where these older siblings had themselves arrived in New Zealand with no English, were common. With the education of children the position of the mother tongue was being eroded away (Clyne, 1982).

The continued migration of family members was seen to have a chain effect which contributed to language maintenance as did the establishment of ethnic associations and other active steps to maintain minority languages in main centres. However, while most adults still speak their first language (or a second other than English among themselves) and family reunification has prevented language shifts in households from reaching the proportions found in Trlin's study of immigrant families (Trlin,1974), Southeast Asian families have only been here a relatively short time and the erosion of the mother tongue in children has already been marked despite a continued influx of family members. With such a large proportion of the incoming population under 35 and therefore within the group defined by Veltman (1983) as at risk from language shift, loss of the mother tongue is a very real threat.

---

8 Since most children had not had any formal education in the country of origin, either because it was not available or because they were too young, they did not have literacy skills in their mother tongue.

For mother tongues to be maintained and developed so that the advantages of an additive, stable bilingualism may accrue for the Southeast Asian population in New Zealand, not only is a sustained effort required from families to maintain the clear social functions which require the mother tongue but the languages brought to New Zealand by this refugee influx need to be recognised by the wider society and individual bilingualism in adults and children alike needs to be valued. Unfortunately, as was the case in Great Britain (Rosen & Burgess,1980; Miller,1983), teachers in New Zealand schools were often not even aware of the languages spoken by students in their classes. (cf Table 6.17)

Language backgrounds

The major gulf between the cultures which refugees have left and the western, English speaking world they entered are reflected in their languages. Not only are the Asian languages brought by refugees to New Zealand markedly different from English or any other European language and the Polynesian languages but over three quarters of the refugees had only minimal or no English on arrival. Lao refugees could be understood by some Thai speakers but only the Vietnamese and the Chinese were initially able to gain any support from an already present minority group in New Zealand.

Even these links were often diminished for Chinese refugees who were somewhat distanced from their New Zealand born and immigrant Chinese counterparts by cultural values, background experiences and language differences. Just as other minorities have disappeared as identities separate from the main Southeast Asian groups in New Zealand, so many of the ethnic Chinese from Southeast Asia have shared less in common with their Chinese counterparts in New Zealand than with fellow refugees. Indeed, although some young Lao arrivals and several Vietnamese and Cambodians in the regional sample were reported to speak Chinese as their first language these younger refugees showed a tendency to identify primarily with their wider national group. Moreover, most older refugees from Laos were identified primarily as ethnic Lao rather than as Chinese and reported speaking Lao as their first language (cf Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983, re mother tongues).

As Tieu Chau speakers, many Lao and Chinese-Cambodians have also been linguistically isolated from the New Zealand Chinese community where the main dialect spoken is Cantonese. Knowledge of Mandarin can overcome this language barrier for the educated but, since many refugees have had little, none or very disrupted education, this option has not been available to them. Hence the advantages of an already established ethnic community in the host society, while supportive, have been moderated.

Nevertheless, a shared written script and, for some, a shared spoken dialect of Chinese offered a modicum of linguistic support for Chinese speaking Southeast Asian refugees that was not available to speakers of Khmer, Lao and Vietnamese. Not only were these other languages unspoken by other New Zealanders but they were largely unknown, and have remained so despite ten years of Southeast Asian refugee resettlement.

A wide variety of Chinese dialects are spoken with the main ones being Tieu Chau in Cambodia and Laos and Cantonese in Vietnam. Many, even those with no education, speak more than one dialect of Chinese plus the national language of their country of origin. Chinese who have had some education, often in a Chinese school, also have some knowledge of Mandarin and the Chinese script which is character based. As literacy depends on the rote learning of each character with the concept and word it symbolises, the attainment of functional literacy is very time-consuming and the script is highly susceptible to forgetting through lack of use.

Like Chinese, to which it is related, Vietnamese is a tonal language (having 6 tones) but it alone of the languages of Southeast Asia employs a roman script. A legacy from French missionaries of the 19th century, this script offers Vietnamese speakers familiarity with most of the English alphabet and so speeds literacy in English, but it also disguises the Chinese base and tonal nature of the language and therefore the difficulties inherent in acquiring English intonational and stress patterns which are more important for the conveying of meaning than pronunciation.

Khmer and Lao have phonological scripts, each of which is an intricate combinations of consonant and vowel characters, superscripts and

subscripts derived from Sanskrit, as is Pali which is the language of Buddhist scriptures learned by the many from these two countries who have served time as monks and attended monastic schools.[9] However, while Lao is a tonal, basically monosyllabic Sino-Tibetan language closely related to dialects of northern Thailand, Khmer is non-tonal, has a larger number of polysyllabic words, and is a member of the Mon Khmer family of languages. As such it is not spoken outside of Cambodia except by Cambodians in exile and the very few who have learnt it through long contact with them.

Bilingualism in Asian languages is common among the refugees with a large number of Chinese not only bilingual in the national language but also bidialectal in several dialects of Chinese. A third of the national sample and half of the local sample were reported to speak at least one other Asian language. For some ethnic Chinese the natural acquisition of a second language had been supported by formal learning in school but for most other refugees the second language had been acquired in a natural setting. Many of the Cambodians from Vietnamese camps had acquired Vietnamese either during the years of work in Saigon between their flight from Cambodia in 1974-75 and entering a refugee camp for resettlement selection, or through living in the Parrot's Beak area of South Vietnam. Children from some of these families learned Vietnamese at school and so are literate in it and speak it as well as or better than their native Khmer. Land refugees, and sea refugees from Vietnam, who have landed in Thailand have acquired Thai through working in refugee camps, and in rare cases through residency in Thailand outside of refugee camps, before entering a camp in 1979.

Children as well as adults reflect this bilingualism in Asian languages with seven of the sixteen children in the local sample reporting at least one second language other than English. (See Table 6.17) In six of the seven cases either the mother tongue or a second language was Chinese - Tieu Chau, Hainanese or Cantonese, suggesting that these children although identifying with the national language, Khmer or Vietnamese, came from homes where Chinese was also spoken. This "second" language was occasionally used exclusively by children when

---

9 The Khmer script has 66 consonant symbols, 35 vowel symbols, 33 superscripts and 33 subscripts.

talking to parents, siblings and other relations and in one case a student felt that he used his second language exclusively when thinking about school work. However, it was more common for students to use their other Asian languages only sometimes, and increasingly rarely as English gained preeminence over them.

While many refugees, therefore, have come to New Zealand rich in Asian languages, none of these languages is either related to English or itself an international language. Most are tonal and monosyllabic, and all have markedly different grammatical and cultural bases from English. Even in the case of Chinese which could be identified as a language of trade and is already taught in several universities (and planned for in others), the native fluency of Chinese speaking refugees is not highly regarded by the wider society. The bilingualism which accrues from mastery of two or more Asian languages is, therefore, an example of folk bilingualism (Paulston,1975), down valued and unrewarded in the new culture, and likely to be subtractive.

Knowledge of a European language generally reflects a formal education in the country of origin. Most of the 8% (66 individuals) of the national sample who were reported to know a European language other than English had learned French in a formal educational setting. Some had also used this language, which was the most commonly reported European language, in universities where French was a medium of instruction and in government administration. Two Lao were reported to have other European languages which they had learned and used for postgraduate study in Eastern Bloc countries. One of these spoke and was literate in a large number of languages including English, French and Italian. (Sadly, although highly qualified he was destined on arrival in New Zealand for a factory job.)

While knowledge of French and other European languages related to English was in itself an advantage to potential English learners, it also indicated a degree of formal education, language learning and literacy which would assist refugees faced with learning English, particularly where this new language was presented in a formal learning situation. However, it also pointed to the potential frustration which was to result from refugees failing to achieve a position in New Zealand that was comparable to that which they had been forced to leave

in their homeland. While some of this occupational and social downward mobility is contributable to social and economic factors other than language, much of it is a direct or indirect consequence of lack of English.

Hence, although many Southeast Asian refugees have entered New Zealand with a rich wealth of languages, they have been unable to capitalise on their bilingualism which distinguishes them from the basically monoglot society which they are entering. Even when they exhibit characteristics of elite bilingualism, with competence in languages which are taught in New Zealand schools and universities, these talents have remained, for the most part, unrecognised. A lack of English has vitiated the exploitation of these second language talents as it did for Miller's subjects (Miller,1983). Without adequate recognition and encouragement these languages are likely to be forgotten before a comparable standard of English is reached to allow them to be utilised.

Mother tongue literacy

While all refugees have spoken at least one language on arrival, and many have spoken several with a high degree of proficiency, it cannot be assumed that they were literate in any of these languages. Indeed, many were not.

Since literacy in one language involves reading and writing skills which are transferable to the learning of literacy in a second language even where the scripts are unrelated, it is a very valuable attribute in the second language learner. Furthermore, research in the United States and Canada has shown previous formal education, which involves the development and use of literacy skills in the mother tongue (or other language of instruction), to be an important element in the adaption process and development of literacy in English. This literacy in English is, in turn, identified as a crucial element in the employment process (Kleinmann & Daniel,1981; Strand & Jones,1985).

In a western industrialised nation like New Zealand where literacy is an essential element of everyday living, the second language learner who approaches English without any previous literacy skills will be seriously disadvantaged. At least a minimal degree of literacy in

English is required for basic functions such as reading signs and instructions, filling forms and gaining access to the social services, and this will not be easily gained by refugees who are faced not only with learning a new language but also with the acquisition of basic literacy skills in this language at the same time.

Some mother tongue literacy was reported for most refugees in the 15 to 40 age bracket with a little over a half of the total sample reported to have some literacy in their first language. (See Table 6.5) Such literacy gains added significance when the very low national literacy rates for Laos and Cambodia reported by Cohen (1983) are considered. However, this literacy ranged in degree from very good to very little and many had had few opportunities to practise and so maintain their literacy skills. Apart from an occasional exchange of letters with others still in the country of origin, in camps or resettled elsewhere there were few opportunities to read or write anything in the first language any more. As with oracy skills, literacy skills require practice if they are to be retained; memory and forgetting are closely related to use (Fantini,1985).[10] It cannot, then, be assumed that most refugees from Southeast Asia will possess any literacy skills on arrival. This lack of literacy contrasts sharply with early refugee intakes to New Zealand where the adult population was almost universally literate in the mother tongue, and often in a European language as well.

While illiteracy was found across all ethnic groups it was more marked among the Chinese-Cambodians and Khmer than other ethnic groups. (See Table 6.5) Less than half of the national sample for each of these groups was reported to have any literacy in the mother tongue, although only two in the local response, neither having any formal education, fell into this category.[11] However, concern was expressed by educated members of the local sample (Khmer, Chinese-Cambodian and Chinese-Vietnamese) regarding the amount of time they had been away from

---

10 This is particularly true for the Chinese script which relies on the rote memorisation of characters.

11 Rather than suggesting that the local population is markedly different from the national sample, this is felt to be a reflection of the nature of those from the local community who responded to the survey.

reading and writing in their mother tongues and their consequentially diminished level of proficiency in these skills.

It is also heightened by the length of time many have been away from studies and deprived of access to print. Moreover, from 1975 and Year Zero of Pol Pot's regime any exhibition of literacy skills, which advertised an educated background, was carefully guarded against in Cambodia. While affecting all language groups, this attrition is particularly serious for those with non-romanised scripts for whom there has been a dearth of literature coming off printing presses in the West.

Age factors, themselves related to education, are also important for literacy. Many elderly refugees were reported to have had no formal education and to be illiterate while young children, many of whom were too young to attend schools in their country of origin, were only rarely literate in any language. (See Table 6.3) This is unlikely to have any serious resettlement ramifications for old refugees who are likely to retain dominance in their mother tongue and to be shielded by family groups from an urgent need for literacy, but it presages major problems for the development of initial literacy among young refugee immigrants and the language maintenance required for additive bilingualism.

While most ethnic Vietnamese refugee children of school age arrived with some literacy skills in their mother tongue, a bonus in that they had therefore also been acquainted with most of the roman alphabet of English, many other children have arrived without education or literacy in any language. (See Table 6.17) Therefore, they have been faced not only with learning a new language but also with gaining basic literacy skills through this strange language.

Literacy skills have been shown to be most easily learned in the stronger first language or dialect and then transferred to the second language or dialect (Osterberg,1961; Modiano,1973; Skutnabb-Kangas, c1983). Researchers in Canada have reported success where literacy has been taught initially in the second language, French, but have emphasised the differences between the situations of immigrant minority language groups and the middle class, dominant anglophones of the

immersion programme (Swain,1984). Even in the United States where bilingual education programmes are still officially seen only as a bridge to education in the national language, English, many immigrant children are now taught literacy skills first in their mother tongue so that these skills may be more easily acquired for transference to the prestige language.

Literacy is also an important variable in the process of language maintenance and development. Where literacy skills in the first, minority language are sustained where already present and taught where not already attained, language maintenance is supported and language shift is slowed if not arrested. In the local sample all but three children recorded that they wanted to learn their first language either at home or at school. Interestingly, the three who did not see any need for further instruction in the mother tongue were all literate in this language and considered themselves to have good reading and writing skills in it.

While the mother tongues of elderly refugees who are preliterate are rarely threatened by the dominant national language, those of children are very likely to lose ground to English particularly when the children are of school age or have siblings who bring the language into the home. Language use patterns in the local sample show strong pressure on the first language from English. (See Table 6.19) It has preeminence in the public, school domain, and with many children already using it side by side with the mother tongue in the home and for thinking about things other than school work, it is invading the private domain. Since the private is seen as the last sanctuary of the mother tongue in the process of language shift (Fishman, 1972; Jamieson, 1980; Clyne, 1982), the movement through an unstable bilingual stage is already well advanced in many young refugees. Several years at school have found them without adequate competence in their first language to be more than passive bilinguals, understanding their parents but responding in English.

If bilingualism is to be seen as a valuable attribute which not only contributes to the cultural and utilitarian resources of the wider society but also accelerates and enriches the learning of a second language (Cummins,1979), not only is support required for the retention

and use of refugee children's first languages but resources are needed to initiate and sustain literacy in these languages. At the same time it is incumbent on providers in the host society to become more au fait with the language backgrounds of arrivals and more supportive of their efforts and wishes to maintain linguistic competence in these languages.

Literacy in the mother tongue is closely related to age and to educational background. These two factors have major implications for first language maintenance and second language development and underline the need for both general and specific English language provisions and mother tongue maintenance and development programmes.

Isolation & ethnic shielding

While most young adults expressed a preparedness to mix with New Zealanders and a desire to learn English, little mixing was reported for those over 45 and most over 60 lacked the positive attitude necessary for second language learning and adaptation to a new culture. While reported as being reluctant or stubborn, the elderly often reported that they were too old or did not need English. Others often reported that they were too busy to attend lessons or had enough with which to cope. As members of extended families these refugees, particularly the elderly, were shielded from a need for English. Where grandmothers were largely caregivers, looking after young children in the home while mothers returned to work to supplement the family income, they had a clear and valuable function but many other older refugees suffered isolation and loneliness in a strange and frightening culture during the daytime while other family members were out working or at school.

Younger women in the home were also seen to be at risk from isolation through lack of English and social contact outside of the home. As with Khmer women in New York (Bruno,1984), those settled in New Zealand were often reported to be at home caring for young children or to be employed in process-type factory positions in cities where they worked alongside other refugees and, if allowed to talk while they worked, were exposed to very little English. Two women in the local sample were

reported to still have zero English and three only minimal English. In contrast, no men were in the zero English category and only two reported minimal progress. Length of residence was not identifiable as the primary reason for lack of English among the women but was more likely to have been a major contributing factor in the men's lack of English. Nor could the women's lack of English be attributed to old age. Only one of the women was very elderly; none of the remaining four was over 35. It is, therefore, believed to be more likely due to ethnic shielding of women similar to that found by researchers in Australian surveys of refugee women (Gardini & Secombe,1986).

As with the women employed in factories alongside other refugees, some more recently arrived men have been ethnically shielded in the workplace from both a need for and the opportunity to learn English. Extant larger communities in the major cities, notably Auckland, have been further swelled by secondary migration from provincial areas and by family reunifications. Where large numbers of refugees have been concentrated in one workplace it has been possible to use interpreters where communication across languages has been required. Four individuals in the national sample were reported to be fulfilling this interpreting role on the shop floor. While few employers saw this as creating any problem, this situation usually occurred in a factory situation where employees worked shifts and long hours to get the extra money available from overtime. Hence, few of those with little English would be very likely to increase their command of the language through contact with other New Zealanders or through organised classes as they would have little contact beyond their own ethnic group within the workplace and little time to attend classes outside of work time.

English on arrival

Though lack of English is evident in almost all Southeast Asian refugees resettled in New Zealand there are some interesting variations based on ethnic group and date of arrival. (See Table 6.6) Notably fewer in the Chinese-Cambodian group (52%) and more in the Lao intakes (71%) were reported to have zero English on arrival. However, when the figures for individuals in each of these ethnic groups who have only minimal or no English are considered only the Chinese-Cambodian figure

at 70% remains noticeably lower than the overall mean of 76%. Interestingly, the comparable figure for Chinese-Vietnamese stands at 81%, a similar percentage higher than the mean average for all groups.

The relatively low figure of Chinese-Cambodians reported to have little or no English reflects the urban origins, and hence the greater likelihood of a background of formal education, of this group. Like their Chinese-Vietnamese counterparts this ethnic group was more likely to be made up of urban dwelling entrepreneurs and professionals than rice growers and thus more likely to have been among the early waves of refugees from that country. Unlike the ethnic Chinese in Vietnam it was not for itself a more persecuted group than the ethnic majority under Pol Pot, but the arrival of Vietnamese invasion forces in 1979 was a likely contributor to rapid flight into Thailand. Higher figures for English may also reflect the tendency for those refugees accepted for resettlement to have worked in aid programmes organised by English speaking organisations and to have anticipated their resettlement in an English speaking community with attendance at English classes where these were made available. (See Tables 6.7 and 6.8)

Since the provision of language and other classes has increased in the camps from which refugees are available for selection, and emphasis has also been placed on language teaching in Phanat Nikhom, the camp from which selected refugees leave Thailand, this tendency for refugees to learn English, which is also seen among later arrivals in other ethnic groups, is likely to be continued. (See Tables 6.7 and 6.17) Studying English not only fills in time and give some purpose to camp life; it enhances a refugee's prospects of selection for family reunification by and resettlement in an English speaking country. In Phanat Nikhom it also allows for cultural orientation and further English study or minimal, survival English preparation for those who have still had no contact with English when selection takes place.

While all refugees are eligible to attend classes of some sort, considerably fewer women than men and children arrive with some English. Women have often missed classes because they are tied to caring for young children and to household chores, because of the pressure of numbers on classes and traditional attitudes towards education being for men. This has important ramifications for language

provisions post-resettlement since it is women and the elderly who are deemed to be at most risk of ethnic shielding in the resettlement process and therefore least likely to acquire the new language (Gardini & Secombe,1986).

Since literacy in English was concentrated in the ten to forty-four age range with only three over the age of forty-four reported to be literate in English, it can be assumed that not only women but older men and women rarely attended language classes in camp. This left the other group considered by Gardini and Secombe to be most at risk from ethnic shielding, the aged, no more likely than women to have had any contact with English before arrival to prepare them for their new cultural environment. Nor had they any more imagined that they would one day live in exile in a foreign and unknown land.

The large number of Chinese-Vietnamese with little or no English on arrival (Table 6.7) can, in part, be further explained by the steady decline in refugees resettled in New Zealand from Vietnam. Since refugee selection is now based primarily on family reunification and large numbers of refugees from Vietnam, both ethnic Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese-Vietnamese, have followed the pattern for secondary migration to Australia, fewer refugees from this source are left in New Zealand to petition for their relatives to be brought into the country. Hence fewer are arriving after lengthy stays in refugee camps during which they might have learnt English. Most Chinese-Vietnamese, in particular, arrived in New Zealand during the first three years of the programme. This is clearly illustrated in the small number (21) represented in the national sample for the four years to June 1986 and the replacement of Vietnam by Cambodia as the main country of origin of refugees in New Zealand.

Further explanation for the large percentage of Chinese-Vietnamese with little or no English can be found in the situation which existed in Vietnam during and following the Vietnam War. The ethnic Chinese minority lived mainly in Cholon rather than in Saigon and they were not allowed to hold government posts or to join the army. Thus the close contact with the United States Armed Forces and English speaking support personnel in the administration that was found to be a significant source not only of English but also of cultural preparation

for resettlement of Vietnamese in the United States (Strand,1984; Lewins & Ly,1985; Strand & Jones,1985) was not available to the ethnic Chinese refugee. Moreover, while English displaced French as the main foreign language taught in schools in Vietnam during the Vietnam War and after, only younger refugees were able to benefit from these classes and the widespread banning of ethnic Chinese from educational facilities in the late seventies deprived them of this classroom access to the language.

Few Southeast Asian refugees have entered New Zealand with the benefit of fluency in English and knowledge of the receiving culture that was found among refugees from the first wave (emanating from the fall of Saigon in April 1975) who were resettled in the United States and Australia (Strand,1984; Lewins & Ly,1985). The two individuals, both ethnic Vietnamese, who were reported to be fluent in English on arrival had studied English in Vietnam and had used it in their occupations before fleeing the country. They had also worked as interpreters in refugee camps for New Zealand and other authorities and so had been able obtain a degree of fluency which was not available to other who had learned English through study with an Asian teacher or only after entering a refugee camp. (See Table 6.7)

However, the importance of camp education cannot be underestimated and length of residence in refugee camps is linguistically significant as longer term residents are more likely to have learned some English before departure. While study in camp for more than three months was associated with an expectedly greater degree of competence in English than a shorter period of study, any prior knowledge of the language could be seen as advantageous. The likelihood of some knowledge of English even among shorter term residents in refugee camps has also increased as a result of a "pull" factor created by the presence of family members already in an English speaking country. Knowledge of English is seen as likely to enhance chances of selection for resettlement in New Zealand or another English speaking country by those not yet selected for resettlement, and as preparation for life in their new country by others who have already been selected for resettlement.

While few early arrivals had any connections in New Zealand prior to 1979, later arrivals have been more fortunate in that they have had

family and other members of their own community from whom they could gain support. These already settled refugees also provide a pull factor that did not exist for early arrivals and they are also likely to have provided, through correspondence with those still in camps, some basic information about the culture of the host community. Many of those who have stayed longer in camp have, thus, been able to anticipate resettlement in an English speaking environment and to make use of the increased opportunities available within the camp to learn the new language.

A fifth of those reported in the national sample to have some knowledge of English had studied the language in a refugee camp while all the adults and students in the regional sample reported to have some knowledge of English on arrival had gained this knowledge in a camp. While English studies undertaken in refugee camps left most students rather less than communicatively competent in the target language, they did prepare them for further English study and bring them in contact with western values before their arrival in New Zealand.

The trend for increasing numbers of arrivals from refugee camps to have some English reduces the language and culture shock of arrivals and thus, to a degree, renders their preparedness for English more like that of non-refugee immigrants. Voluntary migrants anticipate their settlement in an English speaking country and are therefore able to make some preparations for the move, linguistically and culturally. This in turn eases the resettlement process.

The importance of English education predeparture is supported by findings from the local survey where the eight adults and five students who were reported to have some English on arrival had all learnt it in a refugee camp. Moreover, predeparture orientation and language programmes have been shown to reduce culture shock on arrival, and so are likely to hasten acculturation and language acquisition which Brown has postulated occurs not in the second phase of cultural adjustment - culture shock, but in the third phase - cultural stress (Brown, 1980). By reducing the culture shock experienced by the learner, predeparture knowledge of the target language hastens the process of acculturation (Brown,1980) and increases the language input from on-arrival orientation and language programmes. These predeparture programmes

assume added importance when the on-arrival programmes are short in duration as are those at the Mangere Reception Centre in Auckland.

The effects of camp provision of English and of longer periods of residency in refugee camps on language can be also be seen in the English literacy figures of arrivals. While around a quarter of those surveyed nationally were reported to have more than a minimal degree of proficiency in English, only half of this number were reported to have any literacy skills in the language. Since only 4% had studied English at school in their country of origin, a fifth the number who had studied it in a refugee camp, many of the 12% reported to have literacy in the language must have learned these skills in a refugee camp. That the highest percentage reported to have some literacy in English by ethnic group was the Khmer with 16.3% reflects the larger numbers of Khmer and Chinese-Cambodians accepted for resettlement in New Zealand in more recent intakes coupled with the long stays of many of these individuals in refugee camps before resettlement.

The on-arrival possession of some degree of literacy in English among refugees who are otherwise illiterate or have a writing system that does not use a romanised script reduces the numbers to whom the alphabet must be taught and speeds the process of literacy in the target language. Increasing numbers of more recent Khmer, Lao and Chinese refugees have gained some knowledge of the writing system through English classes provided in the refugee camps by volunteer agencies including the Catholic Education Office for Refugee Relief (COERR), Youth With a Mission (YWAM) and Volunteer Service Abroad (VSA) for which New Zealand volunteer teachers work in Phanat Nikhom camp.

Educational background

Few Vietnamese who were over five on arrival were reported to have received no formal education but a large number of Khmer, Lao and ethnic Chinese fell into this category. To them must be added students who had received only minimal instruction in their country of origin or in a refugee camp predeparture. (See Tables 6.3 and 6.14) For most of the younger students this lack of education results from the dislocation inherent in large scale war, dislocation and refugee

movements, but for older students it may also be a consequence of cultural attitudes to education and the availability of schooling in their countries of origin.

As Vietnamese society was imbued with Confucian beliefs, education was highly valued by all sectors of the population as a vehicle of economic and social advancement. Where it was possible schools remained open throughout the Vietnam War and while Chinese schools were closed in the mid 1970s Vietnamese schools remained open. National education in Cambodia and Laos was more strongly influenced by the values of Therevada Buddhism and hence remained largely pagoda based and restricted to young males. Some growth was seen after the departure of the French in 1954 and provision was made for the inclusion of girls, but a rural subsistence economy placed little importance on formal education and only a small proportion of the population, including very few girls, were reported to have attended. A Lao governmental report on literacy levels for Laos in 1968 concluded that only 24% of the population was literate in the mother tongue. This low figure was halved to 12% by a United States State Department report in the following year (Cohen,1983). Greater French influence was felt in the capitals where education provisions continued to a university level with qualifications modelled on the French Baccaulaureat system.

The suspected low level of education for many Khmer as a result of the disruption of the education system from 1975 on is supported by the large numbers of young Khmer reported to have had no formal education, and of older Khmer and Chinese-Cambodians with broken study and incomplete qualifications. Those who had received education at the primary or secondary level had obtained this schooling before April 1975 and those who had attended university did so before the closing of Phnom Penh University by Pol Pot.

The widespread unavailability and dislocation of education in Cambodia are reflected in a 1980 report from this country discussing the reestablishment of the education system in 1979, after the Vietnamese invasion of 1970, the United States bombing, the Pol Pot regime, and the Vietnamese reinvasion of 1979. In this report Heibert noted that of the 900,000 children between the ages of 6 and 16 in the system, 70-80% were studying in the first grade, 20% in the second grade and only 4%

in higher grades (cited in Cohen,1983:154). Most older students were reported to have forgotten all they had ever learnt during the Lon Nol regime during the intervening years of disruption and intellectual aridity.

A large proportion of Khmer and Chinese-Cambodian refugees further reported no work background except forced labour under the Pol Pot regime and identified themselves as students. (See Table 6.12) Their disrupted educational backgrounds ranged from minimal primary education to several nearly completed medical degrees from Phnom Penh University. Education in Vietnam and Laos appears to have been considerably less disrupted by the changes of government in 1975 than was that in Cambodia, with many individuals receiving some sort of education up until the time of their escape.[12] However, even for them the cessation of studies portended a break that for many would become an insurmountable hurdle as the years passed and their social situation changed.

Each national group in the study included a sizeable portion of refugees who had undertaken secondary or tertiary level studies. (See Table 6.3) Even the numbers among the Khmer reflect this educational background and the tendency for a disproportionate number of earlier arrivals to have come from an urban environment. However, increasingly Southeast Asians have arrived having either little or no formal education or having been removed from the formal education they once had by extended stays in refugee camps.

While education is a positive factor in resettlement many at the top of the scale have very little chance to capitalise on their qualifications or to complete disrupted tertiary education since they lack competence in the English language. This clearly illustrates the difference between refugees and voluntary migrants. While the latter migrate to improve their lifestyles and to enhance their life chances or those of their children, refugees leave because they have to. This forced migration often involves a move which brings an undesired change of

---

12 An exception to this was the Chinese-Vietnamese whose schools had been closed in the mid 1970s, thus effectively depriving most of them of any further education.

lifestyle and depression of life chances. This is particularly apparent among intellectual refugees who are the more difficult to settle satisfactorily in the long term (Taft & Doczy, 1962).

Since refugees initially have high self-expectations in their new country (Stein,1981) and loss of professional status and identity is seen as one of "the three main risk factors for psychopathy" (along with inadequate social networks and parental loss) (Borman & Edwards, 1984:50), failure to return to their chosen fields has created major resettlement problems for highly qualified refugees. In the process, the wider society has been unable to capitalise on the overseas trained expertise of these refugees. Some few have been able to resume studies in New Zealand after they have acquired greater competence in English but most have been deterred from further study by the language barrier, a lack of recognition of qualifications, and familial and financial responsibilities.

While many in the local survey reported that they would still like to resume studies when they have more English, it is felt that few are likely to do so unless the conditions for study become financially more appealing, educationally rewarding and accessible. While it allows time for language competence in English to develop, length of residence is itself a deterrent to further study since it distances subjects from their previously learned knowledge and renders technical studies out of date. An important outcome of this impasse is the pinning of hopes for the future on the education of the next generation. This, in turn, places heavy pressure on the older children in a family to succeed, despite the heavy odds which are stacked against their success.

Lack of schooling in the country of origin or in the refugee camp has ill-prepared school aged children for entry into the formal education system on arrival in New Zealand. Although few Vietnamese children over five were reported to have received no education, a large number of Khmer, Lao and ethnic Chinese children were included in this bracket. Not only have they been unaccustomed to the secondary socialising influence and requirements of an educational institution but they have brought with them a very different cultural background; they have been unlikely to be literate in the mother tongue and they have lacked formal academic knowledge on which to build. Even those who have been

resuming studies have brought very different experiences and cultural expectations of the education system.

Many have had no experience of formal education apart from sporadic and often very brief attendance at a camp school. For those who have attended school, lack of English constitutes the greatest barrier to learning. This major problem is compounded by the effects of disrupted studies, different subjects and different cultural expectations. Many students have been used to a very traditionally operated classroom with the rote learning of many of their subjects and they have studied different content in their first language or in a second language other than English.

To function in New Zealand schools, students must not only gain enough social English to participate in the classroom situation but they must gain adequate subject knowledge and specific, academic English to meet the cognitive demands of each subject, including a high degree of literacy. Where vocabulary and subject-related concepts are already known in the mother tongue or other previous language of instruction this knowledge can easily be transferred to the new learning situation and the new language (Cummins,1979,1981). However, most students have had too little or too disrupted an education to be able to benefit from such transference. Thus they are required not only to master new concepts but also to master these in a new language which itself is being learned.

In choosing and being directed towards more technical subjects refugee students have been more able to demonstrate their ability without recourse to large quantities of English. The local favouring of manual subjects, accounting and pure mathematics over English, science, economics and applied mathematics which require a higher degree of competence in English , reflected this trend and concurred with findings in other surveys (Denny,1979; Marjoribanks,1979; Liev & McLaren,1983). The choice of less prestigious manual subjects illustrates the dilemma which students face as a result of lack of English. Manual subjects, and regional certificates, are more likely to allow for success in students with only poor English skills but the choice of non-academic alternatives is not in harmony with parental or student aspirations for academic success. While education is seen as

the key to return the family to its previous social position, it is an unrealistic goal for many students, particularly those with very limited or no previous education who enter the system late.

A high level of English is required for the successful completion of school work and examinations, but most students have neither the English language skills and concepts to meet these demands nor the first language skills or concepts at this level which can facilitate learning in the new language. Only the three oldest students in the local sample were able to use their mother tongues and English for thinking about school work. (See Table 6.19) Since all three were literate and had received earlier education through their first languages they were able to obtain the extra benefits of a choice of languages and the transference of skills from one language to the other. Most students, however, lacked not only English skills but also the literacy and academic levels in the first language to benefit academically from their bilingualism at the secondary level. Nor could most get the bilingual assistance which was shown in two South Island schools to assist concept formation.

Moreover, for academic achievements to be recognised examinations must be sat and assignments completed in English to a standard which is accepted against monolingual norms. Since it has been estimated that an academic fifth form year requires a vocabulary of some 15,000 words (Ngan,1983), language alone is likely to pose an insuperable barrier to examination success for most Southeast Asian refugee students entering school at the secondary level. Some have "solved" the problem by leaving to seek employment. Others have stayed on, often still without success. By the time they have obtained enough English for study purposes they have been too far behind in subjects to succeed and too old socially to remain longer at school (cf Townshend,1971; Blakely,1983; Ellis,1985).

For young, particularly Khmer, children longer stays in refugee camps may also mean that they will have received some basic camp education in their mother tongue and /or English. Attendance at a camp school will likely be the only form of schooling of many of the children from Cambodia who reached school age during or after 1975 and provides some valuable socialisation to school life even if little content of value

vis a vis their later schooling in New Zealand has been learned. For older students the disruption to education has more long-term ramifications as they do not have time on their side to "catch up" before leaving school and entering the workforce or, in rarer cases, institutions of higher education. Adults similarly face the requirements of employment in the new culture, employment for which their lack of English,limited education and Asian backgrounds have ill-prepared them.

Occupations

Unrecognised and non-marketable qualifications and skills, a lack of English, and the lure of more money to be had through long hours and overtime has seen the large scale movement into unskilled urban factory-related employment by refugees from all sectors of the refugee population. A large proportion of the 15% of educated professionals in the national sample have joined ex-students, farmers and fishermen, craftsmen, skilled and semi-skilled tradespersons in this category. (See Table 6.12)

A lower unemployment rate than the national average after an initial settling in period has been allowed for indicates that a lack of English has not prevented refugees from Southeast Asia from finding employment, albeit lower status positions very different from those which they left behind or hoped to pursue in their new country. As Montero found in the United States during the second half of the 1970s, manual labour poses very few problems for hardworking refugees (Montero,1979). However, as economic retrenchment continues in industry loss of overtime which has provided the consoling financial reward for many refugees in soul-destroying jobs, the likelihood of redundancies and lay-offs among manual workers and problems in placing new arrivals in entry level jobs have increased. So too has the need for English and the learning of new skills.

While there has been some upward movement from process work to semi-skilled positions and trades, lack of English has been identified by employees and employers alike as a handicap at work, especialling in the area of retraining and upskilling. This has become a more pressing

problem as the economic climate has reduced the employment opportunities in industry for new arrivals and those migrating to larger centres, and as lay-offs have occurred and refugees have sought other jobs.

Economic retrenchment has rendered competence in English a more precious and necessary asset for new arrivals. With economic cutbacks and job redundancies the numbers of refugees without jobs is likely to increase problems of isolation and loneliness, adding that of despair at not being able to find even unskilled work. Unemployment is also likely to aggravate the disenchantment and depression of professional refugees forced into menial positions by lack of English and to prompt a renewed desire for the second phase language required to reestablish themselves in their former positions.

For these first and second phase English needs of adult refugees to be met requires tertiary level provisions of both full-time and part-time language classes at a variety of levels which may be attended either on-arrival or post-arrival. If they are to be accessible to clients with financial commitments and families to support such courses require payment of an adequate allowance to those attending. Without this such courses remain inaccessible to students (Australia Department of Ethnic & Youth Affairs,1983).

Summary

A survey of the Southeast Asian refugee population which has been resettled in New Zealand under the Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement Programme has shown a diverse community with major immediate and longer term language needs. While these refugees have shared a Southeast Asian heritage, refugee status and urgent need for English to function in the wider anglophone community, they have also represented widely diverse group. Marked features of the on-arrival population have been its lack of cultural and linguistic similarity to the receiving community, its predominant youthfulness (particularly among the ethnic Khmer, a quarter of whom were under five on arrival and therefore future school children), and the wide variety of educational, occupational and

linguistic backgrounds, most of which are unusable because of major cultural differences between the incoming group and the host society.

A further feature of Southeast Asian refugee resettlement which has important ramifications for the provision of language facilities in New Zealand has been the on-going nature of the programme. This has seen changes in ethnic emphasis, considerable secondary migration to the main centres and the establishment of larger communities with more varied first and second phase needs. The large and diverse population resettled in New Zealand over the past decade has provided New Zealand with a catalyst not only for the provision of language facilities to meet the pressing demand for English as a second language for this group but also for the extension of existing provisions for ESL, for language based service support systems including translation and interpreting facilities, for training, retraining and upskilling programmes, and for mother tongue maintenance and development programmes. Some of these needs have been better met than others. The nature and quality of provisions has varied widely according to the amount and quality of knowledge servicing agents have about the needs of the incoming group, the attitudes of these agents towards their clients, demographic resettlement patterns, and overriding social, economic and political factors.

CHAPTER 9.

REFUGEE STATUS AND LANGUAGE PROVISIONS and A FINAL COMMENT

While the language provisions for Southeast Asian refugees have been piecemeal, underfunded and designed only to meet short-term needs, they have marked a turning point in linguistic resettlement responses to non-English speaking immigrants. Not only was a more extensive and comprehensive effort required to provide satisfactorily for the language requirements of a very large group from a non-traditional source of migration but these provisions have had to be extended over ten years of resettlement. This decade has highlighted the changing needs within the Southeast Asian community, the language demands ranging beyond the target group into the wider migrant community, and the pluses and minuses of the on-going provisions. The extent to which language provisions have met the immediate and more long-term needs of the Southeast Asian population with its complexity of ethnic groups, age ranges, effects of forced migration, widely diverse linguistic, educational and occupational backgrounds, and varying lengths of residence, can provide important insights for future language planning in New Zealand.

The pressing demand for acculturation to an environment markedly different from that left and for basic survival English have brought a combination of official and voluntary provisions. At the governmental level an on-arrival orientation and language programme with classes for adults and for young children, the preparation and dissemination of material related to cultural backgrounds through two existing multicultural resource centres and through new resource personnel, the provision of a variety of classes in English as a second language (ESL) and the coordination of voluntary provisions through Home Tutor Coordinators, have been provided. These have been supplemented at the local level by voluntary tutoring schemes which have formed the cornerstone of on-going language provisions for new arrivals.

When the first intake of Southeast Asian refugees arrived in New Zealand in 1977 very little was known about their cultures, backgrounds

or languages. Not since the influx of Dependent Persons (DPs) from Europe after World War II had the government undertaken any large scale provisions for the initial resettlement of immigrants in New Zealand. Most voluntary migrants came from Britain, other western cultures in Europe or the Pacific Basin. Information on and for Pacific Island migrants was already disseminated from the Pacific Island Educational Resource Centre (PIERC) in Auckland and the Multicultural Educational Resource Centre (MERC) in Wellington. Some basic language classes were also provided at technical institutes in the main cities and several schools in Auckland provided reception classes for newly arrived school children. Otherwise, voluntary migrants were generally left to acculturate and learn the language as best they could.

It had always been acknowledged that the resettlement process was more difficult for refugees than for voluntary migrants, but this had been attributed particularly to their lack of English rather than to any other cultural factors. Where refugees came from European backgrounds it was believed that they would settle successfully without any major or long-term assistance being provided; the apparently successful assimilation of refugee groups already established within the community supported this view. DPs arriving after the Second World War received medical clearance and on-arrival English in transit camps in Pahiatua but fraternising by New Zealand teaching staff with these refugees outside of the formal language classroom was censured (rather than condoned for the informal English language and social contact with representatives of the target language and host culture it provided). On-arrival provisions for later intakes also concentrated on medical provisions and a modicum of formal English instruction, although they were unlikely to have even had a shipboard voyage during which they could adjust to resettling in a new cultural environment.

This ad hoc situation was challenged by the arrival of large numbers of Southeast Asian refugees who obviously needed considerable cultural assistance and language input if they were to resettle successfully in New Zealand. Although the first intake in 1977, educated refugees from Vietnam with New Zealand connections, was directly resettled it was agreed by the resettlement agencies - the government, the Inter-Church Commission on Immigration and Refugee Resettlement (ICCI), and local resettlement committees - that future, larger intakes would require not

only medical clearance facilities but also some input of cultural orientation and language teaching. There followed the establishment of the orientation and language programme at the Mangere Reception Centre in Auckland. While the programme that was developed was to provide on-arrival cultural orientation and survival English course initial residence at the Centre was also to provide the semi-quarantine situation and opportunity for medical screening and treatment which were seen as necessary to meet the particular health needs of these refugees, some of whom arrived in the country with infectious illnesses contracted or presented post-selection and most of whom required dental care.

From its inception in 1980 the on-arrival programme saw conflict over its length between the two departments involved in providing services at Mangere, the Health Department and the Department of Education. While four weeks was seen to be more than adequate for health screening purposes[1], it was considered by the Education Officer to be far too brief for the provision of a worthwhile language input, particularly when the class attendance of many refugees was disrupted by medical treatment. The programme was extended to six weeks in 1981 in response to continued pressure from the Department of Education but pressure for a further extension in 1983 brought a negative response from the Department of Labour which had overall responsibility for the programme and felt that the six week course provided long enough for "survival language training" and "more than enough (time in the centre) for the refugees" who wished to join relations and friends outside of the hostel.

An alternative to a longer on-arrival programme would have been more predeparture preparation in the post-selection situation but the mounting of major predeparture programmes in refugee camps has proved to be both expensive and logistically difficult. The learners are also still far removed from the target community and immediate needs for the language. Hence New Zealand involvement in predeparture language and cultural provisioning has remained low key and largely staffed by

---

1 The medical-only stays at Te Amorangi complex in Rotorua in 1979 were only 10 days long.

volunteer personnel working for various voluntary agencies.

The value of some sort of on-arrival programme for refugees, particularly those from such a different cultural background from that of the receiving society, is undeniable as a source of basic survival information about the target culture and its language. It also provides a cushioning effect on new arrivals' exposure to the alien culture, by keeping them in a group and resorting to discussions in the refugees' language when this is seen as expedient. Hence, culture shock which has been identified as having a debilitating effect on second language learning (Schumann,1976b; Brown,1980), is presumed to be reduced.

Not surprisingly, the value of the programme was recognised by providers, recipients and researchers alike (Kaplan,1980; MacRae,1980; Trinh,1980). In a study of the language needs of migrant workers, Kaplan recommended that an on-arrival programme be made available for all ESL migrants and that this programme should be of ten to twelve weeks duration. Trinh's study of early, predominantly Vietnamese, arrivals in Christchurch reported on the value of the programme to refugees from such a different cultural background and noted the dissatisfaction of those who had not been able to attend the course. However, those responsible for the resettlement of Southeast Asian refugees in Christchurch also offered some endorsement for the Department of Education's concern that the on-arrival programme was not long enough to meet all the survival language requirements. All early arrivals in Christchurch were required to enrol in a further six week intensive block course in English at the local polytechnic; the language component of the orientation course was not seen as adequate grounding in itself for refugees entering the wider community.

While the addition of two weeks to the programme in 1981 was strongly criticised by the Medical Officer for the Department of Health, he too recognised the need for a more extensive language provision than the six weeks for potential breadwinners and for teenagers who would be entering secondary school or the workforce. Against this he balanced the negative effects of isolation from the wider anglo community on the early acquisition of language and the acculturation of primary and preschool children, the programme's lack of impression on the elderly, whom he perhaps rightly felt "would probably never learn (English) or

change their ways" and his belief that being forced to stay too long in the austere, western barracks and camp-like conditions would render some of this aged group "institutionalised or neurotic" (New Zealand Department of Labour 22/1/27-24-4 pt.13). After many years in refugee camps and with family members awaiting their arrival in the outside community, many refugees stayed the requisite six weeks in the Centre only because they had to. Such compulsion was not conducive to a positive language learning environment.

Unfortunately, for most adult refugees the short orientation and language course at the Mangere Reception Centre would provide their only opportunity for intensive language study. With placement in full-time employment options for learning English were reduced to one or two hours with a home tutor, a correspondence course or self-study, or a part-time polytechnic course, plus what could be acquired through the media and through contact with English speakers at work and in the wider community. (See Table 7.2) While this situation changed somewhat with the introduction in the mid 1980s of training programmes for adults through the Department of Labour's employment-related job schemes (TAP-ESL, STEPS, YPTP and ACCESS programmes), these programmes were provided only irregularly and were at the mercy of regional council decisions.

The voluntary home tutoring scheme which developed with the first intake of refugees from Southeast Asia in 1977 has been the cornerstone of language provisions throughout the ten years since then. Not only has it offered the language learning provision which has been most widely and continuously provided but it has been widely patronised and favoured by the refugees themselves. (See Table 7.1) It has also been the source of many additional provisions and a catalyst for pressure for added commitment -both financially and materially- from the government.

The Home Tutor Scheme has many advantages over more formal language provisions. Practically, it is an exceptionally flexible provision which requires no more than a student, a volunteer tutor and goodwill to operate. Schemes have been able to be established with minimal organisation, outlay and delay since they require no classrooms, no set resources and only minimal tutor training. Unless the student is

enrolled at the Correspondence School as an adult student, in which case that institution provides the lessons, each tutor plans and provides her, or less frequently his, own lessons. Tutor and student then meet at a mutually arranged time each week usually in one or the other's home.

Socially, it has provided valuable contact between ordinary New Zealanders and refugees who otherwise would have little or no personal contact with each other's culture. In particular, it has taken English and company into the homes of those who would otherwise be at most risk from ethnic shielding and from the loneliness of isolation in a foreign culture - women at home with young children and the elderly. The non-threatening nature of the tutor-student situation has aided learning in adult students by reducing the social distance between cultures and lowering the affective filter which are seen as counterproductive to language acquisition (Schumann,1976a,1976b). It has also provided most students with a reference person in the community, other than the sponsor, from whom to seek information and assistance. Schemes in smaller urban areas with relatively stable populations have provided rather more long-term pairings and hence greater social contact than larger cities like Auckland where the movement of refugees (and tutors) is more frequent, where distances between suburbs are greater, where women (who constitute the bulk of tutors) are reluctant to go out alone at night, and where the larger population provides fewer occasions for social contact.

Politically and economically, the Home Tutor Scheme has offered the government an extremely cheap and effective way of providing language instruction to a large number of refugees over a decade of immigration. Requiring only minimal financial resourcing, schemes have wound up or down according to the demand in an area. One Home Tutor Coordinator on a part-time tutor's salary could be coordinating up to a hundred tutor-student pairs meeting each week; in small areas coordinating work itself has been done on a voluntary basis; and tutor trainees pay a covering fee to undertake the brief training course. While initially activated to meet the pressing English language needs of Southeast Asian refugees, the schemes have expanded to serve large numbers of linguistically needy migrants from other backgrounds. Prior to receiving home tutoring these non-English speakers formed part of a

submerged backlog of ESL migrants in the community similar to those found by King and Palser (1984) and Coppell, Baumgart and Tenezagi (1984) in Australia. Considering the numbers awaiting tutors in the large Auckland schemes, this backlog is large and likely to remain so despite the assistance which has been able to be provided through the home tutor system.

Operating on local initiatives and in close contact with the target population, schemes have been the source of many extra provisions for groups. These have usually been offered in conjunction with local technical institutes with part-time tutors or volunteers, and in particular have recognised the social needs of housebound women and the elderly. Other course have offered intensive classes for students preparing to sit examinations or requiring assistance with homework. One group which still appears to have missed out on provisions has been the small number of older men in the refugee community. Although able to, they are unwilling to attend migrant classes where they would be outnumbered by large numbers of women. Since they are also reluctant to be taught by women, it is difficult to find home tutors for them.

Despite its advantages and undoubtable successes as a source of language, home tutoring has had its problems as the mainstay of provisions for Southeast Asians and in its extended role as a source of English for other migrant. Most schemes have had to operate on minimal funding and Coordinator time. This has not allowed for the development and collection of adequate resources to assist tutors, for adequate monitoring of tutor-student pairs, or for on-going contact between Coordinators and volunteer tutors. Inadequate staffing allocations have never been provided for the work required to maintain the schemes, and with economic retrenchments these allocations and other funding have been more severely pruned by many technical institutes through whom the schemes are operated.

The concern and goodwill of Coordinators and volunteer tutors alike have been exploited by the government. Apart from their concerns regarding underfunding, lack of resources and inadequate time allocations to administer schemes, most Coordinators were worried by a shortage of tutors. While early in the resettlement programme there were adequate numbers of keen volunteers, the on-going nature of the

Southeast Asian programme, the expansion of the service to meet the needs of other non-English speaking migrants in the community, tutor attrition through other commitments and "burn out" have afflicted the home tutoring scheme with problems similar to those found in many resettlement sponsoring programmes, where the regular sponsors have also run out of resources and energy.

English as a second language classes

Provisions for adults

Fortunately some of the pressure on voluntary home tutoring schemes has been eased by the provision and expansion of classes in English as a second language (ESL) in technical institutes. In areas with high Pacific Island immigration institutions were already providing ESL classes to meet the needs of migrants but these were sporadic, limited in scope and culturally oriented towards Polynesian clients.

Most technical institutes instituted ESL classes for Southeast Asian refugee groups in their areas, but the nature and scope of these courses varied widely. Apart from homework and intensive study courses for students, most day and evening courses were general in nature, and predominantly part-time. Only the main centres had sufficient clients, including, but not exclusively, Southeast Asian, to mount any full-time or specialised courses and these were rendered extremely limited by the problems students faced financing their studies so that they could attend. (See Table 7.2) The lack of time available for these classes and whether they were, in fact, meeting the needs of the students were concerns voiced by many tutors involved in their provision. (See Table 7.4)

That early courses in many areas were not meeting the needs of all age groups in many areas was clearly illustrated by the events of 1984 which marked a milestone in tertiary language provisions for Southeast Asian refugees. Prompted by a letter from sponsors in a provincial city voicing concern at the lack of suitable provisions for 17 and 18 year olds who were predominantly lacking oral communicative competence, were illiterate in English and were also lacking work skills which would

assist them in their search for work, the Departments of Labour and Education suggested that a regional pilot programme be mounted which provided both language and work skills. This response to grassroots pressure coincided with a pilot scheme under the Young Persons' Training Programme (YPTP) in Auckland which was directed at unemployed Pacific Island migrants. From these initial reactive provisions developed a large number of full-time general ESL and "linked skills" programmes of six to twenty weeks duration which refugees and others could attend while receiving a training allowance which was set at a rate a little higher than the dole. These full-time courses, which merged into ACCESS courses, marked an important step in language provisions in New Zealand as they recognised the need for financial support for those requiring ESL for employment and the value of more intensive full-time courses to supplement the basic on-arrival course provided at the Mangere Reception Centre.

Unfortunately, however, the political motivation behind such courses has apparently been restricted to the short-term goal of placing students in employment, any employment. The language programmes offered have been scheduled to accommodate refugees in entry level jobs requiring only minimal English rather than in occupationally structured employment to which entry could be gained only if refugees were offered longer courses leading to higher levels of English. Nor have they been able to provide intensive course for retraining or re-entry to study which would then allow for capitalisation on the existing but unusable qualifications and abilities of many highly educated refugees. Without such more specialised, longer term courses for second phase learners human resources continue to be squandered, refugees remain depressed and with their own ambitions frustrated place undue pressure on their children to succeed in the new society (Taft & Doczy,19962; Marjoribanks,1979).

A further major problem has overshadowed ACCESS programmes, and all provisions offered through the Southeast Asian Refugee Programme, viz. funding. Since the ACCESS ESL programmes which have been mounted are not funded on a continuing basis they have had to compete with, and often lose out to, other often more politically sensitive programmes which are vying for the limited resources provided under Department of Labour funding (Vote Labour) for ACCESS provisions in a region.

Discontinuation of courses as a result of Regional ACCESS Council (REAC) decisions has taken into account neither the human variables and evident success of the ESL courses nor the responsibility which a receiving society has to aid the resettlement of refugees which it accepts. With the cessation of funding by REACs of ACCESS ESL courses large numbers of incoming adult refugees no longer have access to the intensive English instruction which they have been shown to require for equity of opportunity and for employment. Nor do tutors have continuity of employment. Tutors with resources and expertise in ESL have been laid off, increasing the likelihood that they would be unavailable should a later course be mounted.

The lack of any real commitment at a national level to the long-term education required for the successful resettlement of ESL migrants has been exemplified by the shelving of the ACCESS programmes. The lack of forward planning and the lack of a coherent policy for ESL provision (and other language development and maintenance programmes) in New Zealand have been hallmarks not only of the resettlement programme for Southeast Asian refugees entering the country but also of resettlement provisions for other linguistic minorities. They can be seen not only in the ad hoc provisions for adults but also in the stop-gap nature of the minimal language provisions for children of school age.

School provisions for children

Although large numbers of Southeast Asian refugee children were entering New Zealand schools from the earliest intakes, no special provisions were made for specialist ESL assistance until 1980. By that time a few schools with large numbers of ESL students, particularly Pacific Island students from the major influxes of the mid 1970s, already had some experience of and internal provisions for coping with ESL clients. However, most schools which were to receive Southeast Asian students had hitherto had little obvious need for ESL provisions and none had had experience of the Southeast Asian cultures and languages which the children brought with them.

Not surprisingly, when teachers and their principals were faced with providing education for children with zero English, a totally incomprehensible first language, a very foreign culture and little or no previous education as preparation for formal learning, they felt

grossly ill-prepared to handle the situation (Macpherson,1980). When they turned to their Education Board and Department of Education officers for assistance little help was available. The only structure then in place to provide support for ESL students included the two departmental Resource Centres (PIERC and MERC) which were geared towards the needs of Pacific Island students, a number of Maori and Pacific Island Advisors and two English language units, one primary and one secondary, both in Auckland. Even with the unofficial assistance provided by the staff of tertiary institutions who already had experience and expertise in the second language teaching field, existing provisions were quite inadequate to meet the needs of the schools and their 1600 refugee children resettled during 1980-81. Furthermore, what limited resources were available were contained within the main centres and were thus not accessible to the far-flung schools requiring assistance and support for the children who resettled in dispersed areas as a result of the government's policy of pepper-potting families throughout the length and breadth of the country.

The government bowed to mounting pressure for assistance and gave approval for the temporary secondment of five Southeast Asian Regional Resource Teachers and the allocation of ten teacher equivalents and five part-time teacher aides to serve the needs of Southeast Asian children throughout the school system. The inability of one Resource Teacher to provide adequate assistance to all the schools in the Southern Region (which took in the whole South Island minus Marlborough and Nelson which was ceded to the Wellington-based Resource Teacher) was drawn to the notice of the Department by southern schools and in 1984 a sixth Regional Resource Teacher was finally seconded to cover this area.

Funded from the Department of Education Vote under the Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement Programme, these specialist ESL resource persons were initially briefed and funded to supply assistance only to Southeast Asian refugee children within the educational system. Other ESL children in need, including other refugee children, were not meant to be helped. This restriction was not only an unreasonable expectation of professional personnel but also a source of tension between Resource Teachers and the schools and teachers they were serving. Hence, their roles inevitably expanded to include other ESL students, a change

retrospectively recognised in title changes which dropped the "Southeast Asian" tag and matched the National Coordinator's move to the broader "New Settler Education" nomenclature.

The expansion of duties to meet the immediate ESL needs in schools and the maintenance in the long-term of mother tongue, present attitudinal and training issues which have exacerbated the already present work overload and the lack of resources, funding and support personnel in schools for Regional Resource Teachers. A number of secondary schools in major centres which have large numbers of ESL Southeast Asian students have, however, through the teaching allocation accompanying the Resource Teachers' positions or alternative discretionary funding for special needs, been able to provide reception units for ESL students. These have operated using a withdrawal strategy but have tried to avoid the isolation and stigmatising of students that has been associated with separate programmes (Knight,1977; Brumfit,1985; Chatwin,1985). While increased mainstream involvement has been promoted and several schools have been able to make use of bilingual teaching staff on a very short-term and under-recognised basis, the limited teacher resources available have restricted moves in this direction even though such provisions have been shown to be educationally and socially rewarding for the students.

Despite the frustrations of never having enough resources or time to meet the needs of many of those requiring help if they are not to be done a disservice by the education system, despite the insecurity of secondment or temporary appointment, and despite idiosyncratic working conditions most of the Regional Resource Teacher positions, the National Coordinator's position (which has only recently become a permanent appointment), and the school ESL units have retained stable staffing. This has allowed for an accumulation of relevant knowledge through the networking of resource personnel and ESL provision throughout the country, and for on-going links to be established with students, schools, Board and Departmental officers and other personnel involved in the provision of ESL in each region.[2]

---

2 Only in the northern half of the Central Region has this continuity been lacking, with five Regional Resource Teachers in six years. In this position the frustrations inherent in all of the Regional Resource Teacher positions have been aggravated by

The continued temporary nature of the Regional Resource Teacher provision has, however, started to take its toll on hitherto stable staffing. Faced with problems of secondment and mindful of the still projected termination of the positions (leaving no ESL support for schools) with the ending of the official Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement Programme in March 1989, one Regional Resource Teacher has resigned to take up an associated position in a high school and a second has sought employment elsewhere within education. It remains to be seen whether the government will accept a policy initiative in education which recognises the on-going need for ESL resource and advisory support to schools or whether economic exigencies and a laissez-faire attitude towards non-English speaking arrivals will win out.

To date, the Regional Resource Teacher positions remain outside the hierarchical, status conscious infrastructure of the school-based education system, with only six full-time seconded positions to serve the ESL needs of the whole preschool, primary school and secondary school population of the country. Until recently similarly temporary, the National Coordinator's position was finally made permanent, as an Educational Officer, New Settler Education, Maori and Island Division, in 1987. This move finally marked a recognition of the need for some coordination of the plethora of temporary ESL provisions throughout the country.[3]

Apart from the support provided by the National Coordinator, whose brief extends beyond provisions to schools, the six Regional Resource Teachers and the in-school support of fifteen teacher positions and

---

the size of the region, which extends from New Plymouth to Gisborne, by the consequent requirement to be responsibility to three Education Boards, by a lack of satisfactory and stable office accommodation, and by local administrative problems.

3 At the moment, unless moves are made to reinstate the ESL programmes axed under the ACCESS provisions, and to make more permanent the Regional Resource Teachers positions and accompanying school support positions which are due to end in March 1989, little will be left for the Educational Officer position to oversee and coordinate.

five teacher aide positions, any further assistance to schools depends on the discretionary powers of the divisional and Board staff responsible for each area. In-service days may be held to provide teachers with some basic information on ESL teaching methods and provisions, but there remains a great need for teachers and teachers-in-training to be better equipped to meet the requirements of their students who have English only as a second language.

Moves to introduce a larger component of ESL instruction into teachers college courses through English and multicultural programmes have been very slow coming but are likely to assist teachers who will almost inevitably be faced with at least one ESL student and possibly many in their teaching careers. For some years the Department of Education has also provided the opportunity for a small number of practising teachers to attend the full-time Diploma in Teaching English as a Second Language (Dip.TESL) course at Victoria University but the present research found little use being made of this qualification within schools. In several secondary schools surprise was expressed when it was found that they already had a member of staff who had completed either this qualification or the Diploma in Second Language Teaching from Massey University. The ESL skills of these persons were obviously being under-utilised in a school system that had little support available.

Through Department of Education personnel an increasing store of resources has been collected and made available to schools from ESL Resource Units and the National Coordinator. This material has included not only basic information on ESL teaching but also information on minority cultures, materials that can be used in the regular classroom or in a withdrawal room with students as well as bilingual material which can be used for both ESL development and mother tongue maintenance. While, initially, most of the Southeast Asian bilingual material was Vietnamese in orientation, reflecting the early waves of Vietnamese refugees resettled in the United States which has been a major source of bilingual resources, more recent material has reflected the needs and languages of the other ethnic groups.These units have also provided a repository for material in other languages and have been related to other ethnic groups represented in New Zealand schools.

With worldwide moves towards English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and English for Academic Purposes (EAP) the availability of commercial resources in New Zealand has gradually increased, but there is still a need for the development of subject-related materials at the secondary level. Many teachers lack awareness of the linguistic difficulties inherent in their subjects and students are struggling to grasp the language and the content at the same time. As happens in all subject areas quite a large quantity of useful resources has been developed for ESL students by individual teachers within schools but only a small amount of this material has found its way to other schools and other teachers. The materials preparation and dissemination functions of the Pacific Islands Educational Resource Centre and Multicultural Education Resource Centre, and those of the ESL Section of the Correspondence School which unfortunately are only available to students enrolled with the Correspondence School, have been very valuable to schools and it is to be hoped that they will continue to be able to provide this chalkface service despite economic retrenchments.

Mother tongue support

Translation and interpreting facilities

Little official support for speakers of the mother tongue has been offered through translating and interpreting services to those Southeast Asians who do not possess English which is adequate for them to obtain access to community services and opportunities. Several members of the Southeast Asian refugee population have been employed, mainly on a temporary basis, at the Mangere Reception Centre to assist with the initial on-arrival programmes. These bilinguals have been used to translate a small number of basic documents pertaining to activities that have been seen as important and common to many new arrivals but there are still no full-time interpreters employed for Khmer, Vietnamese or Lao by the Internal Affairs Department's translating and interpreting service. Therefore, where documents or face-to-face interactions require an interpreter a person has to be found from within the community who is willing to act in this capacity.

As recently accepted refugees have been resettled they have been more able to solicit the support of relations and others who are already in

the community and who speak both the mother tongue and English. With the establishment of ethnic associations in the main centres and with improved networking between refugees and various support persons in the receiving society (mainly sponsors, home tutors and ESL personnel), it has also become easier to find a person with adequate English to convey information to refugees who do not speak English. In many cases, perhaps most, these services have been undervalued.

When interpreting or translation services are sought for an international language the expectation has been that if a professional service is provided some payment is usually exacted. When similar services have had to be sought, however, from lay persons, refugees in the community who are the only available bilinguals in the target language, no payment has usually been made for the interpreting or translating provided. While most refugees have been happy to assist there would seem to be a double standard operating, especially when the service is required by a government department which would acknowledge the difficulty and valuable nature of such services were they offered by the staff of the Internal Affairs Department.

Language maintenance and development

As is the case with interpreting and translation services for Southeast Asian refugees, provisions for the language maintenance and development of their various mother tongues have been minimal, largely unofficial, and dependent on the efforts of the refugees themselves. Time and the effects of continued migration, secondary migration and refugee community sizes have all brought changes in the conditions for language maintenance.

While few refugees were initially concerned about the sustainability of their own language, increased length of residence has given them not only survival English but also an increased awareness that their children are losing facility in and willingness to use the mother tongue. The maintenance of Khmer and the development of literacy skills in the language, particularly among young children, has taken on an urgency that has not been present among Chinese speakers. As with Maori, Khmer is spoken only by a small population and it is feared that with Vietnamese control of Cambodia the national language will

eventually be lost unless it is maintained outside the country by refugees. Hence, there have over the last two or three years been moves by local Khmer Associations to introduce the written script to children so that they might be able to read it and so be more likely to retain it.

Since most young Vietnamese refugees of school age already had some literacy on arrival, and their script is similar to that of English and since there are numerous resources available in the language through libraries, resource people and from overseas (including video recordings), language maintenance for this group has not been such a concern. Nor, indeed, has it been for the Chinese who share a script and sometimes a dialect with other Chinese speakers in New Zealand and overseas, who have access to resources in this language (again including video recordings), and who have expressed a wish that their children learn Mandarin because of its "usefulness". As Mandarin is the dialect usually taught in New Zealand ethnic schools despite the predominance of Cantonese in the wider community, Chinese speaking refugees have been able to make use of these provisions for their children and can possible look forward to study at a higher level some time in the future since Mandarin is increasingly being offered in New Zealand universities.

While maintenance of the mother tongue is encouraged by parents in the home there are strong undercurrents emanating from schools and the wider society against the maintenance of the mother tongue. Not only was the use of the ethnic language seen to be discouraged at school by a large number of principals and teachers but many have also pressed for English to be spoken at home by parents to their children. While ESL personnel have been supporting the maintenance of the mother tongue, aware of the value of bilingualism and wary of the dangers of semilingualism and of loss of self-identity and culture, the cause has not yet been espoused by most in the wider community. Unless attitudes can be changed soon, it may be too late for many refugee children who have already taken the dominant language into the home and personal domains and have been reported to be passive bilinguals.

Resettlement patterns and language provisions

Resettlement patterns have had a marked effect on the provision of English as a second language and on opportunities for mother tongue use among refugees.

The dispersal of refugees to scattered areas throughout New Zealand which was a feature of the early years of resettlement reflected a continuation of the strongly assimilationist policy which had seen Polish and Hungarian intellectuals resettled in rural expanses in the late 1940s and 1956, although it also reflected support and sponsorship offers from outlying rural communities. Resettlement patterns in the national sample indicate a wide initial dispersal of refugees, particularly of those from Vietnam who were resettled in twenty-three different centres around the country. Follow-up reports reflect their rapid secondary migration to larger centres, including Sydney once citizenship was conferred.[4]

As was the case with the initial resettlement of White Russians in rural Southland, the placement of Southeast Asian refugees in rural environments was at least partially motivated by a misunderstanding involving their backgrounds. While a large proportion of the incoming group were, as the survey showed, essentially rural people, others who were placed in rural centres were not. In fact, a large proportion of the refugees from Vietnam, who were the most widely scattered, were either Chinese families who had lived in urban areas in South Vietnam and had been involved in commerce or were educated middle class ethnic Vietnamese from the cities. Even those who came from traditionally rural Vietnamese families may have spent much or all of their lives in cities which offered greater protection from the protracted fighting which depopulated villages in Vietnam from the mid 1960s and in Cambodia and Laos in the 1970s. Moreover, the equation of socially insular New Zealand pastoral surroundings with rural life in Southeast Asia which was village based and involved labour intensive cropping and fishing ignored the essential differences between the two ways of life.

---

4 Notable among those to relocate within a very short time to main centres were young Vietnamese men who found little social support and few opportunities in a rural environment.

Linguistically, the resettlement of isolated families in smaller rural towns deprived them of the mother tongue support which those resettled in larger groups retained while it allowed for the provision of a lot of English through both formal language situations such as classes and home tutoring and informal contact. Adults were unlikely to lose their mother tongues, but association only with local monolingual children lent impetus to a shift to English in young children. The lack of mother tongue back-up also raised problems for local families and other service providers involved in the resettlement programme who were less likely to have access to a refugee who spoke reasonable English and could be called on to act as an interpreter.

Time has seen a progressive concentration of most refugee groups in the larger urban areas although the efforts of earlier pepper-potting practices which aimed to hasten the assimilation process are still being felt. While a few families have been content to remain in rural communities, secondary migration patterns indicate that most have moved to join larger ethnic groups in the main centres or across the Tasman. While secondary migration to larger communities is not universal, the trend is marked and has major ramifications not only for language learning and use of the refugees themselves but also for the provision of classes in English as a second language (ESL) and for such service-oriented language provisions as the availability of interpreters and minority language translations of information.

By entering communities with larger ethnic numbers refugees gain access to the greater number and variety of English language facilities which can be made available in centres with sizeable ESL populations but they also may have less contact with the wider English speaking community and less motivation to learn English as a result of ethnic shielding. Movement away from the point of initial settlement also disrupts the sponsoring programme through which the refugees are first settled. In many cases internal migration has meant that there have been no further follow-ups by the Department of Labour on the resettled individual or family. The networking system which operated in the Auckland area as a result of the follow-up interviewers being attached to Mangere Reception Centre through the Auckland Technical Institute provided continuity of contact with and the provision of new sponsors for a few of the large number who have moved to the greater Auckland area.

This centralisation of refugee communities has been continued by family reunification patterns. As with the centripetal movement of refugees to main centres, resettlement patterns associated with family reunification concentrate ethnic groups in main centres and increases the chances of both ethnic shielding and the availability of language classes. Where there is a supportive cultural environment, language maintenance is more likely. So too are ethnic associations through which provisions can be made for the on-going maintenance of cultural values and practices and for mother tongue provisions for children. More concentrated communities also provide the pressure and the numbers required for the provision of English classes through institutions.

The on-gong nature of the programme has reduced the major problem of cultural isolation which was faced by early arrivals, since numbers have been boosted by the entry of more refugees. While most of the increase in the numbers within ethnic communities has been a natural consequence of the government's policy of family reunification, there has also been a more calculated effort to promote a viable ethnic minority in the case of Lao refugees. The increased intake of Lao over the 1985-86 year marked a change in government policy from a covert assimilationist policy to a policy of cultural maintenance. This marked a recognition that successful resettlement is aided by the existence of a viable minority community within which linguistic and cultural features of the group can be supported. Early fears that the acceptance of refugees from the least known of the three war torn countries would overburden existing resettlement provisions and lead to the establishment of yet another minority ethnic enclave were apparently allayed by the satisfactory resettlement of early Lao arrivals and the perceived benefits of a more viable ethnic community.

The resettlement patterns of refugees within urban conurbations has also affected language provisions. The use of particular houses by sponsoring groups for new arrivals has meant that each time a new family has been sponsored the incumbents have had to move into new accommodation. While some families have shared a house, the risk of overcrowding (by western standards) has usually precluded this and existing tenants have had to move into further rented accommodation, or their own home. Since many have not been able to obtain a state house

and most could not afford their own home at this stage, there are likely to have been several moves before a family has been permanently settled.[5]

Since relocation within a large city has often involved considerable distance it has necessitated changes of school for children or the travelling of long distances to current schools, a possibility for secondary students but not usually a viable option for those of primary school age. Not only have these changes of school been very disruptive socially and educationally for the children involved but they have also transferred the ESL demand from school to school in a manner that has been very difficult to plan for. While the very limited ESL teacher aide assistance is normally granted to a school on a term by term basis, it has sometimes failed to keep up with the movements of clients. Similar problems have been faced in the provision of home tutors for adults, particularly in the main centres where tutors are in short supply and distances great. The use of institution-based transport in one average sized town overcame the transport deterrent to attendance at both a migrant women's group and a language maintenance class at a small cost to the clients but this option is not available or viable in many cities.

Although not well-documented the migration pattern of refugees have had major ramifications for both the provision of ESL and for first language maintenance and development. While the secondary migration north, to more central urban areas and to Australia has been noted by a number of researchers (Brown, 1986; Hawley,1986a), the ad hoc nature of provisions and the lack of linguistic data at a national level of the nature of that obtained by Benton in his survey of Maori speakers in New Zealand or by the Australian Government on all minority language users in its census papers precludes forward planning and overall assessments of language needs not only for Southeast Asians in New Zealand but for all minority language speakers.

---

5 In small towns where accommodation has been more readily available but the intake of refugees fewer this pattern has not developed to the extent that it has in large cities where the effects have been more disruptive to language provision.

Conclusion

The nature of the incoming group and the aims of the host society vis a vis the new arrivals are the two overriding factors affecting the language provisions which are made for any immigrant population within the wider community. While language needs as seen by the immigrant group receive some consideration, decision making regarding the official provision of language programmes ultimately hinge on those outcomes which are seen to be desirable , or at least acceptable to the autochthon. Hence, in a predominantly monolingual laissez-faire society it could be expected that there would be considerable pressure on arrivals to gain a basic mastery of the national language, and to obtain gainful employment or enter the mainstream education system as quickly and with as little disruption to the established community as possible.

As expected, language provisions for the Southeast Asian refugees resettled in New Zealand have been concentrated on the English language component of the Education for Minorities equals Bilingual Education plus English for Bilinguals (EM=BE+EB) equation proposed by Liem (1983). Furthermore, within this component official attention has continued to be focussed on the provision of basic English language skills to meet first phase language needs in order to facilitate the rapid entry of Southeast Asians into the workforce and community. Underlying the limited government involvement has been a belief that the group should, so far as possible, be left to acculturate under the benevolent eyes of volunteer sponsors, home tutors and local resettlement committees. If particular needs for language instruction emerged these were to be met, so far as possible, through services generated within the local area.

A consequence of this lack of a clear language policy has been the initiation of a plethora of ad hoc, stop-gap language provisions, the success of which has been more an outcome of individual, collective and voluntary local initiative and effort than of government planning and design. Complaints by other researchers of a lack of hard information about clients on with sound, longer term language provisions could be

based (Trlin,1974; Kaplan,1980; MacRae,1980) have remained valid throughout the nineteen-eighties as the official Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement Programme has drawn closer to the end of its final extension of time in March 1989.

Despite this lack of formal planning, the demands placed on the system by the large scale and on-going resettlement of a refugee population with urgent and varied language needs have led to the development and expansion of language provisions on a scale that had hitherto been unseen in New Zealand and to a heightening of awareness of the more widespread need for language provisions throughout the migrant population. The "Shoe string" funding and staffing of ESL have not prevented either the production of relevant and practical materials by both the government through the Correspondence School and Resource Centres and by private individuals or the exhibition of a large degree of professionalism and involvement in the field by those serving ESL needs within the community. The relatively small size of urban centres in New Zealand and consequential easy contact between groups within the community have contributed to a rapid development of networks between ESL personnel. These contacts have allowed for more concerted resettlement efforts and have provided Southeast Asian refugees and other immigrants for whom English is a second language with greater access to different provisions than otherwise would have been possible. The loss of these networks and any reduction in provisions as a result of short-term economising and lack of forward planning would be a retrogressive step linguistically, socially, educationally and, ultimately, economically for New Zealand.

Implications for policy

If Southeast Asian refugees, other non-English speaking migrants already within the community and those who are yet to arrive under current immigration policies are to obtain equity and access to services within the wider community, if their bilingual potential is to be achieved and if New Zealand is to truly reflect its multicultural nature, further serious consideration needs to be given to the nature and language needs of incoming migrants and to the provisions which are made to meet these needs.

As a result of this study on Southeast Asians the researcher considers there are a number of policy implications. They are:

- that the six week on-arrival orientation and language programmes which are currently made available to Southeast Asian refugees should be extended to cover all refugee intakes into New Zealand and that they, or similar programmes, should also be made available to other non-English speaking immigrants;
- that ESL classes should be provided through the Department of Education in technical institutes and community colleges in local centres where refugees and other migrants settle to supplement and extend the provisions made at the Mangere Reception Centre and to meet the first and second phase needs of ESL clients, and that these classes should include both intensive, full-time courses and part-time courses (on a night class and/or "on the job" basis);
- that students who wish to attend full-time course should be paid an adequate allowance to enable them to undertake such study;
- that increased ESL support should be made available to schools on a permanent basis by an expansion of the current staffing provisions, the production and distribution of further resource materials and increased in-service and pre-service training of teachers;
- that in keeping with findings on the value of bilingualism to both the individual and the state and professed multicultural values, greater cognisance should be given to the languages of the various ethnic groups which make up New Zealand's population and provisions should be made for mother tongue maintenance and development within the school system for children and outside of it for adults.
-that current training programmes on multicultural issues for members of the host population who have contact with non-English speakers should be continued and further expanded in order to a more informed and tolerant community;
-that serious consideration should be given to the development of a national language policy similar to that developed in Australia.

Since an accurate national data base on which more long-term and effective language provisions can be based is required if more effective English as a second language and mother tongue provisions are to be supplied, it is further proposed that a fuller evaluation of the language needs of migrants and their offspring in New Zealand be undertaken. Further research is also needed on the effectiveness of the language provisions that are currently available to various groups within the target population, on language maintenance trends, and on the effects of these on the cognitive and social development of individuals and groups within the Southeast Asian community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABOUD,F.E. & MEADE,R.D. (eds) (1974) Cultural Factors in Learning and Education. Bellingham: West Washington State College.

ABRAHAMSON,M. (1983) Social Research Methods. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.

AELLEN,C. & LAMBERT,W.E. (1969) Ethnic identity and personality adjustments of Canadian adolescents of mixed English-French parentage. Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science 1, 69-89.

ALBERT,M.L. & OBLER,L.K. (eds) (1978) The Bilingual Brain: Neuropsychological and Neurolinguistic Aspects of Bilingualism. New York: Academic Press.

ALLEN,P. & SWAIN,M. (eds) (1984) Language Issues and Education Policies. (ELT Documents 119) Oxford: Pergamon Press.

ANDERSON,J. (1982) An appraisal of the class/home tutor liaison system. South East Asian Migrant Education News Spring-Summer, 1982, 54-55.

ANDERSSON,T. & BOYER,M. (1970) Bilingual Schooling in the United States. Austin,Texas: South-west Education Development Laboratory.

d'ANGLEJAN,A. & TUCKER,G.R. (1971) Academic report: the St.Lambert program of home-school language limited. Modern Language Journal 55, 99-101.

APPLEYARD,R.T. & AMERA,A. (1978) The education of Greek migrant children in Australia: a parent view. International Migration 16 (3/4), 105-121.

ARSENIAN,S. (1937) Bilingualism and Mental Development. New York: Columbia University Press.

AUSTRALIA Department of Education and Youth Affairs (1983) Immigration and Refugee Youth in the Transition from School to Work or Further Study. (Report of Ethnic Liaison Officer Working Party no.2, Feb.1983.) Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

AUSTRALIA Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (1980) The Settlement Process of the Vietnamese, Lao, Kampuchean and Timorese in Sydney. Canberra: Australian Governmetn Publishing Service.

AUSTRALIAN National Population Council (1985) Access and Equity in the Delivery of Federal Government Services and Programs in Australia's Multicultural Society. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

BABBIE,E. (1983) The Practice of Social Research. Belmont, Ca.: Wadsworth Publishing Co.

BAETENS BEARDSMORE,H. (1982) Bilingualism: Basic Principles. Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.

BAILEY,D. (1985) ESL teaching in North Westminster Community School. In BRUMFIT, ELLIS & LEVINE (eds) (1985), 67-76.

BAMGBOSE,A. (1984) Minority languages and literacy. In COULMAS (ed.) (1984), 18-27.

BANCROFT,D.(1979) Modern Languages in New Zealand. Report to New Zealand Association of Language Teachers inaugural meeting.

BARIK,H., SWAIN,M. & NWANUNOBI, (1977) English-French billingual education: the Elgin study through grade 5. Canadian Modern Language Review 33, 459-475.

BATES,R.J. & CODD,J.A. (eds) (1980) Theory and Practice in New Zealand Education. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

BENTON,R. (c1965) Research into the English Language Difficulties of Maori School Children 1963-64. Wellington: NZCER / Maori Education Foundation.

-----(1977) Is bilingualism a handicap? Set no.1, item4.

-----(1980) The role of ethnic languages in education. In BATES & CODD (eds) (1980), 281-296.

----- (1981) The Flight of the Amokura. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

----- (1985) Language and ethnic pluralism. In CODD,HARKER & NASH (eds) (1985), 217-230.

BEN-ZEEV,S.(1972) The influence of bilingualism on cognitive development and cognitive strategies. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago.

-----(1977) Mechanisms by which childhood bilingualism affects understanding of language and cognitive structures. In HORNBY (ed.) (1977), 29-55.

----- (1984) Bilingualism and cognitive development. In MILLER (ed.) (1984), 55-80.

BERNSTEIN,B. (1971) Class, Codes and Control Vol.1: Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

BHATNAGAR,J. (ed.) (1981) Educating Migrants. London: Croom Helm.

BINZEGGER,A. (1980) New Zealand's Policy on Refugees. Wellington: New Zealand Institute of International Affairs.

BLAKELY,M.M. (1983) South-east Asian refugee parents: an inquiry into home-school communication and understanding. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 14 (1), 43-68.

BLOOMFIELD,L. (1933) Language. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

BOAG,P. (1977) Our multi-cultural community - wasted potential or re-vitalized society. Address to Annual Conference of the New Zealand Association of Language Teachers,, Auckland, May 1977.

BOEY,L.K. (ed.) (1980) Bilingual Education. Singapore:Regional English Language Centre (RELC).

BOMAN,B & EDWARDS,M. (1984) The Indochinese refugee: an overview. Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 18, 40-52.

BORLAND,J. (1976) A Survey of Interpreting and Translating Needs in the Community. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

BRENT-PALMER,C. (1979) A sociolinguistic assessment of the notion "immigrant semilingualism" from a social conflict point of view. Working Papers on Bilingualism, 17, 135-180.

BRISLIN,R.W., LONNER,W.J. & THORNDIKE,R.M. (1973) Cross Cultural Research Methods. New York: Wiley.

BROOKS,T & ROBERTS,C. (1985) "No five fingers are all alike": management change and differences in the multi-ethnic workplace. In BRUMFIT, ELLIS & LEVINE (1985), 111-129.

BROWN,H.D. (1980) Principles of Language Learning and Teaching. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersy: Prentice-Hall.

BROWN,P. (1986) Official birthplace statistics in New Zealand. New Zealand and International Migration.A Digest and Bibliography, no.1, 97-106.

BRUMFIT,C. (1985) Summary of comments on language in Education for all - the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Minority Children. In BRUMFIT, ELLIS & LEVINE (1985), 199-206.

BRUMFIT,C., ELLIS,R. & LEVINE,J. (eds) (1985) English as a Second Language in the United Kingdom. Linguistics and Educational Contexts. (ELT Documents 121) Oxford: Pergamon Press.

BRUNO,E. (1984) Acculturation Difficulties of the Khmer in New York City. New York: American Friends Service Committee, New York Metropolitan Region.

BUCHANAN,K. (1967) The Southeast Asian World. An Introductory Essay. London: G.Bell & Sons.

BULLIVANT,B.M. (1981) Race, Ethnicity and Curriculum. Sydney: Macmillan.

-----(1982) Are ethnic schools the solution to ethnic children's accommodation to Australia? Journal of Intercultural Studies 3, 17-35.

BULLOCK, Sir A.(chairman) (1975) A Language for Life. London: Department of Education and Science.

BURLING,R. (1978) Language development of a Garo and English speaking child. In HATCH (ed.) (1978), 38-55.

BURNABY,B. (1982) Language and Education Among Canadian Natiive Peoples. (Language and Literacy Series.) Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

----- (1984) Initial literacy in two ESL programs. In ALLEN & SWAIN (eds) (1984), 99-112.

CHATWIN,R. (1985) Can ESL teaching be racist? In BRUMFIT, ELLIS & LEVINE (eds) (1985), 181-185.

CHEUNG,K.Y.(1971) The Effect of Bilingualism on School Learning in a Group of Chinese Children in Christchurch. M.A. Thesis, Department of Education, University of Canterbury, Christchurch.

CHRISTIAN,C.C. (1976) Social and psychological implications of bilingual literacy. In SIMOES (ed.) (1976), 26-40 .

CHRISTOPHERSON,P. (1973) Second Language Learning - Myth and Reality. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

CLARKE,M. (1976) Second language acquisition as a clash of consciousness. Language Learning 26, 377-390.

CLAYDON,L. KNIGHT,T. & RADO,M. (1977) Culture and Curriculum. Schooling in a Pluralist Society. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.

CLYNE,M. (1982) Multilingual Australia. Melbourne: River Seine Publications.

----- (1983) An immersion program in Australia. Babel 18 (1), 6-15.

CODD,J., HARKER,R. & NASH,R. (eds) (1985) Political Issues in New Zealand Education. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

COHEN,J.D. (c1977) A task oriented approach for training Indochinese mental health workers. Report, Indochinese Mental Health Project, International Institute of San Francisco, San Francisco.

----- (1977) The trauma syndrome: identification, treatment and referral of commonly seen problems. A paper presented at the Northern California Indochinese Refugee Assistance Program Conference, San Francisco, Aug.1-2, 1977.

----- A mental health training model for use with Indochinese refugees. A paper presented at the Third Fall Conference on Training in the Human Services, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Oct.21-24, 1979.

COHEN,J.D. (1980), Can TESOL teachers address the mental health concerns of the Indochinese refugees? Draft of a talk delivered at the 1980 Spring TESOL Convention, Mar.8, 1980.

COHEN,L. & MARION,L. (1983) Multicultural Classrooms. London: Croom Helm.

COPPELL,B., BAUMGART,N. & TENEZAKIS,M. (1984) English Language Learning Needs of Migrants in Parramatta. (Studies in Adult Migrant Education series.) Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

COULMAS,F. (ed.) (1984) Linguistic Minorities and Literacy. Berlin: Mouton Publishers.

CROPLEY,A.J. (1983) The Eduction of Immigrant Children. A Social-Psychological Introduction. London: Croom Helm.

CUMMINS,J. (1976) The influence of bilingualism on cognitive growth: a synthesis of research findings and explanatory hypothesis. Working Papers on Bilingualism 9, 1-43.

----- (1978a) Educational implications of mother tongue maintenance in minority language children. Canadian Modern Language Review 34, 395-416.

----- (1978b) The cognitive development of children in immersion programs. Canadian Modern Language Review 34, 855-883.

----- (1979) Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. Review of Educational Research 49 (2), 222-251.

----- (1980a) The entry and exit fallacy in bilingual education. NABE Journal 4, 25-60.

----- (1980b) Psychological assessment of immigrant children: logic or intuition? Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development 1, 97-111.

----- (1981) Bilingualism and Minority Language Children. (Language and Literacy Series.) Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

----- (c1984) Bilingual and cognitive functioning. In SHAPSON & D'OYLEY (eds) (c1984), 55-67.

----- (1984a) Bilingualism and Special Education: Issues in Assessment and Pedagogy. Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.

----- (1984b) Minority students and learning difficulties: issues in assessment and placement. In PARADIS & LEBRUN (eds) 1984.

----- (1984c) Implications of bilingual proficiency for the education of minority language students. In ALLEN & SWAIN (eds) 1984, 21-34.

----- (1984d) Wanted: a theoretical framework for relating language proficiency to academic achievement among bilingual students. In RIVERA (ed.) (1984), 2-19.

----- & MULCAHY (9178) Orientation to language in Ukrainian-English bilingual children. Child Development 49 (4), 1239-1246.

DARCY,N.T. (1946) The effect of bilingual ism upon the measurement of the intelligence of children of pre-school age. Journal of Educational Psychology 37, 21-44.

----- (1953) A review of the literature on the effects of bilingualism upon the measurement of intelligence. Journal of Genetic Psychology 82, 21-57.

DAY,J. et al. (1985) ARP English course - report from ATI. New Settlers and Multicultural Education Issues 2 (3), 71-78.

DENNY,H. (1979) Case studies of seven English as a second language students joining regular technical institute classes for the first time in 1979. Dip.S.L.T.Report, Modern Languages Department, Massey University, Palmerston North.

DIAZ,R.M. (1983) Thought and two languages: the impact of bilingualism on cognitive development. Review of Research in Education 10, 23-54.

DODSON,C. (1979) Bilingual education: teaching children in two languages. Set no.1, 1979.

DORNIC,S. (1978) The bilingual's performance : language dominance, stress, and individual differences. In GERVER & SINAIKO (eds) 1978.

----- (1979) Information processing in bilinguals: some selected issues. Psychological Research 40, 329-348.

DOWNING,J. (1978) Strategies for bilingual education. International Review of Education 24, 329-346.

DOWNS,J. (1984) Young adults and home tutor schemes. New Settler Education Issues 1 (2), 56-57.

EASTMAN,C.M. (1981) Language planning, identity planning and world view. International Journal of the Siciology of Language 32, 45-53.

ECKSTEIN,A. (1982) What is the role of ethnic schools in education for a multicultural society? Journal of Intercultural Studies 3 (2), 48-69.

EDWARDS,J.R. (1979) Language and Disadvantage. London: Edward Arnold.

----- (ed.) (1984) Linguistic Minorities, Policies and Pluralism. London: Academic Press.

EDWARDS,V. (1983) Language in Multicultural Classrooms. London: Batsford Academic & Educational Ltd.

EKSTRAND,A. (1978) Migrant adaption: a cross-cultural problem. In FREUDENSTEIN (ed.)(1978), 27-123.

ELLIS,R. (1985) Policy and provisions for ESL in schools. In BRUMFIT, ELLIS & LEVINE (1985), 1-24.

ENGLE,P.L. (1975) Language medium in early school years for minority language groups. Review of Educational Research 45 (2), 283-325.

ERVIN,S. & OSGOOD,C. (1954) Second language learning and bilingualism. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 49 (suppl.), 139-146.

EVANS,S.J. (1953) Address of the conference of headmasters of grammar schools, Wales, 1906. In The Place of Welsh and English in the Schools of Wales. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

EX,J. (1966) Adjustment after Migration: A Longitudinal Study of the Process of Adjustment by Refugees to a New Environment. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

FAIRBAIRN-DUNLOP,P. (1984) Factors associated with language maintenance: the Samoans in New Zealand. New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies 19 (2), 99-113.

FAIRFAX,B. (1983) Individualised ESL distance learning programmes: Course developments at the New Zealand Correspondence School 1982-1983. Dip.S.L.T.Report, Modern Languages Department, Massey University, Palmerston North.

FANTINI,A.E. (1985) Language Acquisition of a Bilingual Child: A Sociolinguistic Perspective (to Age Ten). Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.

FARMER,R. (1979) International migration. In NEVILLE & O'NEILL (eds) (1979).

FATHMAN,A. (1975) The relationship between age and second language productive ability. Language Learning 25, 245-253.

FINCCHIARO,M. & BRUMFIT,C. (1983) The Functional-Notional Approach. New York: Oxford University Press.

FISHMAN,J. (1965) The status and prospects of bilingualism in the United States. Modern Language Journal 49, 143-155.

----- (1966) Language Loyalty in the United States. The Hague: Mouton.

----- (ed.) (1970) Readings in the Sociology of Language. 2nd printing. The Hague: Mouton & Co.

----- (1972) The Sociology of Language. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

----- (1973) Bilingual Education. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

----- (1976) Bilingual education and the future of language teaching and language learning in the United States. In SIMOES (ed.) 1976, 229-236.

FITZGERALD,G. (1982) Refugee and migrant settlement and adjustment in New Zealand 1964-1976. M.A. Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Otago, Dunedin.

FITZGERALD,M. (1978) Factors influencing ELT policies in England with particular reference to children from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. ELT Journal 23 (1), 13-21.

FITZPATRICK,J.P. (1966) The importance of 'community' in the process of immigrant assimilation. International Migration Review 1, 13-25.

FREUDENSTEIN,R. (ed.) (1978) Teaching the Children of Immigrants. Bruxelles: Didier AIMAV.

GAARDER,A. (1971) Language maintenance or language shift: the prospect for Spanish in the U.S.. Paper presented at the Child Language Conference, Chicago, Nov.22-24, 1971.

----- (1977) Language maintenance or language shift. In MACKEY & ANDERSSON (eds) (1977) .

GALBALLY,F. (chairman) (1978) Australia, Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants. Migrant Services and Programs, 2 vols. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

GARDINI,A. & SECOMBE,M.J. (1986) English language needs of migrants - An overview. (Studies in Adult Migrant Education series.) Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

GARDNER,R. & LAMBERT,W. (1972) Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

GARNER,M. (ed.) Community Languages: Their Role in Education. Melbourne: River Seine Publications.

GELINEK,L. (1977) The role of social work and contribution of social agencies. International Migration 15, 127-137.

GENESSE,F. (1979) Scholastic effects of French immersion: an overview after 10 years. Interchange 9, 20-29.

GENESSE F. et al. (1978) Language processing in bilinguals. Brain and Language 5, 1-12.

GERVER,D. & SINAIKO,H. (eds) (1978) Language Interpretation and Communication. New York: Plenum Press.

GEZI,K. (1974) Bilingual - bicultural education. Review of relevant research. Californian Journal of Education 25 (2), 223-239.

GILES,H. (ed.) (1977) Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations. London: Academic Press.

GILES,H., BOURHIS,R. & TAYLOR,D. (1977) Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In GILES (ed.) (1977).

GILES,H. & ST.CLAIR,R. (1979) Language and Social Psychology. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

GLASER,B.G. & STRAUSS,A.L. (1967) Discovery of Grounded Theory Strategies for Qualitative Research. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co.

GLASSON,J. (1984) The inner-city Language and Reception Unit, Richmond School, Auckland. South East Asian ESL and Migrant Education Newsletter Summer 1983/84, 47-54.

GRANT,B. (1979) The Boat People. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

GREIF,S.(1974) The Overseas Chinese in New Zealand. Singapore: Asia Pacific Press.

GROSJEAN,F. (1982) Life with Two Languages. An Introduction to Bilingualism. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

HALE,T. & BRUDAR,E. (1970) Are TESOL classes the only answer? Modern Language Journal 59, 15-18.

HARTFORD,B., VALDMAN,A. & FOSTER,C. (eds) (1982) Issues in International Bilingual Education. The Role of the Vernacular. New York: Academic Press.

HAAS,A., WEBBER,A. & BROWN,P. (eds) (1982) People like Us. Celebrating Cultural Diversity. Wellington: Asia Pacific Books/ New Zealand Government Printer.

HATCH,E. (ed.) (1978) Second Language Acquisition. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

HAUGEN,E. (1969) The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behaviour. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

HAWKES. (1966) Immigrant Children in British Schools. London: Institute of Race Relations.

HAWLEY,C. (1986) Multicultural Education Issues. Report on Fulbright-Hayes award to USA. Wellington: Department of Education.

----- (1986a) The resettlement of Indochinese refugees. New Zealand and International Migration. A digest and bibliography No.1, 58-72.

HAWTHORNE,L. (1982) Refugee. The Vietnamese Experience. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

HENDERSON,K. & NGAN,A-M. (1983) Teaching pre-literacy ESL students in secondary schools. South East Asian Migrant Education News 1983, 44-49.

HILL,D. (1976) Teaching in Multiracial Schools. London: Methuen & Company.

HOHL,D.G. (1978) The Indochinese refugee: the evolution of United States policy. International Migration Review 12 (1), 128-132.

HOLBROOK, (1973) English in Australia Now. London: Cambridge University Press.

HOLMES,J. (1979) Bridging the gap: speaking the same language? Education 9, 2-6.

----- (1982) Language for Learning. Education in the Multicultural School. Wellington: Department of Education.

HOPKINS,E. (1982) Phanat Nikhom Refugee Camp. TESOL News 6 (2), 30-34.

HORNBY,P.A. (ed.) (1977) Bilingualism: Psychological, Social and Educational Implications. New York: Academic Press.

HUDSON,R.A. (1980) Sociolinguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

IANCO-WORRALL,A. (1972) Bilingualism and cognitive development. Child Development 43, 1390-1400.

IIAMS,T.M. (1976) Assessing the scholastic achievement and cognitive development of bilingual and monolingual children. In SIMOES (ed) (1976), 253-265.

INDARAWAPI,P. (1981) Acquisition of English structures: A case study of an adult speaker of Lao in an English speaking environment. M.A. Thesis, Department of Education, University of Auckland, Auckland.

INDOCHINESE Refugee Resettlement- Australia's involvement. (1982). Report from the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

INTER-CHURCH Commision on Immigration and Refugee Resettlement (1982) Resettlemnt in action: ICCI field Counsellors. South East Asian ESL Migrant Education News Spring-Summer 1982.

JAMES,A. & JEFFCOATE,R. (eds) The School in the Multicultural Society. London: Harper Row / Open University.

JAMIESON,P. (1976) The Acquisition of English as a Second Language by Young Toukelauan Children Living in New Zealand. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Victoria University of Wellington.

----- (1977a) Second language education of young children. Set 77 (1).

----- (1977b) The language education of Tokelauan children. In STANHOPE (ed.) (1977), 127-133.

----- (1978) Don't knock the mother tongue. Multicultural School (NZ) no.7 (1977-78), 4-10.

----- (1980) The early language education of minority group children. Delta 26, 30-36.

JANSEN,A. (1984) Multicultural counselling: How some new settlers see New Zealanders as counsellors. New Settlers Education Issues 1 (2), 68-72.

JOHNSTONE,J.A. & SCOTNEY,T. (eds) Seminar Series on Social Research 1983 Proceedings. Wellington: Social Science Research Fund Centre.

JENSEN,A. & ELLIOT,S. (1982) Porirua ESL home tutor project. South East Asian ESL Migrant News Autumn 1982, 55-57.

JONES,E. (1980) French and the Regional Languages. (Canterbury Monographs for Teachers of French no.6 [5th series].) Christchurch: University of Canterbury.

KAPLAN,R.B. (1980) The Language Needs of Migrant Workers. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

KELLY,L.G.(ed.) (1969) Description and Measurement of Bilingualism: An International Seminar, University of Moncton. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

KEMPEN,L. (1982) Survey of settlement experiences of Indochinese refugees 1978-80. Proceedings of the Australia and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science (ANZAAS) Congress, 52nd, Sydney, 1982.

KENNEDY,G. (1980) English language in a multicultural New Zealand. Education 29 (2), 2-6.

KEPA.M. (1983/84) The English Language Teaching Unit - Mount Roskill Grammar School, Auckland. South East Asian ESL Migrant Education Newsletter Spring/Summer, 53-55.

KESSLER,C. (1984) Language acquisition in bilingual children. In MILLER (ed.) (1984), 26-54.

KEYS YOUNG PLANNERS LTD (1983) English Teaching Needs of Recent Migrants and Refugees in the Liverpool Area of Metropolitan Sydney. (AMES Studies of Adult Migrant Education series.) Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

KHLEIF,B. (1979) Language as identity: towards an ethnography of Welsh nationalism. Ethnicity 6, 346-357.

KING,R.J.R. & PALSER,J.M. (1984) The English Language Needs of Inner City Migrant Families. (Studies in Adult Migrant Education series.) Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

KINSELLA,V. (ed.) (1982) Surveys 1. Eight State-of-the-art Articles on Key Areas in Language Teaching. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

KJOLSETH,R. (1972) Bilingual education programs in the United States: for assimilation or pluralism? in SPOLSKY (ed.) (1972), 94-121.

KLEINMANN,H.H. & DANIEL,J.P. (1981) Indochinese resettlement: language education and social services. International Migrant Review 15 (1), 239-245.

KNIGHT,T. (1977) The migrant child and the remedial child: are they necessarily one and the same? Polycom 15, 18-28.

KOLERS,P. (1968) Bilingualism and information processing. Scientific American Mar. 1968, 78-85.

KRASHEN,S. (1982) Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

KRASHEN,S. (1985) The Input Hypothesis: Issues and Implications. London: Longman.

KUNZ,E.F. (1973) The refugees in flight: kinetic models and forms of displacement. International Migration Review 7, 125-146.

LAMBERT,W.E. (1963) Psychological approaches to the study of language. Part 2. Journal of Educational Psychology 65 (3), 114-121.

----- (1967) A social psychology of bilingualism. In PRIDE & HOLMES (eds) (1967), 336-349.

----- (1974) Culture and language as factors in learning and education. In ABOUD & MEADE (eds) (1974),223 .

----- (1977) Effect of bilingualism on the individual. In HORNBY (ed.) (1977), 15-27.

----- (1979) Language as a factor in intergroup relations. In GILES & ST.CLAIR (eds.) (1979), 186-192.

LAMBERT,W.E. & TUCKER,G.R. (1972) Bilingual Education of Children. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

LANPHIER,C.M. (1983) Refugee resettlement: models in action. International Migration Review 17 (1), 4-31.

LATHAM,R.G. (1985) Assessment and training of Southeast Asian refugees. New Settler and Multicultural Education Issues 2 (3), 92-96.

LEIBERSON,S. (1980) Procedures for improving sociolinguistic surveys of language maintenance and language shift. International Journal of the Sociology of Language 25, 11-27.

LENNEBERG,E.H. (1967) Biological Foundations of Language. New York: Wiley.

LEOPOLD,W.F. (1933) The Speech Development of a Bilingual Child: A Linguist's Record. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press.

LEVINE,J. (1983) Going back to the mainstream. Learning and Language: ESL in the Mainstream Classroom. (Issues in Race and Education no.39.) London: Inner London Education Authority.

LEWINS,F. (1984) The significance of factors influencing early Vietnamese settlement in Australia. Journal of Intercultural Studies 5 (2), 29-48.

LEWINS,F. & LY,J. (1985) The First Wave. The Settlement of Australia's First Vietnamese Refugees. (Studies in Society:28.) Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.

LEWIS,E.G. (1981) Bilingualism and Bilingual Education. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

LEWIS,M. (1985) Reading in a new language. New Settler and Multicultural Education Issues 2 (2), 63-67.

LIEM,N.D. (1980) Vietnamese-American crosscultural communication. Paper presented at the 30th International Conference on Communication: Human Evolution and Development, Acapulco, Mexico, May 1980.

-----(c.1982) Indochinese cross-cultural adjustment and communication. Unpublished paper.

-----(1983) EM = BE+ EB Education for minorities equals bilingual education and English for Bilinguals. Paper presented at the 1st International Symposium on Public Health in Asia and the Pacific Basin, Honolulu, Hawaii,Mar.7-11, 1983.

LIEV,M.H. & MCLAREN,M.C. (1983) Khmer Refugees in the Waikato - Their Opinions. Hamilton: University of Waikato.

LINGUISTIC Minorities Project (1983) Linguistic Minorities in England. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

LITTLEWOOD,W. (1981) Communicative Language Teaching. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LOCHORE,(1951) From Europe to New Zealand. An Account of Our Continental European Settlers. Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed.

LOVEDAY,L. (1982) The Sociolinguistics of Learning and Using a Non-native Language. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

MCALISTER,J. & ROBSON,M. (1984) Building a Framework. Developing Communication Skills with ESL Students. A Handbook for Teachers. Cambridge: National Extension College.

MCCARTHY,M. (1967) Vietnam. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

MCGILL,D. (1982) The Other New Zealanders. Wellington: Mallinson Rendel Pubs.

MCINTOSH,R.E. (1982) Women refugees, language and resettlement: A study of methodology. Research Report, Geography Department, University of Waikato, Hamilton.

MACKEY,W.F. (1970) The description of bilingualism. In FISHMAN (ed.)(1970), 554-584.

MACKEY,W.F & ANDERSSON,T.(eds) (1977) Bilingualism in Early Childhood. Papers from a Conference on Child Language. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

MCLAUGHLIN,B. (1982) Children's Second Language Learning. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

MCLAUGHLIN.J. (1985) ESL for the unemployed. ELT Journal 39 (2), 88-95.

MACNAMARA,J. (1966) Bilingualism and Primary Education. A Study of the Irish Experience. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

----- (1979) What happens to children whose home language is not that of the school? In VERMA & BAGLEY (eds) (1979), 95-104.

MACPHERSON,A.J.C.(Cluny) (1983) Cultural mediators: researching other cultures in New Zealand (Samoan migrants). In JOHNSTONE & SCOTNEY (eds) (1983).

MCPHERSON,J. (1980) How schools are coping. Education 29 (5), 6-13.

MACRAE,G. (1980) Indochinese in New Zealand: A preliminary study February, 1980. Research Report, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland.

MANTON,S., MCKAY,J. & CLYNE,M. (1983) English Language Learning Needs of Adult Migrants in the Western Suburbs of Melbourne. (Studies in Adult Migrant Education series.) Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

MARES,P. (1982) The Vietnamese in Britain. A Handbook for Health Worker. Cambridge: National Extension College.

MARJORIBANKS,K. (1979) Ethnic Families and Children's Achievements. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.

MARJORIBANKS,K. (1980) Parents' orientations to bilingual education: social status and ethnic group differences. Journal of Intercultural Studies 1 (3), 28-36.

MARLAND,M. (1977) Language Across the Curriculum. (The Implications of the Bullock Report.). London: Heinemann Educational.

MARTIN,J. (1976) The education of migrant children in Australia. In PRICE & MARTIN (eds) (1976), 1-65.

----- (1978) The Immigrant Presence. Australian Responses 1947-1977. (Research Report for the National Population Inquiry.) Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.

MIDDLETON,S. (1983) Lip-service to learning: Language issues and multicultural education. In Seminar on Learning and Teaching in Multi-cultural Settings, Auckland Teachers' College, Sept. 1983.

MILLER,J. (1983) Many Voices. Bilingualism, Culture and Education. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

MILLER,N.(ed.) (1984) Bilingualism and Language Disability. London: Croom Helm.

MILLS,J. (1982) Bilingual Education in Australia. (Australian Education Review: no.18.) Hawthorn: Australian Council for Educational Research.

MILMINE,J. (1982) Report on the Language and Orientation Programmes for Cambodian, Lao and Vietnamese Refugees. Auckland: Auckland Technical Institute.

MODIANO,N. (1974) Best beginning reading language. In PIALORSI (ed.) (1974), 150-169.

MONTERO,D. (1979) Vietnamese refugees in America: towards a theory of spontaneous international migration. International Migration Review 13 (4), 624-648.

MORRIS,L.A. (1980) The educational reception of the boat children in the United Kingdom. Trends in Education 1980/1, 10-14.

MORRISSEY,M.J. & PALSER,J.M. (1983) English Language Learning in the Illawarra.(Studies in Adult Migrant Education series.) Canberra: Australan Government Publishing Service.

MURPHY,H. (1955) Flight and Resettlement. Paris: UNESCO.

NATUSCH,B.A. (1986) Cultural and Linguistic Adaptation among Japanese Women Migrants in New Zealand. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Modern Languages, Massey University, Palmerston North.

NELSON POLYTECHNIC (1985) An ARP course for newly arrived Khmer families: April-June 1985. New Settlers and Multicultural Education Issues 2 (2), 70-72.

NEVILLE,R.J.W. & O'NEILL,C.J.(eds) (1979) The Population of New Zealand: Interdisciplinary Perspectives. Auckland: Longman Paul.

NEW ZEALAND Department of Education. Annual Reviews.

-----(Sept. 1982) South East Asian Migrants in New Zealand. Wellington: Department of Education.

-----(Nov. 1982) South East Asian Refugees in New Zealand. Educational Provisions. Wellington: Department of Education.

-----(1986) The Curriculum Review 1986. Wellington: New Zealand Department of Education.

NEW ZEALAND Department of Health (1981) Southeast Asian Medical Screening Programme Annual Report 1981. (NZ Department of Labour, 22/1/27-24-4 pt13) Wellington: New Zealand Department of Health.

----- (1982) Southeast Asian Medical Screening Programme Half Year Report to 30 June 1982. (NZ Department of Labour, 22/1/27-24-4 pt13) Wellington: New Zealand Department of Health.

NEW ZEALAND Department of Labour (1986) Immigration Policy in New Zealand. Wellington: New Zealand Government Publisher.

-----(c1985) Manual.

NGAN,W. (1983) The challenge of School Certificate English. South East Asian Migrant Education News 1983, 29-40.

NICHOLLS,S. (1985) ESL provisions in the post-school sector: developments and dilemmas. In BRUMFIT, ELLIS & LEVINE (eds) (1985), 101-109.

NICHOLLS,S. & NAISH,J. (1979) Teaching English as a Second Language. London: BBC.

NICASSIO,P.M. & PATE.J.K. (1984) An analysis of problems of resettlement of the Indochinese refugees in the United States. Social Psychiatry 19, 135-141.

NIXON,J, (1983) A Teacher's Guide to Multicultural Education. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

NORST,M. (1982) Ethnic schools: what are they and what would they be like? Journal of Intercultural Studies 3 (2), 6-16.

OLLER,J.W., HUDSON,A.J. & LIU.P.F. (1977) Attitudes and attained proficiency in ESL: a sociolinguistic study of native speakers of Chinese in the United States. Language Learning 27 (1), 1-27.

PARADIS,M. & LEBRUN,Y.(eds) (1984) Early Bilingualism and Childhood Development. New York: Academic Press.

PAULSTON.C.B. (1975) Ethnic relations and bilingual education: accounting for contradictory data. Working Papers on Bilingualism 6, 1-44.

----- (1985) Linguistic consequences of ethnicity and nationalism in multicultural settings. Paper presented at the Conference on Educational Policies and the Minority Social Groups Experts' Meeting, Paris, Jan.16-18, 1985.

PEAL,E. & LAMBERT,W.E. (1962) The Relationship of Bilingualism to Intelligence, Psychological Monographs 76 (546), 1-23.

PHAM,M. (1985) Bilingual maintenance. New Settler and Multicultural Education Issues 2 (2), 29-39.

PIALORSI,F.(ed.)(1974) Teaching the Bilingual. Tuscon: University of Arizona.

PITT,D. & MACPHERSON,C. (1974) Emerging Pluralism: The Samoan Community in New Zealand. Auckland: Longman Paul.

PLANLangPol Committee (1983) A National Language Policy for Australia. Kensington, Vic.: ALAA & ALA.

POOLE,P.A. (1970) The Vietnamese in Thailand. An Historical Perspective. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

PRICE,C.A. & MARTIN,J.I. (eds) (1976) Australian Immigration. A Bibliography and Digest no.3, part 2. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

PRIDE,J. & HOLMES,J.(eds) (1967) Sociolinguistics, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

RAMSAY & WRIGHT (1974) Age and second language learning. Journal of Social Psychology 94, 115-121.

RAWLINSON,L. (1985) Khmer bilingual teacher at Bayfield High Scchool, Dunedin. New Settler and Multicultural Education Issues 2 (2), 50-52.

RIVERA,C.(ed.) (1983) An Ethnographic / Sociolinguistic Approach to Language Proficiency Assessment. Avon, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

-----(ed.) (1984) Language Proficiency and Academic Achievement. Clevedon,Avon: Multilingual Matters.

-----(ed.) (1984a) Communicative Competence Approaches to Language Proficiency Assessment: Research and Applications. Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.

ROBINSON,B. (1985) Bilingualism and mother tongue maintenance in Britain. In BRUMFIT, ELLIS & LEVINE (eds) (1985), 25-53.

RONJAT,J. (1913) Le Développement du Langage Observé chez un Enfant Bilingue. Paris: Champion.

ROSEN,H. & BURGESS,T. (1980) Languages and Dialects of London School Children. London: Ward Lock Educational.

SAER,D. (1923) The effect of bilingualism on intelligence. British Journal of Psychology 14, 25-38.

SAIFULLAH KHAN,V. (1977) Bilingualism and Linguistic Minorities in Britain. Problems, perspectives. London: Runnymede Trust.

-----(1980), The "mother tongue" of linguistic minorities in multicultural England. Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development 1 (1), 71-88.

ST.CARTMAIL,K. (1983) Exodus Indochina. Auckland: Heinemann.

SANCHEZ,G.I. (1934) The implications of a basal vocabulary to the measurement of the abilities in bilingual children. Journal of Social Psychology 5, 395-402.

SAUNDERS,G. (1982) Bilingual Children: Guidance for the Family. Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.

SCHUMANN,J.H. (1976a) Second language acquisition: the pidginization hypothesis. Language Learning 26,391-408.

----- (1976b) Social distance as a factor in second language acquisition. Language Learning 26, 135-143.

SCOTT,S. (1973) The Relation of Divergent Thinking to Bilingualism. Cause and Effect. McGill University.

SHACKMAN,J. (c1983) The Right to be Understood. A Handbook on Working With, Employing and Training Community Interpreters. Cambridge: National Extension College.

SHAPSON,S. & D'OYLEY,V. (eds) (c1984) Bilingual and Multicultural Education: Canadian Perspectives. Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.

SHAW,J. (1983) Sponsorship of South East Asian refugees - What factors influence successful resettlement? Research Project, Social; Work Unit, Massey University, Massey University.

SIMOES,A.Jnr (ed.) (1976) The Bilingual Child. Research and Analysis of Existing Educational Themes. New York: Academic Press.

SIMON,R.J. (1983) Refugee families' adjustment and aspirations: a comparison of Soviet Jewish and Vietnamese immigrants. Ethnic and Racial Studies 6 (4), 492-504.

SIMPSON, Sir J.H. (1939) The Refugee Problem. London: Oxford University Press.

SINCLAIR,H.I. (1944) Population: New Zealand's Problem. Dunedin: gordon & Gotch.

SKINNER,G. (1985) A class at Mangere for older Asian women. New Settlers and Multicultural Education Issues 2 (2), 70-72.

SKUTNABB-KANGAS,T. (c1983) Bilingualism or not: the Education of Minority Children. English edition. Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.

----- (1984) Children of guest workers and immigrants: linguistic and educational issues. In EDWARDS (ed.) (1984),17-48.

SKUTNABB-KANGAS,T. & TOUKOMAA,P. (1976), Teaching Immigrant Children their Mother Tongue and Learning the Language of the Host Community in the Context of the Socio-cultural Situation of the Immigrant Family. A report prepared for UNESCO. Tampere: University of Tampere Department of Sociology and Social Psychology.(Research Reports 15.)

----- (1980), Semilingualism and middle class bias: a reply to Cora Brent-Palmer. Working Papers on Bilingualism 19, 182-197.

SMITH,K.F, BALDAUF,R.B. & TAYLOR,S.C. (1985) English Language Needs in a Rural Community. (Studies in Adult Migrant Education series.) Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

SMITH,P.M., TUCKER,G.R. & TAYLOR,D.M. (1977) Language, ethnic identity and intergroup relations: one immigrant group's reaction to language planning in Quebec. In GILES (ed.) (1977).

SMOLICZ,J.J. & HARRIS,R.McL. (1977) Ethnic languages in Australia. International Journal of the Sociology of Language 14, 89-108.

SMOLICZ,J.J.& SECOMBE,M.J. (1977) A study of attitudes to the introduction of ethnic languages and cultures in Australian schools. Australian Journal of Education 21 (1), 1-24.

SPEARITT,D. & COLMAN,J.M. (1983) Schooling for Newly Arrived Indo-Chinese Refugees: An Evaluation of the Contingency Program for Refugee Children. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

SPOLSKY,B. (ed.) (1972) The Language Education of Minority Children. Rowley,Mass.: Newbury House.

----- (1974) Navajo language maintenance: 6 year-olds in 1969. In PIALORSI (ed.) (1974), 138-149.

----- (1978) Educational Linguistics. An Introduction. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

SPOLSKY,B. & COOPER,R.L. (eds) (1978) Case Studies in Bilingual Education. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

SPSS X Basics. (1984) Chicago,Ill.: SPSS Inc.

SRIVASTAVA,R.N. (1984), Consequences of initiating literacy in the second language. In COULMAS (ed.) (1984), 29-37.

STEEN,F. (1984) From the refugee camps cont.. TESOL News 7 (2),18-20.

STEIBEL,M. (1984), From the refugee camps. TESOL News 7, (2), 15-18.

STEIN,B.N. (1979) Occupational adjustment of refugees: the Vietnamese in the United States. International Migration Review 13 (1), 25-45.

-----(1981) The refugee experience: defining the parameters of a field of study. International Migration Review 15 (1), 320-332.

STORER,D. (1979) The preservation of immigrant cultures; a contemporary dilemma for host societies. International Migration Review 17, 230-242.

STRAND,P.J. (1984) Employment predictors among Indochinese refugees. International Migration Review 18 (1)

STRAND,P.J. & JONES,W.Jnr (1985) Indochinese Refugees in America. Problems of Adaptation and Assimilation. Durham, N.Carolina: Duke University Press.

STUBBS,M. (1976) Language, Schools and Classrooms. London: Methuen.

STURMAN,A. (1985) Immigrant Australians and Education: A Review of Research. Hawthorne, Vic.: Australian Council for Educational Research.

SWAIN,M.(ed.) (1972) Bilingual Schooling : Some Experiences in Canada and the United States. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

----- (1978) Bilingual education for the English-Canadian. Paper presented at the Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics, 1978.

----- (1980) Bilingual education for the English-Canadian. Three models of "immersion". In BOEY (ed.) (1980), 20-36.

SWAIN,M. (1984) A review of immersion education in Canada: research and evaluation studies. In ALLEN & SWAIN (eds) (1984), 35-51.

SWAIN,M. & CUMMINS,J. (1982) Bilingualism and cognitive functioning. In KINSELLA,V. (ed.) SURVEYS I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

SWAIN,M. & LAPKIN,S. (1981) Bilingual Education in Ontario: A Decade of Research. Ontario: Ministry of Education.

----- (1982) Evaluating Bilingual Education: A Canadian Case Study. Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.

SWANN Report (1985) Education for All, the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

TABORI,P. (1972) The Anatomy of Exile. A Semantic and Historical Study. London: Harrap.

TAFT,R. (1966) From Stranger to Citizen. Sydney: Tavistock Publications.

TAFT,R. & CAHILL,D. (1981) Education of immigrants in Australia. In BHATNAGAR,J. (ed.) (1981), 16-47.

TAFT,R. & DOCZY,A.G. (1962) The Assimilation of Intellectual Refugees in Western Australia. Nedlands: University of West Australia Press.

TASSICKER,M. (1982) The Australian correspondence course for adult migrants. TESOL News 6 (2), 18-20.

TAYLOR,D.M., MEYNARD,R. & RHEAULT,T. (1977) Threat to ethnic identity and second-language learning. In GILES,H. (ed.) (1977), 99-118.

TAYLOR,K. (1982) Born survivors. In HAAS, WEBBER & BROWN (eds) (1982), 69-74.

THOMSON,K. & TRLIN,A. (eds) (1970) Immigrants in New Zealand. Palmerston North: Massey University.

TITONE,R. (1978) Some psychological aspects of multilingual education. International Journal of Education 24, 283-307.

TORRANCE,E.P., WU,J.J., GOWAN,J.C. & ALIOTTI,N.C. (1970), Creative functioning of monolingual and bilingual children in Singapore. Journal of Educational Psychology 61, 72-75.

TOSI,A. (1982) Mother-tongue teaching for the children of migrants. In KINSELLA,V. (ed.) (1982), 80-99.

----- (1984) Immigration and Bilingual Education: A Case Study of Movement of Population, Language Change and Education. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

TOUKOMAA,P. & SKUTNABB-KANGAS,T. (1977) The intensive teaching of the mother tongue to migrant children of pre-school age and children in the lower level of comprehensive school. Research Report no.26, Department of Sociology and Social Psychology, University of Tampere.

TOWNSHEND,H. (1971) Immigrant Pupils in England; the LEA Response. London: National Foundation for Educational Research.

TRINH,T.S.(1980) A look at South East Asian Migrants in Christchurch 1977-1980, particularly their education. Research Paper, ESL Advisory Unit, Department of Education, Christchurch.

TRLIN,A. (1971) Social distance and assimilation orientation: a survey of attitudes towards immigrants in New Zealand. Pacific Viewpoint 12, 144-162.

-----(1974) Immigrants in Auckland: A contribution to human ecology with special reference to the Samoan, Niuean, Dutch, Yugoslav and Hungarian immigrants in a New Zealand urban area. Ph.D Thesis, Department of Geography, Massey University, Palmerston North.

TRUDGILL,P. (1975) Accent, Dialect and the School. London: Edward Arnold.

TUCKER,G.R. & d'ANGLEJAN,A. (1971) Some thoughts concerning bilingual education programs. Modern Language Journal 55 (8), 491-493.

TYHURST,L. (1981) Coping with refugees. A Canadian experience: 1948-1981. International Journal of Social Psychiatry 28 (2), 105-109.

UNESCO (1953) The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education. Paris: UNESCO.

VAID,J. & GENESSE,F. (1980) Neuropsychological approaches to bilingualism: a critical review. Canadian Journal of Psychology/Revue Canadienne de Psychologie 34, 417-445.

VELTMAN,C.J. (1981) Anglicization in the United States: the importance of parental nativity and language practice. International Journal of the Sociology of Language 32, 65-84.

----- (1983) Language Shift in the United States. (Contributions to the Sociology of Language 34.) Berlin: Mouton Publications.

VERBOEKET,A.(1982) Otago Polytechnic programme. South East Asian ESL Migrant Education News Autumn 1982, 52-53.

VERDOOT,A. (1977) Educational policies on language: the case of the chldren of migrant workers. In GILES,H. (ed.) (1977), .

VERITY,R. (1982) South East Asian Migrants - South Canterbury news. South East Asian ESL Migrant Education News Autumn 1982, 26-27.

VERMA,G.K. & BAGLEY,C.(eds) (1979) Race, Education and Identity. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

VYGOTSKY,L.S. (1962) Thought and Language. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.

WATSON,K. (ed.) (1982) Education in the Third World. London & Canberra: Croom Helm.

WATT,A. (1981) Multicultural education. In Philosophical Issues in Education. A Selection of Papers from the 1981 Philosophy of Education of Australasia Conference.

WATTS,N.R. (1977) A Study of Reactions to Different English Accents by Selected Students. Dip. Ed. Research Paper, Massey University, Palmerston North.

WAIN,B. (1981) The Refused: The Agony of the Indochinese Refugees. New York: Simon & Schuster.

WEINREICH,U. (1953) Languages in Contact. The Hague: Mouton.

WHITACKER,D.P. et al. (1972) Area Handbook for Laos. Washington,D.C.: American University.

WRIGHT,R.G. (1981) voluntary agencies and the resettlement of refugees. International Migration Review 15 (1), 157-174.

ZODGEKAR,A.V. (1986) Immigrants in the 1981 census. New Zealand and International Migration. A digest and bibliography no.1, 40-57.

APPENDIX 1.

QUESTIONNAIRES

(1) Personal adult questionnaire in English and Khmer.

(2) Student questionnaire.

(3) Institution questionnaire used with schools.

(4) Polytechnic and community college questionnaire.

(5) Teacher questionnaire.

(6) Home Tutor Coordinator questionnaire.

GENERAL BACKGROUND QUESTIONS

NAME (optional): _____ *(please underline family name)*

TOWN: _____

AGE: _____

SEX: *Male* ☐ *Female* ☐ (Please tick ☑ correct box.)

NATIONALITY: _____

PLACE OF BIRTH: _____

HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN IN NEW ZEALAND? Years ____ Months _____

DID YOU COME TO NEW ZEALAND FROM A REFUGEE CAMP?

Yes ☐ *No* ☐

If your answer was *Yes* where was it? _____

If your answer was *No* where did you come to New Zealand from? _____

PRESENT MARITAL STATUS: *Never Married* ☐ *Married* ☐ *Widowed* ☐ *Divorced/ Separated* ☐

If you are married does your wife/husband speak the same first language (mother tongue) as you? *Yes* ☐ *No* ☐

RELIGION:

WHICH RELIGIOUS GROUP DID YOU BELONG TO IN YOUR HOME COUNTRY?

Buddhism ☐ *Confucianism* ☐ *Other* ☐
Christianity ☐ *Hinduism* ☐ *None* ☐
Islam ☐

WHICH RELIGIOUS GROUP DO YOU BELONG TO NOW?

Buddhism ☐ *Confucianism* ☐ *Other* ☐
Christianity ☐ *Hinduism* ☐ *None* ☐
Islam ☐

WHEN YOU CAME TO NEW ZEALAND WERE YOU SPONSORED BY:

(a) A New Zealand family or organisation ☐

(b) A member of your own family ☐

DO YOU HAVE NEW ZEALAND CITIZENSHIP ? *Yes* ☐ *No* ☐

. WOULD YOU LIKE TO RETURN TO YOUR HOME COUNTRY IF THE POLITICAL SITUATION WAS DIFFERENT? (Don't answer this question if you don't want to.)

(a) to live *Yes* ☐ *No* ☐ *Not sure* ☐

(b) to visit *Yes* ☐ *No* ☐ *Not sure* ☐

. OCCUPATIONS:

(a) PLEASE NAME EACH JOB YOU HAD AND DESCRIBE THE SORT OF WORK INVOLVED:

(i) BEFORE COMING TO NEW ZEALAND _____

_____

_____

_____

(ii) IN THE PAST IN NEW ZEALAND _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(b) WHAT JOB(S) ARE YOU DOING NOW? _____

_____

SCHOOLING AND EDUCATION:

HOW OLD WERE YOU WHEN YOU FIRST WENT TO SCHOOL? _____

HOW OLD WERE YOU WHEN YOU LEFT SCHOOL? _____

HOW MANY YEARS OF SCHOOLING DID YOU HAVE ALTOGETHER? _____

NAME ANY QUALIFICATIONS YOU RECEIVED AT SCHOOL: _____

_____

a) AFTER LEAVING SCHOOL DID YOU GO TO:

	Yes.	
University	[ ]	How long were you there? _____
Technical Institute	[ ]	_____
Teachers College	[ ]	_____
Other (say where)	[ ]	_____

_____

b) What was the main subject (or subjects) that you studied? _____

_____

c) What qualifications did you receive? _____

_____

WOULD YOU LIKE TO HAVE MORE FORMAL EDUCATION NOW IF YOU HAD THE OPPORTUNITY?

(a) *Yes* [ ] *No* [ ]

(b) If YES, where would you like to study? _____

(c) And what subjects would you like to study? _____

_____

HAVE ANY OF THE FOLLOWING PREVENTED YOU FROM STUDYING IN NEW ZEALAND?

English not good enough	[ ]
Need more qualifications	[ ]
Lack of money	[ ]
Need to work	[ ]
Shift work	[ ]
Cannot get bursary	[ ]
Qualifications not recognised	[ ]
Not enough information	[ ]

LANGUAGE QUESTIONS.

- WHAT IS YOUR FIRST LANGUAGE (MOTHER TONGUE)? _____

- HOW WELL CAN YOU READ IN THIS LANGUAGE?

  Very Well ☐ *Quite Well* ☐ *A little* ☐ *None* ☐

- HOW WELL CAN YOU WRITE IN THIS LANGUAGE?

  Very Well ☐ *Quite Well* ☐ *A little* ☐ *None* ☐

- WHAT OTHER LANGUAGES CAN YOU SPEAK OR UNDERSTAND WHEN SPOKEN?

	SPEAK IT			UNDERSTAND IT WHEN SPOKEN		
Name of Language:	*Very Well*	*Quite Well*	*A Little*	*Very Well*	*Quite Well*	*A Littl*
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

- WHAT OTHER LANGUAGES CAN YOU READ OR WRITE?

	READ IT			WRITE IN IT		
Name of Language:	*Very Well*	*Quite Well*	*A Little*	*Very Well*	*Quite Well*	*A Little*
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

- WHERE DID YOU LEARN THESE OTHER LANGUAGES?

Name of Language:	*At home*	*At School*	*At work*
_____	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐

- WHAT LANGUAGE (OR LANGUAGES) DO YOU USUALLY USE?

  At home to your parents _____

  At home to your wife/husband _____

  At home to your children _____

  At home to other relations _____

  At home to friends _____

  At work to friends _____

  To other people you work with _____

  When out shopping _____

  For thinking _____

WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE NEW ZEALAND PEOPLE'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS YOU USING A LANGUAGE OTHER THAN ENGLISH?

	Approve	Don't care	Disapprove	Some care, others do
At home	☐	☐	☐	☐
At work	☐	☐	☐	☐
At school	☐	☐	☐	☐

DID YOU LEARN ENGLISH AT SCHOOL BEFORE COMING TO NEW ZEALAND?

Yes ☐ *No* ☐

IF *YES*, WHERE DID YOU LEARN IT AND FOR ABOUT HOW LONG?

	Years	*Months*	*Weeks*
In primary school	_____	_____	_____
At Secondary School	_____	_____	_____
At a Technical Institute	_____	_____	_____
At University	_____	_____	_____
At a refugee Camp	_____	_____	_____

Somewhere else (say where) _____

_____

DID YOU EVER RECEIVE YOUR EDUCATION IN ENGLISH? *Yes* ☐ *No* ☐

IF *YES*, SAY WHERE: _____

AND FOR ABOUT HOW LONG: _____ *Years* _____ *Months*

HOW GOOD WAS YOUR ENGLISH WHEN YOU ARRIVED IN NEW ZEALAND?

	Very good	*Good*	*O.K.*	*Poor*	*None*
Understanding of Spoken English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Speech	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Reading	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Writing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

HOW GOOD IS YOUR ENGLISH NOW?

	Very good	*Good*	*O.K.*	*Poor*	*None*
Understanding of spoken English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Speech	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Reading	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Writing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

WHICH DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST IMPORTANT FOR YOU, BEING ABLE UNDERSTAND SPOKEN ENGLISH, BEING ABLE TO SPEAK IT, READ IT OR WRITE IT? (Number **boxes from 1 to 4.**)

Listening ☐ *Speaking* ☐ *Reading* ☐ *Writing* ☐

F YOUR ENGLISH WAS BETTER WOULD YOU:

	Yes	No	Not sure
Be more likely to get promotion at work	☐	☐	☐
Be able to use your qualifications	☐	☐	☐
Change your job	☐	☐	☐
Do more study at School/technical Institute/ University	☐	☐	☐
Use it at home	☐	☐	☐
Have more English speaking friends	☐	☐	☐

HAVE YOU STUDIED ENGLISH IN NEW ZEALAND?

PLACE	Tick If Yes	Length of Time Years	Months	Tick if still Attending
a) Mangere Reception Centre				
b) With a Home Tutor				
c) Correspondence School				
d) Primary School				
e) Secondary School (full time)				
f) Secondary School (night class or Saturday morning class)				
g) Technical Institute (day class)				
h) Technical Institute (night class)				
i) English Language Institute				
j) University				
k) Other (say where) _____				

WHICH OF THESE COURSES BEST MET YOUR NEEDS BY:

Taught you the most useful English _____

The best teaching _____

The most convenient time _____

IS THERE ANYTHING YOU WOULD LIKE TO SEE CHANGED OR OFFERED IN ANY OF THESE COURSES:

More information on courses available ☐

Different teaching methods ☐ More traditional ☐ More practical ☐

More vocational (work-related) courses ☐

Classes available at place of work ☐

More night courses ☐

Bilingual courses (own language + English) ☐

Other things (please state) _____

_____

_____

ARE YOU PLANNING TO STUDY ENGLISH SOME TIME IN THE FUTURE?

- With a home tutor [ ]
- At school [ ]
- At night or weekend class [ ]
- At a technical institute [ ]
- At home by correspondence [ ]
- At home from books [ ]
- Other (please state) [ ] _____

YOU HAVE ANY CHILDREN, WHAT LANGUAGES DO THEY USE?

Name	*Age*	*Languages*	*Speak*	*Read*	*Write*
			[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
			[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
			[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
			[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
			[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
			[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

E THERE ANY OTHER LANGUAGES THAT YOU WOULD LIKE THEM TO LEARN:

To speak _____

To read _____

To write _____

READING:	*Often*	*Sometimes*	*Rarely*	*Never*
) YOU READ *BOOKS* IN YOUR FIRST LANGUAGE?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
) YOU READ *MAGAZINES* IN YOUR FIRST LANGUAGE?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
) YOU READ *NEWSPAPERS* IN YOUR FIRST LANGUAGE?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
) YOU READ *BOOKS* IN ENGLISH?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
) YOU READ *MAGAZINES* IN ENGLISH?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
) YOU READ *NEWSPAPERS* IN ENGLISH?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

) YOU BORROW BOOKS FROM THE PUBLIC LIBRARY? *Yes* [ ] *No* [ ]

) YOU HAVE A TELEVISION SET? *Yes* [ ] *No* [ ]

OUT HOW MANY HOURS PER DAY DO YOU WATCH IT? _____

) YOU BELONG TO ANY CLUBS OR ORGANISATIONS? *Yes* [ ] *No* [ ]

' *YES*, WHAT SORT ARE THEY? WHAT LANGUAGES DO YOU USE THERE?

- Sports Clubs [ ] _____
- Religious Groups [ ] _____
- National Groups (e.g. Xao Lao) [ ] _____
- Others [ ] _____

F YOU WANTED INFORMATION WOULD YOU ASK A STRANGER EVEN THOUGH YOU KNEW YOU MIGHT AKE MISTAKES WITH YOUR ENGLISH?

Always ☐ *Often* ☐ *Sometimes* ☐ *Rarely* ☐ *Never* ☐

)O YOU THINK IT IS POSSIBLE TO SPEAK GOOD ENGLISH AND STILL (BE A GOOD) SPEAK GOOD
CHMER/VIETNAMESE/LAO /CHINESE?

Yes ☐ *No* ☐ *Not Sure* ☐

ly

IERE IS A LIST OF WORDS THAT CAN BE USED TO DESCRIBE PEOPLE.
TICK THOSE WHICH YOU FEEL BEST DESCRIBE YOUR OWN PEOPLE/ETHNIC GROUP

Bad	☐	*Good*	☐				
Unhappy	☐	*Happy*	☐	*Dumb*	☐	*Clever*	☐
Unfriendly	☐	*Friendly*	☐	*Unpleasant*	☐	*Pleasant*	☐
Aggressive	☐	*Shy*	☐	*Unkind*	☐	*Kind*	☐
Unreliable	☐	*Reliable*	☐	*Insensitive*	☐	*Sensitive*	☐
Worthless	☐	*Valuable*	☐	*Ugly*	☐	*Attractive*	☐

NOW TICK THOSE YOU FEEL BEST DESCRIBE NEW ZEALANDERS.

Bad	☐	*Good*	☐				
Unhappy	☐	*Happy*	☐	*Dumb*	☐	*Clever*	☐
Unfriendly	☐	*Friendly*	☐	*Unpleasant*	☐	*Pleasant*	☐
Aggressive	☐	*Shy*	☐	*Unkind*	☐	*Kind*	☐
Unreliable	☐	*Reliable*	☐	*Insensitive*	☐	*Sensitive*	☐
Worthless	☐	*Valuable*	☐	*Ugly*	☐	*Attractive*	☐

FINALLY TICK THOSE THAT BEST DESCRIBE THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

Worthless	☐	*Valuable*	☐	*Weak*	☐	*Strong*	☐
Unhappy	☐	*Happy*	☐	*Unfriendly*	☐	*Friendly*	☐
Ugly	☐	*Attractive*	☐	*Unpleasant*	☐	*Pleasant*	☐
Insensitive	☐	*Sensitive*	☐	*Unreliable*	☐	*Reliable*	☐
Unclear	☐	*Clear*	☐	*Useless*	☐	*Useful*	☐
Harsh	☐	*Gentle*	☐	*Loud*	☐	*Soft*	☐
Slow	☐	*Fast*	☐	*Inaccurate*	☐	*Accurate*	☐

THANK YOU AGAIN VERY MUCH FOR FOR THE TIME AND EFFORT YOU HAVE PUT INTO ANSWERING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ME. I APPRECIATE IT VERY MUCH AS IT WILL HELP ME TO FIND OUT HOW WELL THE PROVISIONS THAT ARE CURRENTLY AVAILABLE MEET YOUR NEEDS FOR LEARNING ENGLISH AND MAINTAINING YOUR OWN LANGUAGE.

PLEASE RETURN THE QUESTIONNAIRE IN THE ENVELOPE PROVIDED.

- Anne Henderson.

លោកគ្រូ: អេន ហេនដឺសុន

ឆ្នាំនេះ លោកគ្រូ ធ្វើការណែនាំលោកគ្រូ ក្នុងការប្រៀបធៀបនូវ ការសិក្សា (ទ្រឹស្តី) ជាមួយនឹងការ ស្រាវជ្រាវ និងការដោះស្រាយ ភាសាអាំងហ្គ្លេស សម្រាប់ជនជាតិ មកអាស៊ីដែលអនុម័ត ដែលណា ក្នុងនាមជាគ្រូ

លោកគ្រូ ក៏ដឹងដោយការគោរពដ៏ជ្រៃជ្រៅ ដើម្បីលោកអ្នក អាចជួយ ផ្តល់យកនូវសម្ភារៈ ទាំងនេះបាន ដើម្បីជួយលោកគ្រូ ក្នុងការ ស្រាវជ្រាវរកនេះ ដើយសារសម្ភារៈ ទាំងនេះ ជាមានផ្តល់ជូនយ៉ាងច្រើន ការស្រាវជ្រាវ ដោយសារ លោកគ្រូ ដើម្បីដឹងរកឲ្យឃើញថា ភ្នំ សម្រាប់ផ្តល់ សម្រាប់ ជជ្រែក ភាសាអាំងហ្គ្លេស ដឹងការ ទក្សាទុកក្នុង ភាសាកំណត់ ដោយ លោក អ្នក ដែលលោកអ្នកចង់ បានដឹង ឲ្យបានច្បាស់ ។

សូមអរគុណ ជាមុនសិន ដែលលោក អ្នកផ្តល់ឲ្យ លោកគ្រូ: លោកគ្រូ ប្រាកដជា ជ្រាបថា ការសិក្សាលើ ឯកសារ ក្នុងកម្ពុជា ក្នុងកន្លងមក ។ ការនេះ ប្រាកដជា ការ ស្រាវជ្រាវ ទូទៅ ដែ ជ្រាប ។ ដើយសារ ការ ដឹងត្រូវ ជ្រាប: ១ អ្នកណា ដែ ក្នុងអត្ថបទ ដែលដោយ លោកគ្រូ ។

លោកគ្រូ ចង់ជូនដំណឹងដល់លោកអ្នកឲ្យ ជ្រាបថា ការ ជជ្រៀ ចេះ ។

សូមអធ្វើ ដើម្បីជា លោកគ្រូ ។ ១ លេខ ណាមួយ ដ ដែលលោកគ្រូ ដាក់ ក្នុងនេះ: ដូចជា ដែលលោក អ្នក ដាក់ សម្ភារៈ ទាំងឡាយ ទូ ដើយ ។

សូមអរគុណ ចំពោះ ការជួយ ដ ដ ដ ដ ដ ដ ដ ។ ។

ANNE HENDERSON

JUNIOR LECTURER

MASSEY UNIVERSITY

សំណួរអង្កេតប្រវត្តិរូប

1. នាម (ឯកសារស្នាម ស្រែចង្រិត) _____ សូមសរសេរ ១ ដងក្នុងក្រដាសក្រៅ
2. ក្រុម : _____
3. អាយុ : _____
4. ភេទ : ប្រុស ☐ ស្រី ☐ [សូមក្លៀសឆ្នូតតាមដាច់ ☑
5. លំនៅដ្ឋាន : _____
6. ទីកន្លែងកំណើត _____
7. រយៈពេល: ចាប់ពីពេលដែលអ្នកចាប់ផ្តើមធ្វើការ ក្នុងក្រុមហ៊ុនរោងចក្រនេះ? ឆ្នាំ _____ ខែ _____
8. តើអ្នកចូលរួមក្នុងសហជីពក្នុងក្រុមហ៊ុនរោងចក្រនេះ តាមរយៈការចុះឈ្មោះ ឬ?
   បាទ, ចាស ☐ ទេ ☐
   ដើម្បីអ្នកឆ្លើយ បាទ, ចាស តើមានអ្វីខ្លះ? ឈ្មោះ: ...
   ដើម្បីសម្រាប់អ្នក ចាំទេ តើមានអ្វីខ្លះ?
   ចាប់ពីពេលចូលរួមក្នុងសហជីពក្រុមហ៊ុនរោងចក្រនេះ?
9. ការងារ: ដែលអ្នកធ្វើការ ជាអាជីពចម្បង: ☐ ឯកជនធ្វើការ ☐ រាជការ
   ☐ ជនជាតិយួន, ការងារដៃ ☐ ផ្សេងទៀត
   ដើម្បីអ្នក: ដែលធ្វើការ តើប្រាក់ខែ ឬប្រាក់ចំណូល របស់អ្នក គិតជាលុយ ភាសាទី ១ (ភាសាកំណើត)
   ១ ខែ ... ដុល្លារ ☐ អត់ទេ ☐
10. ជនជាតិ :
   (a) តើសាសនាណាមួយ ឬសាសនាសំខាន់ របស់អ្នក ក្នុងអ្នកនៅក្នុងគ្រួសារអ្នក?
   ☐ ពុទ្ធសាសនា ☐ សាសនាគ្រិស្ត ☐ ☐ ☐
   ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
   ☐ ☐ ☐
   (b) តើសាសនាណាមួយ ចំពោះអ្នក ២ ... ?
   ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
   ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
   ☐ ☐
11. ... ?
   (a) ☐
   (b) ☐
12. ... ? ☐ ☐

13. តើអ្នកមានចំណាយលុយប៉ុន្មានសម្រាប់ការចូលរួមសកម្មភាពទាំងនេះ ដើម្បីសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវ ឬសម្រាប់ការធ្វើដំណើរទៅវិញ ? (ចំណាយលុយសម្រាប់: ក្នុងការ ដើម្បីសិក្សាអ្នកនៅផ្ទះ ដើម្បីធ្វើ)

(a) ទៅរៀនសាលា បាទ,ចាស ☐ ទេ ☐ មិនចាំបាច់ ☐

(b) ទៅការងារ បាទ,ចាស ☐ ទេ ☐ មិនចាំបាច់ ☐

14. ឆ្លើយតបដោយអ្នកឆ្លើយបាន ដូចតទៅ :

(a) ស្វែងរកព័ត៌មាន: ការងារ ដែលអ្នកឆ្លើយបានធ្វើ ដូចម្តេចខ្លះ ?

(i) ចាប់ពីពេលចូលមកក្រៅមហាវិទ្យាល័យ

(ii) ពីមុនពេលក្លាយជាមហាវិទ្យាល័យ

(b) តើការងារណាមួយ: ដែលអ្នកធ្លាប់ធ្វើ ឥឡូវនេះ ?

B. # ការរៀនសូត្រ និង ការងារ

1. តើអ្នកចូលសិក្សានៅក្នុងសាលាអ្នកអាយុប៉ុន្មានឆ្នាំ? _____
2. តើអ្នកលាក់ខ្លួនសិក្សានៅពេលអ្នកអាយុប៉ុន្មានឆ្នាំ? _____
3. តើអ្នកចំណាយអស់ពេលប៉ុន្មានម៉ោងក្នុងការសិក្សារៀងរាល់ថ្ងៃ? _____
4. តើអ្នកធ្លាប់បានទទួលសញ្ញាបត្រអ្វីខ្លះ? _____

5. (a) ក្នុងរយៈពេលការងារចុងក្រោយ តើអ្នកធ្លាប់ធ្វើការនៅកន្លែងណា?

- ☐ ការិយាល័យ — ១០យ៉ាងពីរោះ ដែលអ្នកធ្លាប់ធ្វើ? _____
- ☐ ផ្ទះរបស់ជនជាតិ _____
- ☐ សាលា _____
- ☐ ផ្ទះ _____

(b) តើអ្នកធ្លាប់ធ្វើការងារអ្វីខ្លះ (ប៉ុន្មានខ្លះ) ដែលអ្នកធ្លាប់ធ្វើ? _____

(c) តើសញ្ញាបត្រអ្វីខ្លះ ដែលអ្នកធ្លាប់ទទួល? _____

6. តើអ្នកចង់ប្តូរ ឬកែលម្អ ការងារបច្ចុប្បន្ន ដោយការសិក្សាបន្ថែមដែរឬទេ?

(a) ចង់ ☐ ទេ ☐

(b) តើអ្នកចង់ធ្វើការងារប្រភេទណា ?

(c) ហេតុអ្វីបានជាអ្នកចង់ធ្វើការងារនេះ ?

7. ចាប់ពីការសិក្សារៀនមក តើអ្នកដឹងពីការលំបាកអ្វីខ្លះ ?

- ☐ ការលំបាកក្នុងការសិក្សា
- ☐ ការចាកចេញពីគ្រួសារ
- ☐ ខ្វះ លុយ
- ☐ ត្រូវការធ្វើការ
- ☐ ធ្វើការយូរម៉ោងពេក
- ☐ ចំណាយពេលច្រើនធ្វើដំណើរ
- ☐ ការមានសញ្ញាបត្រមិនគ្រប់គ្រាន់
- ☐ ការលំបាកក្នុងការរៀនភាសាអង់គ្លេស

..

ចំណេះដឹងភាសា

1. តើភាសាអ្វីដែលអ្នកភាសារបស់ អ្នក ? (ភាសាកំណើត)
2. តើកម្រិតលុះប៉ុណ្ណាដែលអ្នកអាចអាន ភាសានេះ ?

   ល្អណាស់ ☐ ល្អមធ្យម ☐ មធ្យមបន្តិច ☐ អត់គេះ ☐

3. តើកម្រិតល្អប៉ុណ្ណា ដែលអ្នកអាចសរសេរភាសានេះ ?

   ល្អណាស់ ☐ ល្អមធ្យម ☐ មធ្យមបន្តិច ☐ អត់គេះ ☐

4. តើអាងភាសាផ្សេងណាខ្លះ ផ្សេងដែលអ្នកអាចនិយាយ ? ឬ ក៏យល់ ?

ឈ្មោះ: ភាសា	អាចនិយាយ ណាស់	ល្អ	មធ្យម	យល់ ណាស់	ល្អ	មធ្យម
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5. តើភាសាផ្សេងណាខ្លះ ផ្សេងដែលអ្នក អាច អាន និងសរសេរ ?

ឈ្មោះ: ភាសា	អានបានណាស់	ល្អ	មធ្យម	សរសេរ ណាស់	ល្អ	មធ្យម
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. តើអ្នកផ្ទៃភាសា ទាំងនេះ ដូចម្តេច ?

ឈ្មោះ: ភាសា	ដាច់ខុះ	ដាច់	ដាច់ខ្លាំងណាស់
	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐

7. ភាសាណាមួយណាខ្លះ ដែលអ្នក ចង់ដឹង ?

ដាច់ខុះ ចាប់យកមុខ ១ ១ ... _____
ដាច់ ... _____
ដាច់ ... _____
ដាច់ ... _____
ដាច់ ... _____
ចាប់យកមុខ ... _____
ចាប់យកមុខ ... _____
ដាច់ ... _____
ដាច់ ... _____

8. តើអ្នកមានផ្តល់យោបល់ណាមួយបែបណាខ្លះ ចំពោះរបបរដ្ឋាភិបាលកម្ពុជា ក្នុងការដោះស្រាយ

	យល់ច្បាស់	យល់ច្រើន	យល់តិច	គ្មាន	ដោយសារ
សៅរ៉ូ	☐	☐	☐	☐	
សកម្មភាពជ្រើសរើស	☐	☐	☐	☐	១ចំណុចដែលអ្នកចូលចិត្ត
សៅសាល	☐	☐	☐	☐	

9. តើអ្នក បានស្នើសុំសៅសាលាឃុំ ឬក្រុមការងារ ឲ្យជួយ ដោះស្រាយករណីដីធ្លីនេះ?

បាន, ធ្លាប់ ☐ ទេ ☐

10. ដើម្បីដោះស្រាយតវ៉ានៅទីណា យើងគួរ ចំណាយពេលប៉ុន្មានខែសម្រាប់ការស្នើសុំ?

	ឆ្នាំ	ខែ	សប្តាហ៍
សៅសាលាបឋមសិក្សា	____	____	____
សៅសាលាមធ្យមសិក្សា	____	____	____
សាលាបណ្តុះទេស	____	____	____
ទីស្នាក់ការស្រុក	____	____	____
ក្រុមប្រឹក្សាខេត្ត	____	____	____
ក្នុងទីណាផ្សេង (សូមបញ្ជាក់)			

11. តើអ្នកធ្លាប់ជួបប្រទះ ការលំបាកអំឡុងពេលដោះស្រាយ ឬទេ? បាន ☐ ធ្លាប់ ☐ មិនធ្លាប់ ☐

ដោះស្រាយតាមរយៈ _____

យើងគួរចំណាយពេលប៉ុន្មាន _____ ឆ្នាំ _____ ខែ

12. តើភាពអាម៉ាស់ដែលអ្នក ជួបប្រទះ ដោយសារតែ ការដោះស្រាយ ករណីដីធ្លីនេះ?

	ច្រើនណាស់	ច្រើន	ធ្លាប់	តិចណាស់	គ្មាន
អាចយល់ពីការខាតបង់ផលិតកម្ម	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ការផ្តន្ទា	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ការមាន	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ការសរសើរ	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

13. តើភាពអាម៉ាស់ដែលអ្នក ជួបប្រទះ ដោយសារ ការដោះស្រាយ ករណីដីធ្លីនេះ?

	ច្រើនណាស់	ច្រើន	ធ្លាប់	តិចណាស់	គ្មាន
អាចយល់ពីការខាតបង់ផលិតកម្ម	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ការផ្តន្ទា	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ការមាន	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ការសរសើរ	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

14. តើមានមួយណាជាការលំបាករបស់អ្នក - អាចយល់ពីការខាតបង់ផលិតកម្ម - អាចដោះ
ស្រាយ - អាចមាន ឬសរសើរ ឬទេ (សូមជ្រើសរើសចម្លើយ ១ ទៅ ៤ នេះ)

ការស្តាប់ ☐ ការផ្តន្ទា ☐ ការមាន ☐ ការសរសើរ ☐

ចំណេះដឹងភាសាអង់គ្លេសរបស់អ្នកក្នុងពេលបច្ចុប្បន្នមានកម្រិតណា: សូមគូសតែមួយ.

	បាន ល្អ	ទេ	[illegible]
ស្តាប់បានយល់ច្បាស់: នៅក្នុងកម្មវិធីផ្សាយ	☐	☐	☐
ដែលចាក់ផ្សាយ ...	☐	☐	☐
អ្នក និង អ្នកនិយាយ	☐	☐	☐
សៀវភៅ ... នៅសាលា/ មជ្ឈមណ្ឌលបណ្តុះគរុកោសល្យ / មហាវិទ្យាល័យ	☐	☐	☐
អ្នក ... បានល្អ:	☐	☐	☐
អ្នកធ្លាប់រៀន ... ដែលបានយកភាសាអង់គ្លេស ...	☐	☐	☐

6. តើអ្នកបានរៀនភាសាអង់គ្លេសនៅក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជារយៈពេលប៉ុន្មាន?

ទីកន្លែង	ឆ្នាំចូលរៀន	រយៈពេល ឆ្នាំ	ខែ	ចេះខ្លះ/ចេះតែច្រើន
(a) នៅ គ្រូបង្រៀនឯកជន ម៉ោងពិសេស				
(b) ឪពុកម្តាយ បង្រៀននៅផ្ទះ				
(c) សាលាកុមារដ្ឋាន (...)				
(d) សាលា បឋមសិក្សា				
(e) សាលា មធ្យមសិក្សា (ពេលព្រឹក)				
(f) សាលា អនុវិទ្យាល័យ (ពេលយប់ ឬពេលទំនេរ)				
(g) វិទ្យាស្ថាន បណ្តុះគរុកោសល្យ (ពេលថ្ងៃ)				
(h) វិទ្យាស្ថាន បណ្តុះគរុកោសល្យ (ពេលយប់)				
(i) វិទ្យាស្ថាន សិក្សា ភាសាអង់គ្លេស				
(j) មហាវិទ្យាល័យ				
(k) ទីណាផ្សេងទៀត				

7. តើវិធីបង្រៀនណាមួយ ដែលបំពេញសេចក្តីត្រូវការរបស់អ្នកបានល្អ

បង្រៀនអ្នកនូវជំនាញជាមូលដ្ឋានក្នុងភាសាអង់គ្លេស ____

ការបង្រៀនតាមគ្រូ ____

ការប្រើពេលវេលា សម្រាប់តាមការចង់របស់អ្នក ____

8. តើអ្នកមានគំនិតយ៉ាងណាចំពោះរបៀបរៀន ក្នុងវិធីបង្រៀន និងរៀនភាសានេះ អ្នកចង់ឱ្យប្រើវិធីបង្រៀនណាមួយផ្សេងទៀត?

ក្នុងចំណោមខាងក្រោម:

(a) ... ដែលអាចធ្វើបាន ☐

(b) វិធីបង្រៀន ... : (ការរៀនតាមប្រធាន) ☐ (ការរៀនទ្រឹស្តី) ☐

(c) វិធីបង្រៀន ... ម្នាក់ៗ ...) ☐

(d) ... នៅក្នុងកន្លែងធ្វើការ ☐

(e) ... ការរៀនយប់ទៀត ☐

(f) ការរៀនទាំងពីរភាសា (ភាសាខ្មែរ និង ភាសាអង់គ្លេស) ☐

(g) វិធីផ្សេងទៀត (សូមបញ្ជាក់) ....

....

1. តើអ្នកបានដំណឹងពីជំងឺរៅ អាស៊ីតូអ៊ីតមកពីណា?

- ជាមួយគ្រួសារ ☐
- សៅ ☐
- តាមរយៈការយល់ឃើញ ☐
- ការងារ ☐
- តាមសារព័ត៌មានវិទ្យុ ☐
- ក្នុងមន្ទីរពេទ្យ ☐
- ផ្សេងទៀត: ..

2. ដើម្បីការពារកូនបានកុងតាមរយៈការចាក់ថ្នាំ តើគេចាប់ផ្តើមចាក់ថ្នាំតាមវ៉ាក់សាំងកាលណា?

ឈ្មោះ: កូន	អាយុ: ១	២	៣	៤	៥
	☐	☐	☐	☐	
	☐	☐	☐	☐	
	☐	☐	☐	☐	
	☐	☐	☐	☐	
	☐	☐	☐	☐	
	☐	☐	☐	☐	

1. តើមានការណែនាំអ្វីខ្លះទៅកាន់អ្នកចាំឲ្យកូនអ្នកលេងទេ?

- ២ខែមុន _____
- ១ឆ្នាំ _____
- លើសពីនេះ _____

1. ការអាន:

	ជាដាច់	ស្ទើរតែ	កម្រណាស់	មិនចេះ
(a) តើអ្នកអាចសរសេរចម្លងនូវការកត់ត្រារបស់អ្នកទេ?	☐	☐	☐	☐
(b) តើអ្នកអាចចម្លងការកត់ត្រារបស់អ្នកវិញបានទេ?	☐	☐	☐	☐
(c) តើអ្នកអាចកត់ត្រាការណ៍ដែលកើតមានដល់ខ្លួនអ្នកបានទេ?	☐	☐	☐	☐
(d) តើអ្នកអាចសរសេរចម្លងការណ៍ដែលមានក្នុងសៀវភៅ ?	☐	☐	☐	☐
(e) តើអ្នកអាចចម្លងការណ៍ដែលមានក្នុងកាតបានទេ?	☐	☐	☐	☐
(f) តើអ្នកអាចកត់ត្រាការណ៍ដែលមានក្នុងកាតបានទេ?	☐	☐	☐	☐
(g) តើអ្នកចេះសរសេរនៅបណ្ណាល័យសាធារណៈបានទេ?	☐	☐	☐	☐

3. តើអ្នកអាចទៅសាលារៀនបានទេ? មិន ☐ ធម្មតា ☐

តើអ្នកមើលទូរទស្សន៍ប៉ុន្មានម៉ោងក្នុងមួយថ្ងៃ _____

4. តើអ្នកមានសមាជិកគ្រួសារបានចូលក្រុមជំនួយ ឬក្រុមណាមួយទេ? ☐ ធម្មតា ☐ មិនមាន

ដើម្បីអ្វីខ្លះ?

- ក្រុមជំនួយ ☐ _____
- ក្រុមនៃការសន្សំជាមួយ ☐ _____
- ក្រុមជាតិ ☐ _____
- ក្នុងមន្ទីរពេទ្យ ☐ _____

ដើម្បីអ្នកចង់ដឹងច្បាស់ម្តងទៀត តើអ្នកនឹងស្រាវជ្រាវអត្ថន័យដែលអ្នកដឹងល្អបំផុត ចំពោះ អ្នកដឹ

5. ដោយយោងទៅ ភាសារបស់ក្នុងគ្រួសារដែលអ្នករស់នៅជាមួយនេះ ដឹងមានកម្រិតដោយណា?

ល្អណាស់ ☐ ណាស់ ☐ មានខ្លះ ☐ កម្រណាស់ ☐ មិនដឹងទេ ☐

6. តើអ្នកយល់ឃើញណា ចំពោះ អត្ថន័យ.ការដើរតួតាមតួអក្ষរ ដើម្បីនៅតែនិយាយ ជ្រើស - ឃ្លាន - ដេ

ជាច , ចាស ☐ ទេ ☐ ដឹងច្បាស់ ☐ ល្អ

ចុងបញ្ចប់ :

7. នេះជាតារាងនៃពាក្យដែលអ្នកអានជ្រើសរាប់ រៀបរាប់ទាក់ទងនឹងអត្ថន័យ ?

(a) ក្នុងចំណោមពាក្យណាខ្លះ ដែលអ្នកយល់ថាល្អ ទាក់ទងនឹងការកត្តា: អត្ថន័យ/តាមដានលក្ខ

ដឹងល្អ	☐	ល្អ	☐				
ដឹងតិចតួចណាស់	☐	សប្បាយ	☐	ស្រស់ ស្អាត	☐	ស្អាត	☐
ដឹងរាក់ទាក់	☐	រាក់ទាក់	☐	ក្តៅក្តុត	☐	ក្តៅក្រហាយ	☐
ដឹងច្បាស់ណាស់	☐	ច្បាស់ ណាស់	☐	ដូច អាក្រក់	☐	ដូចល្អ	☐
ដឹងក្តីរីករាយ	☐	ក្តីរីករាយ	☐	ដឹងត្រាក់ដ្ឋើ	☐	ដេរ ឆាវ	☐
គ្មានប្រយោជន៍	☐	ឯកតាដ្ឋ	☐	អាក្រក់	☐	ស្ងួតបាត់ដូច	☐

(b) ក្នុងចំណោមពាក្យទាំងនេះ តើអ្នកយល់យ៉ាងណាអំពីអត្ថន័យ ដូចតទៅ ?

ដឹងល្អ	☐	ល្អ	☐				
ដឹងតិចតួចណាស់	☐	សប្បាយ	☐	ស្ងប់ ស្ងុត	☐	ស្ងាត	☐
ដឹងរាក់ទាក់	☐	រាក់ទាក់	☐	ក្តៅក្តុត	☐	ក្តៅក្រហាយ	☐
ដឹងច្បាស់ណាស់	☐	ច្បាស់ណាស់	☐	ដូចអាក្រក់	☐	ដូចល្អ	☐
ដឹងក្តីរីករាយ	☐	ក្តីរីករាយ	☐	ដឹងឆេវ ឆាវ	☐	ដេរ ឆាវ	☐
គ្មានប្រយោជន៍	☐	ឯកតាដ្ឋ	☐	អាក្រក់	☐	ស្ងួត	☐

ជាចុងបញ្ចប់នេះ សូមជ្រើសពាក្យណាខ្លះ ដែលតំណាង ចំពោះអ្នកឱ្យតំណាងដោយ ភាសាក្នុងគ្រួ

(c)

គ្មានប្រយោជន៍	☐	ឯកប្រយោជន៍	☐	ល្អណាស់	☐	ស្ងប់ស្ងុត	☐
ដឹងតិចតួចណាស់	☐	សប្បាយ	☐	ដឹងរាក់ទាក់	☐	រាក់ទាក់	☐
អាក្រក់	☐	ក្តីរីករាយ	☐	ក្តៅ	☐	ក្តីរីករាយ	☐
ដឹងមួយ (ទាត់,ណាប់)	☐	ក្តីសារមួយ	☐	ដឹងក្តីរីករាយ	☐	ក្តីរីករាយ	☐
ដឹងច្បាស់ណាស់	☐	ច្បាស់ ណាស់	☐	ដឹងតូចតាច	☐	ស្ងៀមស្ងាត់	☐
ដឹងតិចតួចណាស់	☐	ណែន តិចតួច	☐	១ ម្តង	☐	ទាត់ ក្រាត់	☐
យ៉ាងៗ	☐	ញាក់	☐	ដឹងតម្លៃ	☐	ទម្លាក់	☐

នាងខ្ញុំ សូមថ្លែងអំណរគុណ ម្តងទៀត ចំពោះ លោក អ្នក ដែលបានចំណាយពេលវេលា ឆ្លើយ នូវសំណួរទាំងឡាយ របស់នាងខ្ញុំនេះ ។
នាងខ្ញុំ មានសេចក្តីត្រេកអរ និងយល់ច្បាស់ណាស់ នូវសណ្តានចិត្ត របស់លោក អ្នក ក្នុងការជួយជ្រោមជ្រែង នាងខ្ញុំ ដ៏ស្មោះ និងការរក នូវអ្វីដែលមានការ ផ្តល់ឲ្យ លោក អ្នក រៀនភាសារបស់ខ្លួនហើយ បកចេញតែក្រុមអ្នក ! ភាសារបស់លោក អ្នក ផ្ទាល់ ទៀតផងនោះ ។

សូមមេត្តាផ្ញើទៅនាងខ្ញុំវិញ នូវសំណួរទាំងឡាយនេះ តាមស្រោមសំបុត្រ ដែលនាងខ្ញុំបានភ្ជាប់មកជាមួយស្រាប់ហើយនោះ ។

Anne Henderson.

GENERAL BACKGROUND QUESTIONS.

AGE: ____

SEX: Male / Female

Nationality: _____

Place of birth: _____

How long have you been in New Zealand? Years____ months____

Would you like to return to your home country if the political situation was different? (Don't answer this question if you don't want to.)

(a) to live Yes ☐ No ☐ Not sure ☐

(b) to visit Yes ☐ No ☐ Not sure ☐

SCHOOLING AND EDUCATION.

Class / form: _____

Previous education: Primary school ____ years

Secondary school ____ years

Educational qualifications: _____

What subject(s) do you find the easiest? _____

_____

What subject(s) do you find the most difficult? _____

_____

What do you want to do when you leave school?

_____

_____

LANGUAGE QUESTIONS.

What is your first (own) language? _____

How well do you speak this language?

Very well ☐ Quite well ☐ A little ☐ None ☐

Can you read in this language?

Very well ☐ Quite well ☐ A little ☐ None ☐

Can you write in this language?

Very well ☐ Quite well ☐ A little ☐ None ☐

How important is this language to you?

Very important ☐ Important ☐ Not very important ☐ Not impotant at a

Would you like to learn your first (own) language: (tick one box only)

In school ☐ At home ☐

After school ☐ Not at all ☐

What other languages can you speak or understand when spoken?

Name of Language:	(a) SPEAK IT Very well	Quite well	A little	(b) UNDERSTAND IT WHEN SPOKEN Very well	Quite well	A little
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Name of Language:	(c) READ IT Very well	Quite well	A little	(d) WRITE IT Very well	Quite well	A little
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Where did you learn these other languages?

Name of language:	At home	At school	Other (say whe
_____	☐	☐	_____
_____	☐	☐	_____
_____	☐	☐	_____
_____	☐	☐	_____

Are there any other languages that you would like to learn?

To speak _____

To read _____

To write _____

What do you think is the attitude of other New Zealand people towards you when you use a language other than English ?

	Approve	Don't care	Disapprove	Some care, others dor
Teachers	☐	☐	☐	☐ c
Students	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other people	☐	☐	☐	☐

What language (or languages) do you usually use:

At home to your parents _____

At home to your brothers and sisters _____

At home to other relations _____

At school to your friends _____

For thinking about school work _____

For thinking about other things _____

Did you learn any English before coming to New Zealand?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If YES, where did you learn it and for about how long?

	Years	Months	Weeks
At primary school	____	____	____
At secondary school	____	____	____
At home	____	____	____
At a refugee camp	____	____	____

Somewhere else (say where) _____

_____

How good was your English when you arrived in New Zealand?

	Very good	Good	O.K.	Poor	None
Understanding of spoken English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Speaking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Reading	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Writing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

How good is your English now?

	Very good	Good	O.K.	Poor	None
Understanding of spoken English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Speaking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Reading	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Writing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Which do you think is the most important for you: being able to understand spoken English, being able to speak it, read it or write it ?

(number the boxes from 1 to 4.)

Understanding spoken English ☐ Speaking ☐ Reading ☐ Writing ☐

6. Do you borrow books from : (a) your school library Yes ☐ No ☐
(b) the Public Library Yes ☐ No ☐

7. About how many hours each day do you watch TV? _____

8. Do you belong to any clubs or organisations? Yes ☐ No ☐

If YES, what sort are they? And what language(s) do you use there?

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

9. If you wanted information would you ask a stranger even though you knew you mig make mistakes with your English?

Always ☐ Often ☐ Sometimes ☐ Rarely ☐ Never ☐

HERE IS A LIST OF WORDS THAT CAN BE USED TO DESCRIBE PEOPLE.
TICK THOSE WHICH YOU FEEL BEST DESCRIBE YOUR OWN PEOPLE/ETHNIC GROUP

Bad	☐	*Good*	☐				
Unhappy	☐	*Happy*	☐	*Dumb*	☐	*Clever*	☐
Unfriendly	☐	*Friendly*	☐	*Unpleasant*	☐	*Pleasant*	☐
Aggressive	☐	*Shy*	☐	*Unkind*	☐	*Kind*	☐
Unreliable	☐	*Reliable*	☐	*Insensitive*	☐	*Sensitive*	☐
Worthless	☐	*Valuable*	☐	*Ugly*	☐	*Attractive*	☐

NOW TICK THOSE YOU FEEL BEST DESCRIBE NEW ZEALANDERS.

Bad	☐	*Good*	☐				
Unhappy	☐	*Happy*	☐	*Dumb*	☐	*Clever*	☐
Unfriendly	☐	*Friendly*	☐	*Unpleasant*	☐	*Pleasant*	☐
Aggressive	☐	*Shy*	☐	*Unkind*	☐	*Kind*	☐
Unreliable	☐	*Reliable*	☐	*Insensitive*	☐	*Sensitive*	☐
Worthless	☐	*Valuable*	☐	*Ugly*	☐	*Attractive*	☐

FINALLY TICK THOSE THAT BEST DESCRIBE THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

Worthless	☐	*Valuable*	☐	*Weak*	☐	*Strong*	☐
Unhappy	☐	*Happy*	☐	*Unfriendly*	☐	*Friendly*	☐
Ugly	☐	*Attractive*	☐	*Unpleasant*	☐	*Pleasant*	☐
Insensitive	☐	*Sensitive*	☐	*Unreliable*	☐	*Reliable*	☐
Unclear	☐	*Clear*	☐	*Useless*	☐	*Useful*	☐
Harsh	☐	*Gentle*	☐	*Loud*	☐	*Soft*	☐
Slow	☐	*Fast*	☐	*Inaccurate*	☐	*Accurate*	☐

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR THE TIME YOU HAVE TAKEN TO ANSWER THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

INSTITUTION QUESTIONNAIRE

PLEASE TICK BOXES ✓ OR PROVIDE WRITTEN ANSWERS AS APPROPRIATE

1. Name of institution: _____

2. Level of education:

   preschool ☐ primary ☐

   intermediate ☐ secondary ☐

   other(please specify) _____

3. Staff numbers: Full-time ..... Part-time .....

4. Total 1985 enrolment of students in your institution:

   Full-time ..... Part-time .....

5. How many of these students are:

	Full-time	Part-time
Total South-east Asian refugees		
- Khmer		
- Vietnamese		
- Chinese		
- Lao		
Other ESL students (bracket if estimated)		

6. Is English as a Second Language (ESL) taught at your institution?

   Yes ☐ No ☐

7. If your answer to question 6 was yes :

   (a) When was ESL instruction first introduced? .....

   (b) Is it taught by:

		How many?
Full-time specialist ESL teachers	☐	.....
Part-time specialist ESL teachers	☐	.....
Remedial reading teachers	☐	.....
Classroom teachers	☐	.....
Volunteer tutors	☐	.....
Others (please specify)		.....

   (c) How are these ESL classes organised?

		No. of students invol
Reception class(es)	☐	.....
Withdrawal from English classes	☐	.....
Withdrawal from other subjects	☐	.....
ESL integrated with regular classroom teaching	☐	.....
Correspondence school work	☐	.....
Other (please Specify)		.....

...2

8. How much interaction is there between ESL specialists and regular class or subject teachers?

(Same teacher [ ]) frequent [ ] some [ ] little or none [ ]

9. What is the general attitude of teachers of regular classes towards:

(a) the transfer of ESL students from a reception class into their classes?

Question not applicable (N.A.) [ ]

favourable [ ] neutral [ ] unfavourable [ ]

(b) the withdrawal of students of ESL tuition? Question N.A. [ ]

favourable [ ] neutral [ ] unfavourable [ ]

Additional comments: .....

.....

.....

10. If there is no provision for ESL, is this because:

Not seen as necessary

Not seen as desirable

Administrative reasons please specify: .....

.....

.....

11. Does yor institution make any special provisions for ESL students with no previous schooling?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes, please outline: .....

.....

.....

12. Are any special arrangements made for ESL examination candidates?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes, please outline: .....

.....

.....

13. FIRST LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE & DEVELOPMENT:

(a) Is there any provision for first language maintenance and developme in your institution?

Yes | | No | |

(b) If yes, what languages are taught and what form does this teaching take?

(c) If no, would you like to see some first language programmes introduced?

Yes | | No | |

(d) What are the biggest problems facing the introduction of first language programmes?

---

14. To what extent do current language (ESL & First Language) programmes meet the needs of your South-east Asian students?

Very well | | Quite well | | Not very well | |

15. Are there any things that particularly concern you or that you would like to see developed for these students?

(4) QUESTIONNAIRE TO POLYTECHNICS, COMMUNITY COLLEGES:

Please tick boxes or provide written answers as appropriate.
If any questions are not applicable to your institution, please mark N/A.
If numbers can only be estimated, please mark with an asterisk (*).

1. Name of institution: _____

2. Staff numbers (to date 1985): Total Full-time _____ Part-time _____
   ESL Full-time _____ Part-time _____

3. Student numbers (to date 1985): Total Full-time _____ Part-time _____

4. ESL (English as a Second Language) courses offered by institution:

	Currently offered	No longer offered.	Year 1st offered.	No. co t
(a) ESL full-time				
(b) ESL part-time - day classes				
(c) ESL part-time - night classes				
(d) ESL short/block courses				
(e) Migrant STEPS /YPTP / ARP programmes				
(f) Home tutor training courses				
(g) Others (please specify)				
_____				
_____				
_____				
_____				

5. Please give a brief description of these ESL-related courses:
   (title, content, funding, staffing, student numbers, etc):
   (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (v)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(please continue on reverse of page if more space needed) PTO ...2

. Are language development/maintenance courses offered in any of the following languages?

	Course length	No. of classes	No. of stud
Vietnamese			
Khmer			
Lao			
Thai			
Chinese (Mandarin)			
Chinese (Cantonese)			
Other migrant languages (please specify) _____			

. Are any South-east Asian refugees enrolled in courses other than language course:

Yes [ ] No. [ ]

If Yes, please specify courses and numbers of South-east Asian students:

_____

_____

_____

_____

. Is any special ESL help made available to these students?

Yes [ ] No [ ] Sometimes [ ]

Please specify: _____

_____

To what extent do courses currently offered meet the needs of South-east Asian and other students whose first language is not English?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

. Are there any things that particularly concern you regarding these students, or courses that you would like to see developed, discontinued or altered to better meet their needs?

PLEASE TICK BOXES [✓] OR PROVIDE WRITTEN ANSWERS AS APPROPRIATE.

1. Name of institution: _____

2. Sex of teacher: Male [ ] Female [ ]

3. Teacher training:

(a) Highest educational qualification: _____

(b) Specialised teacher training: Kindergarten [ ]
Primary [ ]
Secondary [ ]
No formal training [ ]

4. (c) ESL training: University (please specify) _____
Teachers College " _____
Other (please specify) _____
No special ESL training [ ]

4. Do you speak any languages other than English? Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes, which language(s)? _____

(If one of these is your mother tongue/first language, please circle i

5. Are you employed as

a classroom or subject teacher [ ]
a part-time subject teacher [ ]
a full-time ESL teacher [ ]
a part-time ESL teacher [ ]
a remedial reading teacher [ ]
a voluntary tutor [ ]
other(s), please specify ____
_____

6. Including this year, how many years of teaching experience have you had?

	All subjects	Involved with ESL
Full-time	_____ years	_____ years
Part-time	_____ years	_____ years

7. Where do you tutor?

In the classroom [ ]
On a withdrawal basis [ ]
Other [ ] Please specify _____
_____

8. Class, Withdrawal and other special ESL tutoring.
Level, numbers of students in each group and hours per week of tuition:

(a)	Level: _____	No. of students: _____	Hours per week: _____
(b)	_____	_____	_____
(c)	_____	_____	_____
(d)	_____	_____	_____
(e)	_____	_____	_____
(f)	_____	_____	_____
(g)	_____	_____	_____

9. Do you do any other ESL teaching not included above? _____

PTO ...2

10. How many students from each ethnic group do you teach?

Khmer	Lao
Vietnamese	Polish or Chilean refugees
Chinese Cambodian	Pacific Islanders
Chinese Vietnamese	Others

11. In your opinion, what are the main language needs of South-east Asian students in your institution?

12. What are the main aims of your language programme for these students?

13. What methods are used to achieve these aims?

(a) Organisation:

(b) Teaching techniques, methods:

(c) Materials, textbooks:

(d) Activities:

PTO ... 3

14. Do any of the following issues concern you? (mark answer on 5 point scale)

	No concern		Some concern		A major conc
	1	2	3	4	5
Location of room					
Manageability of class size					
Adequate time for programme					
Enough textbooks / resources					
Adequate staff support					
Programme meeting needs of students					

Please comment on any other issues you are concerned about regarding your South-eas Asian students.... and expand on the above if you wish.

15. How far, in your opinion, are the language needs of ESL students in general, and South-east Asian students in particular, met within the overall programme offered to them?

(6) HOME TUTOR COORDINATOR QUESTIONNAIRE

Area controlled: .....

How long have you held your current coordinator's position? _____

By what educational authority are you employed? _____

What are your conditions of employment? (eg. length of appointment, point of teach office facilities, hours, assistance provided)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Total number of South-east Asian refugees currently in your area: _____
How many refugees have left the area in a secondary migration movement? (Please give ethnic groups and destinations if known.) _____

_____

(* if estim

Number of students currently being tutored: Kampuchean _____

Vietnamese _____

Lao _____

Others _____

TOTAL _____

Number of students awaiting a tutor: _____

Total number of tutors currently teaching: _____.

Home Tutor Training:

(a) How many training sessions have been organised in your area? _____

(b) How many tutors have been trained in total? _____

(c) How are tutor training programmes organised? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(d) Is there any follow-up to training sessions? _____

_____

_____

10. How often do tutors contact you with problems?

often sometimes rarely never varies greatly

11. What are the main issues that tutors ask for help with? _____

_____

_____

_____

12. How are problems that occur in home tutoring usually resolved? _____

_____

_____

13. Contact time:

How much time do you spend in : (a) tutor contact (after the initial trai
programme)? _____

(b) student contact? _____

14. How well do you think the home tutor programme operates? Have you made any ch
in the way you coordinate it? Would you like to see any other changes?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX 2.

CUMMINS' THRESHOLD AND DEVELOPMENTAL INTERDEPENDENCE HYPOTHESES.

Threshold Hypothesis

The threshold hypothesis (Cummins,1976,1978) proposes that there are two "threshold" levels of linguistic proficiency. The first must be reached in order to avoid the negative cognitive effects of bilingualism which accompany low levels of proficiency in both languages, the second in orderto benefit from the positive cognitive effects which come with higher levels of proficiency in two languages. The threshold hypothesis is seen to be relevant only to long-term effects of bilingualism on cognitive functioning as the short-term effects of bilingualism are seen to be effects of the second language learning experience itself (Cummins,c1984). Unfortunately, as with problems in establishing levels of communicative competence, minimum requirements vary according to the child's stage of cognitive development and the academic demands of schooling so no explicit measure of what constitutes "high" and "low" levels of bilingual proficiency and therefore absolute quantification of the two thresholds is available. The long-term effects of bilingualism on cognitive and academic progress are, however, identified as "a function of the type of bilingual proficiency developed by the individual .. (which is)..largely determined by the social and educational context." (Cummins,c1984:64-65)

Early findings of negative results from bilingualism (as reviewed in Darcy,1953 and Ilams,1976) can be explained by the fact that the minority children studied failed to reach a level of proficiency in their two languages where they could start to benefit from bilingualism. Those operating below the first threshold are affected by what was once seen, after Jespersen, as a "balance effect" - increases in one language being offset by losses in the other for all bilinguals (eg Macnamara,1966) but now is more commonly seen in terms of the complex interrelationship of a bilingual's two languages, as in Cummins' Think Tank Model(Cummins,1981), with some identifiable as

"semilinguals" who have received inadequate stimulation in either language and therefore can function cognitively and academically adequately in neither (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa,1976; Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas,1977; Skutnabb-Kangas,c1983). Such students will not be able to cope with requirements of the academic system and may well also be caught between two cultures and so may suffer from anomie (Lambert,1963; Tucker & d'Anglejan,1971).

Summarising research findings on bilingual education, particularly those from the immersion programme in Canada, Cummins (1979:232) concludes that initial research findings support his view that "the level of linguistic competence attained by bilingual children may act as an intervening variable in mediating the effects of bilingualism on their cognitive and academic development", underlining the value of a threshold hypothesis.

Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis

A second hypothesis, related to the threshold hypothesis, was developed in 1979 (Cummins,1978a,1979). This developmental interdependence hypothesis proposes that the development of competence in a second language is in part a function of the type of competence that has already been developed in the first language at the time when intensive exposure to the second language begins. Formally stated (where Lx = the mother tongue, and Ly = the second language):

> To the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly.
> (Cummins,1984:143)

Drawing on Toukomaa and Skutnabb-Kangas's (1977) work Cummins (1979) claims that if a child is thrust into a second language learning situation without support for the mother tongue, development of the mother tongue will slow down, leaving the child without adequate language development to attain a threshold level in the second language.

He supports this claim through an analysis of research findings on bilingualism and uses his hypothesis to explain some of the apparently contradictory results of the research reviewed in Darcy (1953) and Ilams (1976)and more recent findings. Data from immersion programmes in Canada suggest that the home backgrounds of middle class majority language provide the prerequisites for the acquisition of literacy skills and that these skills are easily transferred from one language to another. A UNESCO report on the the linguistic development of Finnish immigrant children attending Swedish comprehensive school found "that those who have best preserved their mother tongue are also best in Swedish" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976:48). Whereas children of 7 or 8 years of age exhibited serious disturbance after the move and, with those who moved before starting school, ran the greatest risk of becoming semilingual, children who migrated at 10 years of age had already developed to the abstract level in their mother tongue and so were able to quickly tranfer these skills to Swedish. Contrary results on the educational difficulties of older immigrant children in Canada reported by Ramsay and Wright (1974) are explained by Cummins in terms of different educational experiences in the mother country before migration; where the mother tongue stopped developing before the abstract phase was reached educational potential may be obstructed. The mother tongue is seen as functionally significant in the developmental process.

Interdependence is seen to reflect the cross-linguistic dimensions of language proficiency through the existence of a common underlying proficiency (eg Cummins 1981,1984a,1984b). Cummins (1984a) reviews a wide range of research findings which support his view that where minority language students are academically at risk promotion of proficiency in L1 is an effective means of developing the conceptual and academic foundation required for the acquisition of literacy in English. This raises questions regarding the value of initial instruction in the mother tongue and maintenance programmes in societies where the mother tongue is not the dominant language.

Cummins finds "a lack of any simple relationship between instructional time spent through the medium of a language and achievement in that

language" (1979:246). In fact, in a situation of additive bilingualism, developmental interdependency results in a positive transfer of skills from one language to the other no matter which language is first used for schooling. Delaying the introduction of literacy skills in the first language (L1) in immersion situations, where L1 is the dominant language, and initial literacy and instruction through L1 for minority language students are seen to have no detrimental effects on the development of literacy skills in L1 or L2 respectively. Rather, considered to be of particular importance for the development of literacy skills are the following: (a) semantic prerequisites of vocabulary-concept knowledge, (b) metalinguistic insights and (c) decontextualised knowledge, which in a subtractive bilingual situation are more easily and effectively developed through a child's first language and then transferred to the second, dominant language.

APPENDIX 3.

Table 10.1 Attitudes by age groups.

	ATTITUDE										
	not interested	lack time	reluctant	interested,	mixes with NZers	handicapped	become negative	improved attit.	shy	no comment	ROW TOTAL
				5 2.4	1 1.8					103 21.9	109 13.9
				34 16.5	9 15.8				3 23.1	45 9.6	91 11.6
14				23 11.2	8 14.0				2 15.4	42 8.9	75 9.6
19	2 28.6	1 14.3		32 15.5	11 19.3	2 66.7		1 14.3	3 23.1	63 13.4	115 14.6
24		2 28.6		46 22.3	12 21.1			2 28.6	3 23.1	47 10.0	112 14.3
29		3 42.9		33 16.0	8 14.0					55 11.7	99 12.6
34	4 57.1	1 14.3		14 6.8	4 7.0			1 14.3		34 7.2	58 7.4
39			1 7.7	9 4.4	2 3.5	1 33.3		2 28.6		25 5.3	40 5.1
44			1 7.7	3 1.5	2 3.5					11 2.3	17 2.2
49				1 .5			1 100.0	1 14.3	1 7.7	17 3.6	21 2.7
54			2 15.4	3 1.5						6 1.3	11 1.4
59				3 1.5					1 7.7	11 2.3	15 1.9
80	1 14.3		9 69.2							12 2.5	22 2.8
LUMN OTAL	7 .9	7 .9	13 1.7	206 26.2	57 7.3	3 .4	1 .1	7 .9	13 1.7	471 60.0	785 100.0

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

The field of sociolinguistics requires the use of certain terms which may not be familiar to all readers. Other terms are also used which are related to the migrant group under investigation. A glossary of these terms as they are used in the present study is therefore provided.

Bilingualism: This generally means having two (or more) languages. The term is more fully discussed in chapter 3.

Cambodia: The country now known as Kampuchea. The older name has been used in this research since it was that used by most of the refugees spoken to and the name Kampuchea, which came into being in 1975 under the Pol Pot regime, has as St Cartmail (1983) noted become a synonym for suffering.

Ethnic group: An ethnic group is a population which is set apart from other groups within the same society by one or more social characteristics, such as genetic, inheritance, culture, language, religion or tribal, regional or national origin. Ethnic minorities are often linguistic minorities as well. In this study the distinction between groups is made on the grounds of self-identity and language differences.

Interlanguage: The intermediary stage of language learning which a learner passes through between the native language and fluency in the target second language.

Khmer: The indigenous ethnic group of Cambodia or Kampuchea. The term is also used to refer, along with the term "Cambodian", to their language.

Language maintenance: The term language maintenance was introduced by Fishman (1964) to describe active efforts by migrants to keep their mother tongue as they become more acculturated within the wider society.

Language shift: Language shift takes place when one language replaces another in certain types or domains as a result of intergroup contact

Lao: This refers to both the ethnic Lao who have been resettled in New Zealand and their language. As New Zealand has not settled Hmong or Mein groups from upland Laos the term Laotian does not have to be used to signify these groups who are not ethnic Lao.

Mother tongue: The mother tongue or first language can be variously defined as the first language learned or the dominant language. Usually these concur and the first language learned remains the dominant language throughout an individual's lifetime, but occasionally a second acquired or learned language gains preeminence. In this study the first or mother tongue of an individual is that which is identified by that person as his or her first language/ mother tongue, except in the case of children where it is not specified. In such cases it is identified with that of the parents.

Refugee: A refugee, according to the United Nation's 1951 Convention on Refugees as amended by the 1967 Protocol on the Status of Refugees, is one who "owing to wellfounded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his/her nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his/her former habitual residence, is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it."

Southeast Asia: A neutral geographical term which also covers Asian countries other than those of the former Indochina. Here it is used to refer to the refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia (now Kampuchea) and Laos who have been resettled in New Zealand under the Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement Programme.

Vietnam: Sometimes also Viet Nam which is the less anglicised form. In this study Vietnam refers to the former North Vietnam and South Vietnam. Although most refugees resettled from this country fled from South Vietnam, many had already exodused North Vietnam at the time of partition in 1954.