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Immigrant education: social adaptation of immigrant children: Indo-Chinese in Australian primary schools

Elizabeth Joan Facer
University of Wollongong

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IMMIGRANT EDUCATION

SOCIAL ADAPTATION OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN: INDO-CHESE IN AUSTRALIAN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

A thesis submitted in (partial) fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS (HONOURS)

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ELIZABETH JOAN FACER,

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ABSTRACT

Social adaptation in Australia of immigrants from Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea has been investigated, with particular reference to schools. Of specific concern was evaluation of how the immigrants (especially the children) were being equipped to deal with the cultural and social expectations and the competition involved in Australian community life.

An empirical investigation was carried out involving 65 Indo-Chinese children in infants/primary schools in Wollongong, N.S.W., the children necessarily being studied in the context of their families. English language ability, cognitive development, and academic and social progress were analysed to assess the children's performance in terms of the demands of Australian school environments. Results highlighted the implications, for the children's long-term adaptation, of a lack of proficiency in English communication, notwithstanding strong abilities in other areas.

The influence on social adaptation of traditional cultural patterns and values, family structure and attitudes, learning styles, and communication, were established as particularly important areas for attention by educational planners. Greater knowledge about such issues is likely to assist the development of more effective educational opportunities for Indo-Chinese children, and may help produce positive outcomes for the adaptation process of the children and their families.
PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis is concerned with the social adaptation in Australia of immigrants from Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. Cambodia was renamed Kampuchea in April, 1975, and the names Cambodia and Kampuchea are used where appropriate, according to the time-frame involved.

The American Psychological Association publication manual (1983) has been used as a guide to the format of the thesis, although standard English spelling and punctuation have been used. In the references, Vietnamese names have been used in accordance with the cultural conventions of Vietnam, as some of the immigrants interviewed expressed a preference for such a procedure.

The material presented in this thesis is an account of original research conducted by the author. Information obtained from other sources is acknowledged in the usual fashion when such information is referred to. The interpretations and conclusions are those of the author.

I gratefully acknowledge the willing assistance and guidance provided by Dr P. R. de Lacey, who was my supervisor. I would also like to thank Professor R. C. King, Chairman of the Department of Education, Dr A. M. Healy, Dr B. G. Jones and other members of staff of the University of Wollongong, for their assistance.

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survey study. Special thanks go to the Indo-Chinese children involved for their happy co-operation, and to the N.S.W. Department of Education for permission to carry out the testing program.

Helpful discussions were held with Mr J. Maguire of the South Coast Regional Office of Education, Mrs M. Sherring of the Fairy Meadow Migrant Centre, Brother Liem of the Catholic Education Office, Mr Nguyen Van Ru and Ms Nguyen-Thi Ham-Tieu.

I would like to specially acknowledge the contribution made to this study by my family, without whose continual support the project would not have been completed. In particular, my thanks go to my husband, for his invaluable encouragement and assistance, and to my mother, for her interest and for typing the manuscript.
The contents of this thesis have not previously been submitted for a degree at any university (or similar institution).
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1. **INTRODUCTION.**

As a consequence of socio-political upheaval in Indo-China many emigrants from the region have resettled in Australia. This study was undertaken in the context of signs of misgivings among some members of the community concerning the size and consequences of Indo-Chinese immigration. The aim of this investigation was to shed light on the situation of these recently arrived immigrants, and if possible to assist the process of their cultural, and eventual social, adaptation in Australia. The social adaptation of the children in schools was specifically addressed.

Many immigrants have settled in this country since World War II, and most of these people have come from European countries. There is a considerable body of literature available concerning the adaptation processes which have been involved during the resettlement of the large groups of immigrants who came to Australia from European cultures. There is, however, little information available about the Vietnamese, Kampucheans and Laotians, and important cultural differences exist between these people and the European immigrants. Also, the situation of the Indo-Chinese has certain features which are common to other refugee groups in Australia, but which are not generally characteristic of other groups of immigrants (Facer, 1985).

Recently, the South-East Asian countries, Vietnam,
Laos and Kampuchea, for many years referred to among western nations as French Indo-China, have been subject to warfare and socio-political upheaval of such intensity as to cause large numbers of the local inhabitants - adults and children - to seek refuge in other countries. The refugee-immigrants have been accepted by many countries, including Australia. Between April, 1975 and June, 1984, this country resettled 88,112 Indo-Chinese people, of whom 70,482 were Vietnamese, 11,049 were Kampucheans, 6,519 were Laotians and 62 were of unstated citizenship (Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (D.I.E.A.), 1984). Furthermore, Indo-Chinese immigrants are continuing to arrive in Australia in significant numbers, partly because of the Australian Government's family reunion policy and also as a consequence of continuing political instability in the Indo-Chinese region, especially in respect to Kampuchean-Vietnamese relations. Therefore, Indo-Chinese people will probably be a focal point of resettlement effort in Australia for some time.

In this study the term "immigrant" has been used as a general reference to the Indo-Chinese now in Australia, notwithstanding the "sterile" debate (Martin, 1976, p. 144) concerning the refugee status or otherwise (Tsamenyi, 1983) of those who have left Indo-China since April, 1975. The terms "Vietnamese", "Kampucheans" (Cambodian" until April, 1975) and "Laotian" have been used, for convenience, to refer to people whose homes were in those countries before they came to Australia. Grouping in accordance with ethnicity has been indicated where it
was considered necessary for the purposes of this investigation. It is recognised that "ethnic" groupings are often very important to the people involved. As Fulton (1982) explained, though, the ascertaining or ascribing of ethnicity to the Indo-Chinese can be complicated. Furthermore, Fulton found that, in his study, no major differences in the resettlement process could be attributed to the ethnic origin of the immigrants.

Concerning immigrant entry and resettlement, attitudes in this country vary widely. They are influenced by, for instance, racial and cultural characteristics of the immigrants (Rivett, 1975; Lippmann, 1979; Yarwood & Knowling, 1982), and by the prevailing domestic conditions, especially the state of the economy, with the often associated fears about competition for resources (Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, 1976, 1982; MacKellar, 1977; Macphee, 1982; Viviani, 1984).

There is a range of views within the community concerning the path which the immigrant adaptation process should follow. These views encompass such options as assimilation, cultural pluralism and many positions between these two, as explained by, for example, Martin (1978) and Callan (1983). The range of opinions is acknowledged in this investigation; nevertheless, the position which has been taken here is that if mainstream Australians' expectation of immigrants is that they should adapt "successfully" and make positive contributions to the
harmonious functioning of society at large, then members of the dominant culture in key professional positions (for example, teachers) could do well to acquire intercultural knowledge and skills which may facilitate this. That is, such professionals could learn how to assist more effectively immigrant acquisition of skills required by Australians, and they could learn how to foster positive interactions between immigrants and members of mainstream groups. Such courses of action could provide more substantial follow-up than has hitherto generally occurred in relation to Recommendation 14 of the Report of the Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services for Migrants (Galbally, 1978). The Recommendation stated:

Professionals, including those studying and in practices in areas with large migrant clienteles, should receive assistance in obtaining, or upgrading, language skills and understanding cultural differences. (p. 51)

In exploring the progress of the Indo-Chinese immigrants in Australia, this study focused on the social adaptation of the children within Australian schools. Furthermore, the children, in view of the nature of child socialisation and learning processes, were necessarily studied within the context of their families.

The adaptation time-scale involved at present, for these immigrants, is relatively short term. Large numbers of the people came here during the years 1977 - 1981 inclusive, and substantial numbers have arrived since then.
The time-scale (often referred to here as "length of stay") was important within the theoretical framework selected as appropriate for this study. It has been argued that cultural adaptation tends to occur largely during the early years of immigrant resettlement and that from this acculturation there emerges social adaptation, involving identification, which occurs largely during the longer-term in the resettlement process. Furthermore, intrinsic in the development of acculturation and identification in this context are the various cultural characteristics (some obvious, and some more subtle but particularly important in social interactions) possessed by members of host and immigrant groups.

A survey was carried out to collect observational data, in order to investigate specific elements of the central theme; namely, how were Indo-Chinese children in Australia adapting to the social context of school life here, in terms of its inherent culture-bound expectations? An attempt was made to judge the extent of the children's adaptation within infants/primary schools in Wollongong, New South Wales, as indicated by assessments of English language ability, level of cognitive development, academic performance and social adjustment. This survey was thus an empirical study in the sense described in Harré and Lamb (1983, pp. 200-202). Following the analysis of the results obtained during the empirical study, it was anticipated that certain implications could be drawn concerning the course of social adaptation among the Indo-Chinese children and their families within the
socio-cultural context of Australian schools, and also, to some extent, within the wider community of which schools are an integral part.

In order to investigate in depth the adaptation progress of the Indo-Chinese, it was considered necessary to set the theoretical and empirical investigation within a detailed background study of the Indo-Chinese immigrants' own cultures. A number of other educational researchers in Australia have indicated the importance of detailed studies of immigrant home cultures, when judgments and recommendations are being made concerning immigrant adaptation in Australia (report by the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on: The Teaching of Asian Languages and Cultures in Australia, 1970; Smolicz, 1983). Decisions concerning programs which aim to assist the Indo-Chinese to adapt positively within the Australian community may be more appropriate if they are based on accurate information and are arrived at in the light of sound theoretical knowledge. Therefore, it is necessary to develop such an information base in respect to the Indo-Chinese, particularly in so far as this may influence decisions concerning the provision of appropriate educational opportunities for the children.
2. SOCIAL ADAPTATION OF INDO-CHINESE IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN AUSTRALIAN SCHOOLS: THEORETICAL ISSUES.

2.1 INTRODUCTION AND AIM OF CHAPTER.

Immigrant education in Australia was, until recently, an area of activity mainly characterised by the search for - and provision of - frequently hasty practical solutions for pressing problems, with policy formulation having a generally inadequate theoretical base (cf., for example, Martin, 1978).

One major consequence of this educational approach has been a preoccupation with the teaching of elementary English (Martin, 1978). This approach has also resulted in schools nearest the immigrant hostels bearing "the brunt of the immigrant children intake" (Cahill, 1979, p. 239), their task being complicated greatly by the lack of liaison between the Commonwealth Department of Immigration and the various State Education Departments, especially concerning arrival patterns of large groups of children. The Inquiry into Schools of High Migrant Density (1975) found that "no unanimity" existed concerning "an operational definition of a migrant child" (p. 4). Also, teachers of immigrant children were denied appropriate recognition within the education systems of the country, as state governments have historically been unwilling to establish career structures for them - "a symptom of grudging commitment to solving what they saw as a temporary problem, which was not their responsibility" (Martin, 1978, p. 135).
During the past decade greater acknowledgment has been made of the need to formulate policies which take more heed of current educational knowledge. The purpose of this chapter will be to shed some light on those theoretical issues which are relevant to the study of social adaptation within primary schools by Indo-Chinese immigrant children (whose situation will necessarily be discussed in the context of their families). This is a subject in urgent need of attention, as the Indo-Chinese constitute a relatively "new" and large immigrant group in this country, but most of the vast amount of immigrant adaptation and education literature available is concerned with European cultural groups.

Immigrant encounters with, and adaptation to, "new" cultural characteristics, which in many aspects clash with their own familiar ones, have been dealt with extensively and intensively in social-science literature. Interpretations of the issues involved, and the terminology used to explain the interpretations, have varied according to the approaches taken by researchers from such disciplines as psychology, anthropology, sociology, history, economics and education. There is now a somewhat bewildering array of literature available on this subject, but certain specific issues emerge as being particularly relevant to the current investigation.

In this chapter it will be argued that an
important focus in education could be what will be called here "micro-cultural awareness", for both immigrant and non-immigrant pupils. Following the recommendations of the Galbally Report (1978) increasing attention is being paid, in Australian education, to "macro-cultural" areas, such as social issues involved in demographic trends, ethnic politics, ethnic schools, and obvious differences in diet, clothing, religion, and language phonology, morphology and syntax. However, immigrant adaptation could also be assisted if awareness was developed concerning such potential "micro-cultural" barriers to interpersonal communication as differences in attitudes, colloquial speech and the social rules of language, and the many nonverbal signals which are associated with particular cultural groups.

Macro- and micro-cultural characteristics underlie many social adaptation (that is interpersonal relationship) issues. So both these groups of cultural characteristics, which are tightly interwoven, will be considered in this chapter. Moreover, as social adaptation is seen here as emerging from the broader area of cultural adaptation (that is, intergroup relationships), issues associated with the broader area will also be discussed. As the relationships between the cultural adaptation variables important to the present study are complex, a model (Figure 1) will be introduced and explained in an attempt to clarify the nature of the interconnections.
FIGURE 1  Adaption variables: grouping and inter-relationships.
2.2 **ADAPTATION VARIABLES: TWO MAIN GROUPS.**

Analyses of the immigrant adaptation process have led to the appearance of a number of concepts which are useful as aids to understanding the events involved. For example, in Australia, Richardson (1967) and Taft (1965, 1979) found two main groupings of assimilation variables, one including "satisfaction and identification" variables (Richardson) or "primary integration" variables (Taft), the other including "secondary integration" or "acculturation" variables. The former group related, for example, to being contented with life in the adopted country and feeling identified with it, while the latter (acculturation) group involved knowledge and use of patterns of behaviour (including language), beliefs and values consistent with those of the majority culture in the receiving society. Similarly, Johnston (1972) found that assimilation had two major aspects which she called "subjective" (similar to Taft's and Richardson's "identification" variables) and "external" (similar to Taft's and Richardson's "acculturation" variables). In an earlier study, Price (1963) had investigated southern European immigrants' adaptation and had made a similar type of distinction. He grouped such variables as: incorporation into the receiving country's economic life ("absorption"), mutual toleration between host society and immigrants ("accommodation"), mutual recognition of each other's contribution to the country's political and social life ("integration"), intermixture of, for example, language, dress, diet, sport ("acculturation"), and
intermarriage ("amalgamation"). Price also noted a further stage of assimilation "when the immigrant stock not only becomes indistinguishable from native stock in terms of culture and physique but feels himself, and is felt by others, to be quite indistinguishable" (p. 201).

It has been argued that Australian studies show some degree of satisfaction and identification with the "new" country is usually necessary, on the part of the immigrant, before acculturation can proceed (Johnston, 1972; Taft, 1979). However, this notion is at variance with that expressed by Gordon (1964) who, when describing the situation in America, claimed that acculturation and structural (or social) integration would necessarily precede other aspects of assimilation. The two groups of variables appear to complement each other. The view expressed by Johnston and Taft is not disputed here, but it appears that for a large measure of identification to be experienced by the immigrant a significant level of acculturation would also seem necessary on his part.

It is suggested here, as shown in the model (Figure 1), that both "macro-" and "micro-cultural" characteristics are involved in the two groups of cultural adaptation variables. Micro characteristics are seen as exerting a stronger influence on identification, though, than that exerted by the macro group. Furthermore, macro and micro characteristics underlie both cultural adaptation and the social adaptation which emerges from cultural adaptation.
However, in this model macro characteristics are seen as more strongly influencing intergroup adaptation, while micro characteristics are seen as influencing intragroup adaptation and identification to a greater extent than the macro group. The model also attempts to highlight the complexity of the inter-relationships between these complementary variables. The first group of variables to be discussed in detail will be those involved in acculturation, as this process seems largely to precede identification. Furthermore, as most Indo-Chinese immigrant children and their families, now in Australia, arrived relatively recently, they are likely at present to be more deeply involved in the acculturation phase of adaptation than the identification phase.

2.3 **ACCULTURATION**.

2.3.1 **Definition.**

The anthropologists Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936) provided an early definition of acculturation, which stated:

acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups. (p. 149)

More recently, Richardson (1967) defined the concept as referring generally to "the adoption, by the members of one group, of the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of
another group" (p. 14).

As stated earlier in this chapter, the acculturation variables associated with immigrant adaptation tend to be objective and observable compared with variables associated with identification, which are generally subjective and not readily observable. While the latter involve feelings of satisfaction and harmony with life in the new country, the former include knowledge of, and adaptation to, prevailing value norms, use of vernacular language, and social interaction with members of the host society. In Richardson's (1967) terms, while identification involves "coming to feel more like a typical member of one's host group", acculturation involves "coming to be more like him" (p.14). Both processes involve immigrant and host society responses to macro- and micro-cultural differences, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter (see Figure 1), and which will be elaborated in the following discussion.

2.3.2 Macro- and micro-cultural differences.

In this study macro- and micro-acculturation variables are seen as arising from macro- and micro-cultural characteristics. Macro differences are the obvious aspects of cultural difference at an intergroup level, including, for example, dress, diet, religious observance, language (phonology, morphology and syntax), race, membership of formalised "ethnic" groups, attendance at ethnic schools, apparent preference for certain
occupations, and demographic situations. On the other hand, aspects of micro-cultural difference are seen as more particularly relevant at an interpersonal, or intragroup level, and are seen as including colloquial speech and the social rules of language use, attitudes displayed toward work, education and the family, and the many nonverbal signals associated with social relationships. While the two aspects of cultural difference are closely linked, it is argued here that the micro group are more closely linked with identification than the macro group of acculturation items.

2.3.3 Macro-acculturation items.

Many items of diet, dress, language and social interaction familiar to the immigrant will quickly become subject to change when he settles in the receiving country, as numerous options available in his society of origin may not be readily available in the adopted society. Some changes are in this way forced upon the immigrant: familiar items of food and clothing may be unavailable, or if available, may be named differently from the accustomed way, forcing a change in the language use; in order to satisfy basic needs an immigrant may have to learn a completely new language; priorities for purchasing household and personal items may need to change because of demands of climate and/or accepted behaviour patterns; and certain religious observances may not be feasible owing to lack of necessary celebrants and venue. Many of these macro items involve significant
life-style changes for the Indo-Chinese, particularly the large numbers who come from a mainly non-European cultural background.

Unavoidable changes are collectively referred to by Richardson (1967) as the "obligatory acculturation" (p. 14) variety, which essentially involve "learning new means to satisfy old goals" in a manner which is similar to what "typically happens when an individual enters any new environment and stays for a day or two" (p. 15). Some of the macro items involved may force a measure of rapid change and acculturation on the part of the immigrant. Others may be involved in later, slower changes, as the immigrant perceives a need for this to occur, or they may bring about "unconscious" change as the person begins to identify more closely with the receiving society. English-language learning is a useful example of such developments, as it can be mastered quickly or much more slowly, depending on the circumstances and motivation of a particular individual.

Some of the macro differences will be adapted to and perhaps adopted, not because change is forced, but because the immigrant sees value in change due to, for example, social pressure - this pressure is perhaps sensed through feelings associated with personal marginality (see Section 2.4.4). On the other hand, Richardson (1967) noted the reciprocal nature of the adaptation process, in which at times the host culture may value some item of an immigrant culture and may wish
to see it preserved, and perhaps adopted by the majority group. When this happens, Richardson stated, "the preservation of a national characteristic may constitute a form of advantageous non-acculturation for an immigrant" (p. 16). Courtesies associated with social behaviour and some aspects of immigrant cuisine would appear to be examples of this.

Adaptation to macro-cultural differences enables positive intergroup relationships to develop and from this emerge positive interpersonal relationships, as social adaptation occurs in response to macro and then micro acculturation. Furthermore, studies of immigrant adaptation in Australia show that, while acculturation in respect to macro items can occur in the absence of significant identification on the part of the immigrant, acculturation involving micro items seems to require a significant level of identification on the immigrant's part (Richardson, 1967; Taft, 1979). Consequently, cultural adaptation appears largely to precede social adaptation, which requires both a fuller degree of acculturation and greater identification with the host society, on the part of the individual.

2.3.4 Micro-acculturation items.

Of great significance to the process of social adaptation are micro-cultural characteristics (see Figure 1). Adaptation to these, it is argued here, is closely linked to the development of identification with the host culture, and fuller acceptance of the
immigrant, on the part of members of the host society. It is largely because micro-cultural items are often subtle in their manifestation while, at the same time, they signal cultural and social difference very clearly, that they are seen in this study as so important in the context of interpersonal relationships (social adaptation). They are, therefore, also seen as an area of immigrant adaptation which educators would do well to be more fully aware of, in order to better understand those behavioural patterns and needs of immigrant and Australian children, which arise as a consequence of this aspect of the immigrant adaptation process.

Richardson (1967) also found acculturation items similar to those here termed micro to be strongly linked with identification. He saw other aspects of acculturation and some minimal level of identification as necessary precursors to adoption of the micro group, because too early, or too conscious, a manifestation of the relevant characteristics, on the part of the immigrant, would scarcely be possible without the risk of caricature and of arousing suspicion on the part of the host group. "Social rewards and punishments", Richardson (1967) claimed, "may operate to discourage the immigrant who attempts any deliberate copying of these expressive behaviours too soon after his arrival" (p. 17). Richardson consequently classified micro-type items such as expressive or stylistic aspects of speech and gesture as an "optional" class of acculturation, because they are not required of - and indeed may not be available to - a
newcomer, in the short term. This would include, for the present, most Indo-Chinese immigrants who have been in Australia for only a relatively short time. However, it is clear that in order for the immigrant to become socially adapted within Australian society to a significant extent, such items, in the longer term, could scarcely be regarded as "optional". A fuller discussion of particularly important micro-acculturation items follows.

2.3.5 Knowing the rules.

Many expressive behaviours used by man appear to be universal, for example, smiling, laughing, crying, showing fear and anger, and eye-brow flashing (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1979). Darwin (1904), one of the earliest investigators of nonverbal behaviour, believed that "all the chief expressions exhibited by man are the same throughout the world" (p. 382). However, the timing and situational use of these behaviours are often culture-specific (Wolfgang, 1979). Consequently, Goodnow (1979) suggested that major issues for immigrants were "knowing the rules" (p. 50) of the host culture and "knowing when" (p. 49) to behave in certain ways. For example, having noted macro differences in dress between cultures, the immigrant then needs to develop a sense of the situations in which different styles of clothing and grooming are used by various age and social groups in the receiving culture. Similarly, in Goodnow's view, there is the issue of "manner", which involves "expectations about general ways of behaving" (p. 52). For instance, expectations
concerning display of trust or wariness towards teachers - on the part of pupils - will vary between different cultures, as will attitudes towards questioning the teacher. Among children from some traditional societies it is considered that the learner's primary role is to listen and learn what is already known; this has been an attitude long held among many Indo-Chinese families, and will be discussed further in the next Chapter (3). Also, there is considerable cultural variation concerning the expectation that one "should respond to an emotional situation with an emotional response, rather than a 'stiff upper lip'" (Goodnow, 1979, p. 53). A further problem area can involve balancing obligations to peers and to elders, learning such rules as that of not "dobbing" and how to respond appropriately to aggression. Discussing the example of a Greek family, Goodnow remarked that "the 'friendly insult', the 'ribbing' and the 'knocking' so widely practised in Australia must be difficult to endure, for people who start from ... a refusal to engage in the expected repartee" (p. 54).

In respect to such behaviours as crying, grieving, worrying, laughing, visiting, and talking on the telephone, ideas in a given culture about how long these should last are often complex. "Ideas about timing are widespread in any society, and their violation incurs strong judgements about one's manners or intelligence: but we know extraordinarily little about this matter" (Goodnow, p. 53). Nevertheless, the importance of these "knowing the rules" and "knowing when" issues to the emergence of
cultural adaptation and, particularly, to social adaptation, is fundamental. As the Indo-Chinese immigrants have come from a largely non-European cultural background these issues are likely to be particularly important during the course of their adaptation.

It must also be noted that many of the expectations involved in these issues are communicated nonverbally. Nonverbal communication is a vital component of cultural difference, especially at the interpersonal or micro level. By means of a facial expression, glance, gesture, posture, vocal pause, and in many other ways (Galloway, 1979) messages reflecting culturally different attitudes and behaviours can be conveyed.

2.3.6 Nonverbal behaviour.

Wolfgang (1979) found it useful to divide the now large number of studies on nonverbal behaviour into three main areas, namely (a) those referring to interpersonal distance, termed "proxemics" by Hall (1969); (b) those dealing with body movement patterns in human interaction, termed "kinesics" by Birdwhistell (1971); and (c) those referred to as "paralanguage", namely "the extra verbal elements that are associated with speech, for example, loudness, tone, pauses, hesitations, etc." (Wolfgang, 1979, p. 160).

2.3.6.1 Interpersonal distance. In his discussion of
interpersonal-distance behaviour, Morris (1977) saw the issue as one involving a fundamental sense of territoriality, a territory being defined as "a defended space" (Morris, p. 126). In the broadest sense, he found three kinds of human territory - tribal, family and personal, which could be defended by force if the people involved were sufficiently aroused. At the tribal level such defence can be seen in contemporary terms in the exclusive practices of - and rivalries between - various military, business and social groups, and at a more extreme level, in physical conflict and warfare. Family territory is the home, and at times small, temporary territories staked out in such places as parks and beaches by means of rugs, picnic baskets and other personal belongings. Sommer and Becker (1974) saw such temporary boundary marking as an aspect of human territorial defence which plays a very significant role in social interaction. The third type of territory described by Morris was personal territory or "Personal Space", namely the small, portable territory individual people take with them wherever they go. In Morris' description, the invisible territorial "bubble" surrounding each person would lead to the creation of immediate tension, if invaded, while avoidance at too great a distance could create a sense of rejection. Problems can arise, according to Morris, when people from differing cultures meet, as differences in body territories can act as alienation factors.

Kleinke (1975) found the intercultural issue of
personal space to be complex, and he also noted the existence of differences which could lead to the creation of barriers in interpersonal relationships. However, he found that it was difficult to define variations in personal space between ethnic groups because age, socio-economic level and geographic factors have all been found to cause variations. The importance he attributed to the issue was indicated by his comment that "distance is language. We have to learn to communicate with this language more effectively" (p. 41).

Taking a broad view of interpersonal space (proxemics) Hall (1969) claimed that "virtually everything that man is and does is associated with the experience of space. Man's sense of space is a synthesis of many sensory inputs: visual, auditory, kinesthetic, olfactory, and thermal" (p. 181). Moreover, according to Hall, each of these sensory systems is "moulded and patterned by culture" (p. 181). Consequently, when people from different cultures meet, for example, Vietnamese and Anglo-Celt Australians, there often occur misinterpretations of each other's behaviour, which can lead to "alienation in encounters or distorted communications" (Hall, p. 181). In a study of interpersonal distance during conversation, the study being aimed at differentiating between the often confounding variables - sex, language and topic, Sussman and Rosenfeld (1982) obtained results which confirmed Hall's distinction between cultures "in terms of their proxemic manifestations of social contact norms" (Sussman
2.3.6.2 Body movement. The second main area of nonverbal behaviour listed by Wolfgang (1979) was body movement patterns. These have been seen increasingly, since Birdwhistell's research in the 1950's, as a channel of communication which is "culturally derived and serving group organization, social role delineations, and cultural identity" (Davis, 1979, p. 54). Earlier researchers of body movement, in the 1920's and 1930's, had concentrated on the obviously significant area of facial expression, and it became apparent that "facial expressions of emotion have wide cultural generality" (Davis, p. 75), although people from different cultures will vary according to their readiness to display their emotions. Later writers emphasised movement style and characteristic postures, whereas the current trend involves study of such subjects as group formation, proximity, eye contact and spatial relationships (Davis, 1979).

Communication occurs through such acts as frowning, looking at the ceiling, moving away, yawning, sneering, touching, smiling, nodding the head, using expressive hand gestures, raising the eyebrows, and orienting one's body toward the other person. However, overall attributed meaning involved with such body language can vary greatly between cultures and cultural sub-groups. As Harrison (1974) commented, "sharp differences can be seen in postural demands exacted during interactions" (p. 132),
so that, in many cultures, for instance, one is expected to bow before an elder and to sit at the feet of a superior. Yet in Anglo-Celt culture such general expectations do not exist for those particular body movements. Similarly, there are hand movements which are produced with particular signing intent in certain cultures; these are clearly understood in a given culture, but can cause problems for cross-cultural communicators (Harrison, 1974). Thus, pointing may be impolite in some societies, or offering things with the left hand; Vietnamese consider it impolite to wave in greeting. Also, some groups are, in general, low-contact cultures, while others permit touching of other people more frequently; Puerto Ricans have been found to touch more frequently than French people, who touch much more frequently than the British (Harrison). Vietnamese men indicate ordinary friendship by touching or holding during conversation. However, if this social rule was transferred to their interactions with Australian friends, fundamental local distancing rules would be broken and the Australians would probably be embarrassed (Lê & McCausland, 1976).

2.3.6.3 **Paralanguage.** Wolfgang (1979) referred to "paralanguage" as the third principal area of nonverbal behaviour (although not all aspects of this group are nonverbal). Wolfgang and other writers, notably Birdwhistell (1971), noted the importance of the extra verbal elements used during human conversation. These elements include such aspects of speech as volume, pitch,
tone and pauses, and also such indicators as head nods and sweeps, lid blinks, small chin and lip movements, variations in shoulder or thorax adjustment, hand, arm and finger activity, as well as foot and leg movements, which Birdwhistell found to be stress markers, with syntactic functions necessary to the production of speech - at least in the case of American English.

These items of communication vary considerably between cultures. For instance, generally in Anglo-Celt culture, the voice becomes louder as anger develops. However, in some cultures, the opposite occurs and as anger increases the voice becomes softer. During conversation, people with a British cultural background tend to seek eye contact for a significant proportion of the time. Yet, in many societies it is polite to avert the eyes in order to show respect. The degree of eye contact may follow a "cultural pattern that prescribes touch-no-touch, interpersonal spacing, and the way people orient their bodies (e.g., standing face to face versus shoulder to shoulder)" (Harrison, 1974, p. 126).

Mehrabian and Ferris (1967) conducted a study in the United States of America, in which they found that in the communication of feelings, the words only accounted for 7 per cent of the total effect, the vocal cues 38 per cent and facial expressions 55 per cent (p. 252), thus indicating the importance of the multi-channel nature of human conversation.

Paralanguage, kinesics or body movement, and proxemics are thus integral aspects of interpersonal
relationships. Furthermore, they constitute an area of micro-cultural difference of which many people are apparently largely unaware at a conscious level, and which can create an undercurrent of uneasiness during social interaction. Such uneasiness may occur between teachers and immigrant pupils and between teachers and the pupils' parents. As mentioned earlier, being in many ways subtle (though nonetheless powerful) cultural differences, these kinds of characteristics tend not to be adopted by acculturating immigrants until the contact with the host society has been somewhat prolonged and a measure of identification has occurred. As mentioned in Section 2.4.4 most Indo-Chinese immigrants in Australia have probably not been here long enough to have adopted Australian characteristics, either in these areas of nonverbal behaviour, or in respect of learning styles, which will be discussed in the following section.

2.3.7 Learning styles.

Another area of potential cultural difference is that of "learning style" which, it has been found, is strongly influenced by culture (Longstreet, 1978). Learning style, which implies a person's expression of thought, refers to "how he prefers, or needs to learn" (Hunt, 1977, p. 48). Relevant to this notion is the work of such researchers as Witkin, Dyk, Faterson, Goodenough and Karp (1962) and Berry (1969), concerning differentiation in psychological functioning, and the cross-cultural Piagetian studies of, for example, Greenfield (1967), de Lemos (1969), de Lacey (1970, 1971) and Dasen (1973, 1975). It has been found
from such studies that the learning styles of children can be linked to their cultural group. Thought expression is seen to occur through behaviours which to some degree reflect social value patterns that concern the most desirable and important ways of using intelligence (Longstreet, 1978).

As Vernon (1973) noted, the skills valued in one culture (such as in western civilisation) may be quite different from those which are important within another, such as that of the Eskimos, African rural communities, Chinese or Indo-Chinese. Consequently, educators need to be alert to such differences, as it is educators who will often be the bridge between intellectual modes fostered by schools and those brought to schools by youngsters from other cultures. Adaptation, by the Indo-Chinese immigrants in Australian schools, to differences in learning style will, like adaptation to other micro-cultural differences, tend to occur in the longer-term rather than in the shorter-term, and will be associated with the development of identification with the host culture.

2.4 IDENTIFICATION.

2.4.1 Definition.

"Identification" is a concept derived from psychological theory of personality development, having originated in psychoanalytic theory. Freud (1922) stated that "identification endeavours to mould a person's own
ego after the fashion of the one that has been taken as a 'model' " (p. 63). According to Freud, the threat posed by the same-sex parent motivated the child to identify with him in order to reduce the anxiety associated with the threat. However, Kagan (1958) found the hypothesis advanced by Freud to be too negatively oriented, and claimed that "an individual may identify with a model not only to reduce anxiety over anticipated aggression from a model but also to experience or obtain positive goal states which he perceives that the model commands" (p. 298). Two principal goal states involved in Kagan's notion were mastery of the environment, and love and affection. Later, Mussen, Conger and Kagan (1963) defined identification as the often largely unconscious process "that leads the child to think, feel and behave as though the characteristics of another person or group of people belonged to him" (p. 264).

Initially a child identifies with members of the family and close friends, and then in middle-childhood and adolescence, identification develops with groups and institutions, as well as with individuals. Furthermore, Young (1979) noted that "components of a collective cultural identity sustain the specific identifications derived from interaction with persons in the family and secondary social groups" (pp. 344-345).

Following the statement by Mussen et al. (1963), who claimed, "there is no doubt that identification is one of the most basic processes involved in
socialization" (p. 266), it is held in this study that identification is also of fundamental importance to immigrant social adaptation, which, to a significant extent involves individuals in "re-socialization". Indeed, in Australia, the study of identification has usually been associated with research into the migration process, with immigrant group and Anglo-Australian group identification being examined, typically in connection with assimilation or adaptation (Young, 1979). Richardson (1979), for instance, defined identification as involving "an immigrant or immigrant group in thinking and feeling about itself as more like the native-born people of the resident society" (p. 3).

2.4.2 Commitment.

Within the immigrant adaptation process, and particularly in respect to identification, "commitment" on the part of immigrants and members of the host society has been seen to possess underlying importance. It implies, on the one hand, a level of willingness on the part of the immigrant to adapt positively to the host culture, and, on the other hand, a degree of predisposition by the host group to accept the immigrant and assist that individual's social adaptation. Many variables will affect the immigrant's level of commitment, not the least of which will be the changed physical environment in which he finds himself.

Immigration involves an individual in physical relocation from one country to another. Thus, changed
physical environment will constitute a universal adaptation issue (to a greater or lesser degree) for immigrants. Furthermore, it may be anticipated that when the "new" country of residence is significantly distant from, and geographically dissimilar to, an immigrant's country of origin, this issue may assume greater importance for the individual concerned. Australia is geographically distant from its traditional sources of immigrants, and even though Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are closer than most previous source countries, Australia has geographic features (for example, its particular climate and topography) which are generally very different from those in Indo-China.

While in immigrant adaptation literature the issue of the changed physical environment receives little specific attention, it is nevertheless acknowledged to be important. Kovacs and Cropley (1975) noted that immigrants "enter their new country as strangers in a strange land" (p. 6) where, in addition to the more frequently discussed differences - in language and social customs - they find "a strange currency of outlandish names and the very seasons curiously rearranged or even reversed" (p. 4); and Taft (1977a) mentioned the lack of familiar ("edible") food in the immigrant's new environment as a problem of deprivation which could contribute to "culture shock" (p. 140). Writing in the Canadian context, Beck (1975) and Toscano (1975) listed unfamiliar climate and the lack of familiar sights, smells and sounds as potentially major unsettling features of the new
environment, while Ramcharan (1975) emphasised the problems for the immigrant child at school: he claimed that while differences in communication often constituted the most traumatic problem area for the children, unfamiliarity with classroom equipment, including items of stationery, could also present difficulties. In fact, Ramcharan noted, researchers have found "inability to comprehend the physical environment [to be] a severe handicap in the learning process" for immigrant children (p. 100). As numbers of Indo-Chinese children have apparently had little formal schooling, this issue will clearly be an important one as far as many of them are concerned.

Commitment will also be influenced by the immigrant's migration motivation; that is, the reasons a person had for migrating to a particular country and also the extent to which that person perceives the move to be permanent. Relevant here are forces which "push" migrants away from their native countries and those which "pull" migrants to places of resettlement. The former typically include overpopulation, poverty, political upheaval (particularly pertinent in the case of the Indo-Chinese) and religious persecution, while the latter forces include booms, high wages, unoccupied areas, the lure of distant lands, or the wish to be with family and friends happily settled far away (Price, 1963).

In discussing the reasons for return from Australia to country of birth on the part of many southern European
migrants, Price (1963) claimed that many had originally come to Australia for "short-term" visits and had not intended to stay for extended periods. The reasons for coming included avoidance of short-lived persecution (such as family feuds) and the desire to earn money with which they could return to their family properties. Many of these immigrants returned to their countries of origin, but others stayed, having married Australians or having become securely established, while yet others returned briefly to their native lands to choose brides to bring back with them. This in turn led, according to Price, to immigrants becoming more committed; temporary accommodation typically gave way to sharing of houses — or to separate homes, jobs sought for quick earnings were replaced by jobs offering security and financial independence, traditional ceremonies and social occasions became more numerous and greater attention was given to education and religion. Thus, in the case of southern Europeans, a group originally comprised of unattached men became a largely complete community in Australia, practising many of the customs of the immigrants' districts of origin in Europe; that is, an essentially uncommitted group of immigrants became a group highly committed to the process of cultural and social adaptation within a new society.

DeAmicis (1976) also discussed commitment as a characteristic which can develop over a period of time in a previously uncommitted immigrant, and claimed that this has been particularly relevant as regards American
migration to Australia. Whereas, DeAmicis claimed, migration literature relies heavily on the assumption that "migrants are people who move with the intention of settling permanently in a new country" (p. 136), in the case of many Americans the move to Australia has been made with little thought of permanency. Americans have migrated, for example, to see the country and work here for a time, or perhaps to visit the relatives of an Australian spouse. Then, often, over a period of time they have come to realise that their situations have changed owing to a gradual revision of orientations and an accumulation of responsibilities in Australia through the routines of everyday life, and that they have become committed to the new country. Such immigrants, DeAmicis argued, "do not decide to migrate. It just happens" (p. 144).

A more conscious decision to migrate from one country to another has been taken by such groups as the Indo-Chinese, many of whom, for political reasons, are unable to return to their native lands, at least for the foreseeable future. In general, such people appear to be strongly committed from the outset to making a successful adaptation to life within Australian society.

Identification and social adaptation will be assisted by positive immigrant commitment and matching goodwill (that is, positive commitment) on the part of members of the host society. A variable which can exert a strong negative influence in this respect is that of
2.4.3 Ethnocentrism and value differences.

Social psychologists apply the term "ethnocentrism" to the characteristic whereby people take for granted the ways of behaving, the values and the ideas of those among whom they grow up. Stone and Church (1975) expressed the view that, founded in egocentrism "ethnocentrism is a shared blindness masquerading as knowledge" (p. 90), while Berry, Kalin and Taylor (1977) discussed the concept in terms of what they saw to be its three main components, namely "(1) positive attitudes toward ingroups, (2) negative attitudes toward outgroups, and (3) the belief in the inferiority of outgroups" (p. 51).

In their discussion of in-groups and out-groups in the context of immigration, Kovacs and Cropley (1975) explained that people gain "a strong sense of belonging" (p. 20) from membership of primary groups within society. (Primary groups are those generating a "we feeling".) This sense of belonging leads to a feeling of being part of an in-group, as opposed to groups of outsiders, or out-groups, which are sometimes seen as a threat. In-group solidarity is often maintained through the development of a sense of superiority to out-group members and, according to Kovacs and Cropley, "through general attribution to the entire out-group of shortcomings seen to characterise some of its members. This is the process of stereotyping" (p. 20), which in respect to immigration is particularly important. The
host society is akin to a very large in-group, highly subject to ethnocentrism and the exhibition of "ethnic prejudice, in which members of ethnic out-groups are stereotyped in unfavourable terms" (p. 20). In this context Berg (1984) emphasised that rather than being a personality characteristic, prejudice was a product of the dynamics of group life expressed through individuals for whom it can have destructive consequences.

Stereotyping is often associated with cultural differences in nonverbal behaviour (Wolfgang, 1975), as was discussed earlier in this chapter. Brislin (1981) claimed that stereotypes are a frequently used form of generalisation, and are "necessary for thinking and communicating since people cannot respond individually to the millions of isolated elements they perceive each day" (p. 44). Consequently, according to Brislin, stereotypes would always be a factor in communication. However, he emphasised that it is necessary to distinguish between stereotypes and pejorative stereotypes, and that the latter, negative type "can be changed through educational programs and intercultural contacts" (p. 44).

The theory of ethnocentrism is important to immigrant studies. It is well-founded in psychological literature and strongly supported in many countries, being "taken as the common point of view in studying the relationship between own-group and out-group attitudes" (Berry, 1977, p. 29). Ethnocentric attitudes can inhibit commitment to the two-way social adaptation process on
the part of immigrants and members of the receiving society. It is important, for example, that teachers (especially from middle-class Anglo-Australian backgrounds) realise it is ethnocentric to believe that their personal attitudes and values are, or should be, universal among students and their families. Not everyone, for instance, may believe in the work ethic in the same way, favour birth control, be competitive or assertive, be permissive with children, have the same expectations of teachers and the education system, or delay rewards for the future. (Vietnamese, in fact, seem to have a stronger work ethic than many "older" Australians and some social friction has resulted from this, as well as from other cultural differences which will be discussed in this study.) Educators who wish to minimise the risk of alienating their pupils thus need to be alert to differences in values between various socio-economic and cultural groups, or as other writers such as Gordon (1964) and Marjoribanks (1980) have expressed it, "ethclasses" - an ethclass being "the portion of social space created by the intersection of the ethnic group with the social class" (Gordon, 1964, p. 51).

Ethnocentrism, demonstrations of ethnic prejudice, and discrimination are associated with the occurrence, among immigrant groups, of marginality and alienation.

2.4.4 Marginality and alienation.

Some writers have found it useful to discuss the subject of immigrant adaptation in terms of the two
related concepts - "marginality" and "alienation", even though a significant quantity of the research into the nature of these concepts has been concerned with culture contact between groups of people having high levels of technological development with groups of people having less complex technology, and typically following more traditional life-styles.

Park (1928) first presented the concept of "a man on the margin of two cultures" (p. 892) and it was later elaborated by Stonequist (1937). It was noted by Park (1937) that European expansion during the previous four hundred years had "brought about everywhere an interpenetration of peoples and a fusion of cultures" (p. xiv), and had produced in certain instances a personality type which he saw as characteristic of the modern world. This type, Park stated, was the "marginal man" - "an incidental product of a process of acculturation, such as inevitably ensues when peoples of different cultures and different races come together to carry on a common life" (p. xviii).

Like Park (1928), Stonequist (1937) saw marginality originating in cultural conflicts. Stonequist defined the "marginal man" as:

the individual who through migration, education, marriage, or some other influence leaves one social group or culture without making a satisfactory adjustment to another (and) finds himself on the margin of each but a member of
However, in his review of the marginality research, Dickie-Clark (1966) claimed that Stonequist had given too much emphasis to the issue of psychological uncertainty (or personality effects) due to cultural contact and too little to the problem of exclusion from a system of social relations, and that consequently the precise nature of the marginal situation and its relation to marginal personality traits remained in need of clarification.

According to Dickie-Clark (1966), often when writers used the marginality concept it was not clear whether a marginal individual or a marginal situation was being referred to, and it was possible for an individual to be in an objectively marginal situation without that individual becoming psychologically marginal. Such psychological marginality developed when the individual subjectively defined certain aspects of the marginal situation in particular ways. Dickie-Clark analysed the marginal situation in terms of its hierarchical nature. Evaluation and ranking are inherent in, and present at, all levels of human interaction, and on the basis of such rankings hierarchies are developed in accordance with the needs of a given social system.

A person can be seen to be in a marginal situation:

-whenever there is any inconsistency in his rankings in the matters regulated by the hierarchy, and ... he will be affected only at the more superficial level of specific
attitudes rather than more deeply in his personality. (Dickie-Clark, 1966, p. 190)

This view was at variance with that of Stonequist (1937) who held that being in a situation of marginality would make a significant difference to an individual's personality.

In a study aimed at evaluating aspects of marginality theory and its implications, and involving Aboriginal Australians, Berry (1970) investigated marginality, alienation, psychosomatic stress, attitudes to ways of relating to the dominant (white) society and personal barriers involved, degree of westernisation, and ethnic identification. He found a moderate degree of psychological marginality in the people who were living in this particular marginal situation "and a certain level of propensity for deviance, psychosomatic stress and negative attitudes" (p. 250) toward the dominant society. However, Berry claimed that contrary to expectations arising from the theory of the Marginal Man, "it tends to be those persons more traditionally oriented who suffer the most psychological marginality, rather than those who wish to move on and who cannot" (p. 250).

Berry suggested that the high level of acculturation of many of the highly marginal people could have been related to a reaffirmation of traditional values on their part as a reaction against the dominant society following experiences of discriminatory attitudes.

Like Berry (1970), Taft (1974), in his discussion
of ethnically marginal youth and culture conflict, noted the tendency among immigrants to regress to a "more ethnic state" (p. 275) following the experience of discrimination "after some identification with or acculturation to the majority group" (p. 275) had occurred. This type of reaction was also referred to by Johnston (1979) in respect to Polish immigrants who were university graduates, and by Nicassio (1983) who studied alienation among Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Laotian refugees living in the United States of America. Martin (1965) had earlier referred to the issue as often being a consequence of excessive haste in the early stages of assimilation. Such haste, Martin claimed, led to the immigrants being overwhelmed with new things to be learned and coped with. At a stage when they were largely cut off from their own culture and society and had not yet adapted to the characteristics of the new society, they tended to become alienated from both (Kovacs and Cropley, 1975), thus becoming "marginal people" in "marginal situations".

Kovacs and Cropley (1975) saw marginality as a symptom of alienation, unlike Berry (1970), who listed alienation as one variable associated with marginality, and Taft (1974), who described alienation as one form of marginality. Noting that "the immigrant is a formal instance of the alienated individual", being "alienated not simply as a result of social and economic forces, but by legal definition", Kovacs and Cropley (1975, p. 18) argued that immigrant adaptation within a new culture involved a measure of simultaneous alienation from new
and old cultures. This was said to occur because, as a new-arrival within a society, an immigrant would feel alienated from that society's culture; in order for the adaptation process to proceed, though, it would be necessary for the immigrant to experience some alienation from his homeland culture. Thus, it was seen as necessary for an immigrant to move from a state of alienation from the ways of the receiving society and integration with those of the former home to a situation in which these states were reversed. However, an immigrant may, during this process, find himself in the condition of being a marginal person, being significantly alienated from both old and new cultures, a situation which can occur when alienation from the old culture has not been "proportionately compensated for by decreasing alienation from the receiving society" (Kovacs and Cropley, p. 117). Furthermore, it was held that being in such a marginal situation could "facilitate pathological behaviours" in the immigrant (Kovacs and Cropley, p. 117).

Some other writers, though, have argued that immigrant adaptation can take place without adjustment problems associated with alienation and that this can result in the integration of cultural systems, with benefits to the individual involved (Kourakis, 1983). Support is lent to this claim by the work of Lambert (1975) who, in a number of Canadian studies aimed at researching potential outcomes for biculturalism, had found "how easy and rewarding it can be for those who are able to capitalize on a dual heritage" (p. 72).
Taft (1977b) and Young (1979) found that the Australian literature revealed little evidence of the deep-seated and widespread conflict described by Kovacs and Cropley (1973), although they conceded that more severe conflict symptoms resulting from marginality could occur in individual cases.

An additional consideration relevant here is the "double jeopardy" situation for young people who are both adolescent and immigrant (Connell, Stroobant, Sinclair, Connell & Rogers, 1975). For instance, Garvey (1983) stated that among pupils in a Sydney inner-city high school "immigrant adolescents were found to report significantly more problems than non-migrant adolescents" (p. 24). A measure of alienation can occur for any adolescent as, during maturation, close identification with family attitudes and values tends to weaken somewhat, while identification with the attitudes and values of the peer group and the society generally strengthens. Adolescence and migrancy, according to Connell et al. (1975) are states of transition, involving culture conflict. The persons involved "have identity problems to be solved in a new social context" (Connell et al., p.243). Furthermore, young people who are both teenagers and immigrants face the problems of identification and cultural adaptation along two dimensions. Connell et al. found this was reflected in their 1975 study of Sydney youth, in that the youths' responses to the social context in which they were growing up varied sufficiently from those of their Australian peers "to suggest that the personal vulnerability, which it has been argued is characteristic
of this period of growth and development, is probably substantially greater in their case" (Connell et al., p. 270).

Putninš (1976), in a discussion of Kovacs and Cropley's (1975) model, stated that alienation and assimilation can occur independently of each other, so that some individuals can become highly integrated and others highly alienated. Furthermore, he argued that still other immigrants may identify with both host and immigrant groups simultaneously. Consequently, Putninš stated:

pressures frequently exerted upon immigrants to give up their traditional ways, so as to be able to assimilate into the host group, may be unnecessary since it is possible to adopt at least some of the host group characteristics without rejecting one's ethnicity. (p. 212)

Recently, Rosenthal, Moore and Taylor (1983) found that, while Greek and Anglo-Australian adolescents in Melbourne showed similar levels of adjustment to adolescent identity conflict, Italian adolescents fared relatively poorly. It was suggested that this discrepancy may have been due to the greater emphasis by Italian-Australians on assimilation, compared with Greeks who have a strong ethnic community structure with a high participation rate (Rosenthal et al., 1983; Isaacs, 1976). The relative lack of community support for a sense of "Italianness" appeared (according to Rosenthal et al.) to exacerbate the adolescents' value conflicts.
45.

Overall, such discussions in the literature show that immigrant adaptation in general, and identification in particular, can follow a number of alternative paths. The particular direction taken will depend on personal, experiential and situational events which will influence the course of the adaptation process for each individual concerned. As the Indo-Chinese immigrants are a very heterogeneous group, there is thus potential for considerable variation in their paths to adaptation. Some writers, in discussing these issues, have suggested the importance of the notion of "self-concept", an integral part of which is formed by ethnic identity (Kourakis, 1983).

2.4.5 Self-concept and self-esteem.

The term "self-concept" is of twentieth century origin, although the psychologist William James (1890) had written in detail and at length on "The Consciousness of Self" (pp. 291ff.). Then most psychologists following James avoided "the self" and its elaborations until the mid-twentieth century, because of the dominance, during the intervening years, of the Behaviourist rationale "with its overriding emphasis on the scientific method [and on] only those aspects of behaviour which were observable and measurable" (Burns, 1979, p. 10). However, more recently, and beginning with the work of such theorists as Erikson (1968) and his concept of "ego-identity", more widespread interest was generated in self-constructs. In fact, this area of personality study has attracted a vast amount of attention as it is
claimed to play "a key role as a factor in the integration of personality, in motivating behaviour and in achieving mental health" (Burns, 1979, p. 2).

There is considerable disagreement among psychologists concerning definition and measurement of self-concept, and this was discussed at length by Wylie, Miller, Cowles and Wilson (1979). Rosenberg (1979) described the terminological situation as a "shambles" (p. 6) and went on to define self-concept as "the totality of the individual's thoughts and feelings with reference to himself as an object" (p. 8); that is, the self-concept is not the "real self" but "the picture of the self" (p. 7). Rosenberg explained, further, that the components of the self-concept consisted "primarily of social identity elements, dispositions, and physical characteristics" (p. 9). In developing the picture of the self, an individual will also develop feelings about that picture. These feelings may be positive or negative and they constitute "the evaluative sentiments known as self-esteem" (Coopersmith, 1975, p. 148).

As the self-concept and self-esteem literature increased in volume during this century, psychologists and educators frequently predicted that minority racial and cultural groups in western societies would generally have negative self-concepts and low self-esteem. However, recent research has shown that this is frequently what does not occur. Rosenberg (1979), for example, found that members of minority groups were well aware that negative
attitudes and stereotypes were based on ignorance and irrationality and that while such attitudes could cause distress, they were not necessarily believed. It was the opinions of "significant others" which were important; that is, the minority group members tended to see themselves as others saw them "but only if the opinions of these others [were] highly valued" (Rosenberg, 1979, p. 169). When Negro children discussed by Rosenberg used other Negroes as their reference group, their self-esteem levels were rated as satisfactory. If, however, Negro children used white children as their reference group, the outcome could be different, especially if they came from, for example, a family structure which was stigmatised among whites (separated, abandoned, or never-married families).

The evidence indicates, according to Coopersmith (1975), that while "the child stays within an environment in which his culture is in a majority he is able to sustain positive feelings about himself" (p. 161). Such information is potentially important for the immigrant child in general and it appears to reinforce the value of ethnic groups as support systems, especially for newly arrived immigrant families. These families can experience, in Kovacs and Copley's (1975) terms, the alienating effects of loss of social position and self-esteem following separation from older, more familiar ways of life.

In respect to Sydney teenagers, Connell et al. (1975)
found that the double jeopardy hypothesis (discussed in Section 2.2.4) held true for most of the young people, and showed up particularly clearly in the group of scales centring on the self-concept. On the other hand, in a project which produced results somewhat at variance from those obtained by other researchers, Verma (1975), studying four British multi-racial schools, found that teenagers there had fairly satisfactory levels of self-esteem, showing that, perhaps, intermixing of cultural and social groups in multi-racial schools had changed pupils' "perceptions of other groups" and as a consequence, "their perception of 'themselves'" (p. 232). Verma suggested that evidence such as that obtained from his study indicated "educational programmes involving the total personality of the individual and his environment have tended to increase tolerance between groups" (p. 232).

The importance of self-concept within the school environment is confirmed by the apparently close link between self-concept and self-esteem, and academic performance (a relationship which has been noted by many researchers, for example, Brookover, Thomas and Paterson, 1964; Coopersmith, 1975; Covington and Omelich, 1981). Not only is self-concept important in respect to social adaptation, but there is considerable evidence available which shows that "poorly defined self-concepts or those that do not include the view the child can gain increased competencies from his school experiences tend to result in under-achievement or poor performance" in academic activities (Coopersmith, 1975,
Coopersmith consequently called for the implementation in classrooms of social processes which would increase the level of self-esteem in the "low-esteem" pupil by means of "an appreciation of his social roots, recognition of his strengths and respect for his search for increased competency" (p. 164).

A positive evaluation of oneself, and one's place within the host society, some degree of feeling in harmony with its value system, a lack of strongly negative feelings created by alienation, marginality and ethnocentric bias, and a commitment to contribute to - as well as benefit from - the host society, are seen here as playing fundamentally important roles in the identification aspect of the Indo-Chinese immigrant social adaptation process. These identification variables are tightly interconnected with the variables associated closely, in this study, with acculturation - which, largely, give rise to cultural adaptation from which, in turn, social adaptation emerges (as in Figure 1).

2.5 **CONCLUSION.**

It has been the aim, in this chapter, to explore theoretical issues seen as particularly relevant to the process of social adaptation on the part of Indo-Chinese immigrant children, and their families, within the context of Australian primary schools. The literature available on immigrant adaptation now being extensive, it has not been feasible to discuss all matters investigated
by other researchers. The focus of the chapter has been on those variables (incorporating cultural differences) involved in identification and acculturation, from which emerge mutual cultural adaptation and social adaptation by immigrants and members of the host culture, as shown in Figure 1.

Special attention has been paid to social adaptation, as this process is necessarily an important concern of educators. In this context, the discussion of identification and micro-cultural elements in interpersonal relationships attempted to illustrate the importance of these closely inter-related items to social adaptation. This material bears upon such social interactions within schools, as teachers communicating with immigrant children and adults, and child to child interactions involving immigrant and host-culture children.

In Canada, Ashworth (1975), following a survey of English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) programs, found that a principal difficulty immigrant children had to deal with, in respect to their social adaptation, was maintaining a strong self-image when there were so many things they did not know and could not do "in an acceptable way" (p. 87). Hence, just as it is necessary for schools with immigrant pupils to attend to macro-cultural items such as grammar and vocabulary of standard Australian English, it is also in the interests of all children that educators understand the role of micro-cultural
items, such as nonverbal communication, and differences in past learning experiences, within the classroom (Wolfgang, 1979). On the basis of such understanding, school personnel may be able to make informed decisions concerning areas where individual children are being helped or hindered in adapting to the expectations of the school.

In the following chapter attention will be concentrated upon selected macro- and micro-cultural characteristics of the three countries of Indo-China from which the recent wave of immigrants to this country originated. Cultural items relevant to an understanding of the immigrants' situation in Australia and, especially within Australian education, will be noted in the context of a discussion of the historical and cultural background of the Indo-Chinese people.
3. **VIETNAM, KAMPUCHEA AND LAOS: HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND.**

3.1 **INTRODUCTION.**

In order to maximise the effectiveness of their professional efforts, Australian educators of Indo-Chinese immigrant children may be greatly assisted by acquiring a greater understanding of the cultural and psycho-social backgrounds of those children. This applies especially to the macro- and micro-cultural characteristics which seem relevant to an understanding of the immigrants' situation in Australia generally, and to an understanding of their position within Australian educational institutions in particular.

The task of selecting relevant background details for this study, from the vast array of possibilities, inevitably presented the author with a considerable problem. The activity was complicated further by the lack of precise information available concerning the origins of many of the immigrants. For various reasons, some of which arose from past experiences of the Indo-Chinese people and from cultural influences, and others of which were a consequence of contemporary events, the refugees, in many instances, failed to provide accurate personal data during and since the selection process which was associated with their immigration into Australia. Consequently, the degree to which the refugees are representative of such groups as urban dwellers, villagers, Chinese communities, and
Roman Catholics, is often unclear. Nevertheless, an extensive review of historical and cultural material was undertaken, and in the light of information gained from that review and from individuals involved with Indo-Chinese immigrant resettlement in Australia, a selection has been made, in this study, of the background influences which appear to go some way towards explaining the situation of Indo-Chinese immigrants in Australia.

The following review of the immigrants' cultural backgrounds will include, initially, a brief description of the role of geographical influences in the cultural development of the region. This will be followed by a discussion of prehistorical and early historical influences which have had long-term effects on cultural development. Then the traditional cultures of the contemporary immigrants will be examined, as will be some implications of certain characteristics of those cultures for the immigrants' adaptation to life in Australia. The later sections of this chapter will deal with major social and political events, which have lead to the recent large-scale emigration of people from Indo-China.

3.2 GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES.

Geographical features have profoundly influenced the cultural development of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos. Consequently, it is necessary to examine (albeit briefly) the geographical setting in which the cultures of the
The mainland portion of South-East Asia has frequently been referred to as the Indo-Chinese peninsula, because of its intermediate geographical position between India and China, in terms of the sea routes followed by European explorers and traders. On the eastern side of the peninsula are the territories formerly united under French rule (Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea), which have been known as French Indo-China or, for convenience, as Indo-China.

The core of the peninsula is formed by mountain ranges, which divide the principal river basins. Two large river systems, the Red and the Mekong, have played major roles in the cultural development of the region. Both rivers rise in China and flow through northern Vietnam. The Red River flows into the Gulf of Tonkin, and the Mekong River flows through Laos, Kampuchea and southern Vietnam into the South China Sea. Both rivers have developed large delta areas which, historically, have been important centres of human settlement.

3.2.1 Vietnam.

On the eastern side of Indo-China is Vietnam, which is larger in terms of population (approximately 54,000,000) and area (332,559 square kilometres) than either Laos or Kampuchea. Its long, rather forbidding, coastline extends 1,600 kilometres from China south to
the Gulf of Thailand. A north-south marine current runs along the coast, which is much exposed to winds. The coastline is muddy in the Gulf of Tonkin and at the mouth of the Mekong, and rocky in between. These inhospitable features of the coast were to present the refugees leaving by boat during the 1970's and early 1980's with serious safety hazards.

Both the Red River delta and the Mekong River delta are in Vietnam. These are the most important agricultural areas in this country, which also has a tropical climate influenced by monsoons throughout the year. Traditionally, subsistence economic activity by hamlet and village groups, based on rice and fish supplemented by limited use of a wide range of auxiliary crops, provided the basic life-style of most cultural groups in Vietnam (Spencer & Thomas, 1971).

In contrast to the densely populated delta and central lowland areas are the mountain regions, which are for the most part thickly forested and thinly populated. These mountain regions contain deeply dissected plateaus, which have traditionally presented serious barriers to both movement and settlement (Fisher, 1966).

Vietnam shares a number of geographical features with its Indo-Chinese neighbours, Laos (to the north-west) and Kampuchea (to the south-west), and all three have traditionally had economies based chiefly on agriculture.
3.2.2 **Kampuchea.**

Of the three countries in Indo-China, Kampuchea ranks second to Vietnam in terms of population (approximately 9,500,000), but is the smallest in area (181,035 square kilometres). The Kampucheans are mainly farmers and, as in Laos and Vietnam, rice is the principal crop.

Most Kampucheans live on the fertile plains created by the floodwaters of the Mekong River, or near the Tonle Sap (Great Lake) and the Tonle Sap River north-west of Phnom Penh. The Tonle Sap has traditionally provided the main complement to the Kampuchean domestic economy in its fishery.

3.2.3 **Laos.**

In terms of area (236,800 square kilometres) Laos is smaller than Vietnam but larger than Kampuchea, while in terms of population (approximately 4,000,000) it is smaller than both those countries.

Lying in the Mekong Basin, Laos is landlocked by Vietnam, China, Burma, Thailand and Kampuchea. Its geographical position has traditionally made the region a "buffer zone" between larger states, especially Vietnam and Thailand (Osborne, 1979). Nevertheless, as a formal entity, it is only a recent creation. At the end of the nineteenth century, when the French imposed colonial control on the region now known as Laos, it was a cluster of principalities and petty states (Spencer & Thomas, 1971).
Much of the country is mountainous and densely forested, and mainly for this reason, is largely undeveloped, despite areas of rich soil and valuable mineral resources. Along the Mekong River and its tributaries many Laotians grow rice, while in the highlands corn, cotton, rice and tobacco are grown. However, with the continued use of traditional farming methods and equipment, the country's agricultural output has remained small (Spencer & Thomas, 1971).

3.2.4 Cultural consequences of the geography.

There are obvious similarities in the geographical features of the three countries of Indo-China. However, there have been significant differences in the historical and cultural developments which have occurred in them. In part, this is accounted for by some of those same geographical similarities. For example, there have been the effects of the barriers to overland communication and settlement, created by dense jungle and the mountainous nature of much of the Indo-Chinese peninsula (Fitzgerald, 1974). In this respect, Fisher (1966) noted that the demographic evolution of the region has largely been determined by "the relentlessly longitudinal grain of the relief" (p. 429) which has rendered the great valleys of the peninsula more readily accessible from the north than they are from the west. As a consequence there have traditionally been differences between eastern and western areas of the peninsula in their relationships respectively to China and the Indian sub-continent.
Steinberg, Wyatt, Smail, Woodside, Roff and Chandler, (1971) discussed the fundamental importance of the role ecology has played in the development of the area, especially by influencing the relationship between the concentrations of people living in the fertile niches and those living on the much less fertile periphery. While fertile plains were ideal for wet-rice, the hinterland was generally better suited for "migrant slash-and-burn cultivation" (Steinberg et al., 1971, p. 6). Wet-rice growing permits a density of population and a social wealth far greater than is possible in the less-favoured regions, and consequently very different cultural and social institutions have emerged.

Furthermore, the geographical environment of Indo-China has been the setting for the development of cultures which differ in many macro and micro characteristics from the mainstream Australian culture. Many differences in life-style reflect contrasts between the Indo-Chinese and Australian geographical environments, as well as contrasts between previous cultural contacts of Indo-Chinese and Australians with other peoples. There are, for example, differences in clothing, diet, housing, spiritual beliefs, language and social organisation. All such cultural characteristics constitute potential adaptation issues for Indo-Chinese immigrants in the "new" geographical and social environments which they will encounter in Australia.

The influence of Indo-China's prehistory and
3.3 **INFLUENCE OF PREHISTORY AND EARLY HISTORY.**

Anthropological evidence indicates that racial movements in South-East Asia in prehistoric times were very varied and complex (Clark, 1962). It is apparent that the Indo-Chinese peninsula was first inhabited by peoples akin to the Australian Aborigines and Negroid Papuans of Melanesia. These people were later displaced and partially absorbed by Indonesian groups moving in from the north (Lancaster, 1961; Spencer & Thomas, 1971). Most of these Indonesian peoples later moved on and settled in the Malay peninsula and the islands of the Indonesian archipelago, while those who remained were either absorbed by another wave of immigrants, or forced to seek refuge in the hills and mountains (Lancaster, 1961).

Many survivors of this latter group, and also members of some other minority groups in Indo-China, remain in the upland areas, and are known as "hill people" by the lowland majority groups in the region. Traditionally, they were organised on a tribal basis, depending for their livelihood on relatively primitive forms of cultivation (Fisher, 1966). Typically, as a group, they were outside the administrative apparatus of the lowland states, and they did not share the values of lowland society (Osborne, 1979). Nevertheless, as
Osborne noted, they were strongly linked with the dominant society, while not becoming part of it. They could supply or be a source of slaves, fight as soldiers in the armies led by lowland rulers, trade in forest products, or provide special skills such as the training of elephants.

The notion that has long persisted of an absolute separation between the upland minorities and the lowland majorities has resulted, in Osborne's (1979) view, from the degree of social division between the two. Although there were important links involving the interests of government and trade, there was almost complete social division, as summed up in the words chosen by the dominant societies to describe the peoples of the hills. These terms are pejorative, laden with disdain and emphasising the social and cultural gap separating the two groups. Uplanders have been known as "moi" to the Vietnamese, "phnong" to the Kampucheans, and "kha" to the Laotians (Osborne, 1979; Lancaster, 1961).

Among the Indo-Chinese immigrants now in Australia there are people from both upland and lowland communities. Social divisions, such as those mentioned in this section, are still in evidence among the immigrants in this country.

Of greater apparent importance to the immigrants' adaptation, though, are issues concerning language.
3.4 **LANGUAGES.**

Fairbank, Reischauer and Craig (1973) have claimed that the most significant human divisions in the region are linguistic rather than racial, with the largest linguistic division being the Sinitic (or Sino-Tibetan) family of languages. This group is comparable to the large Indo-European family of languages, which has spread over most of Europe and many of the Islamic and Indian zones of civilisation. Within the Sinitic group, Chinese languages form by far the largest linguistic subdivision, with several other groups of Sinitic tongues being spoken by peoples in south-west China and contiguous areas. The Thai group of Thailand and Laos, and Vietnamese – the language of modern Vietnam, are usually included among the Sinitic languages (Fairbank et al., 1973). Khmer, the language of Kampuchea, probably represents still another linguistic family.

These linguistic divisions do not, of course, correspond to twentieth century political boundaries. Furthermore, numbers of minority groups contained within the borders of the countries of Indo-China possess linguistic characteristics not shared by the dominant group, such as, for example, speakers of the Indonesian/Malay language (which belongs to the large Austronesian linguistic group) who live in settlements along the southern coastal regions of Thailand, Kampuchea and Vietnam (Osborne, 1979).

While the majority-spoken languages of Laos and
Vietnam are both classed as Sinitic, the written scripts used traditionally were different, reflecting important variations in the history and culture of the people living in the various countries of Indo-China. In Vietnam, where the Chinese cultural influence had been very strong, Chinese characters were used in writing, but during French rule Romanised script was also adopted (Lancaster, 1961). On the other hand, in Kampuchea and Laos, which were greatly influenced by Indian culture, writing was in script taken from Pali, and originally in Sanskrit (Fitzgerald, 1974). These scripts were phonetic (unlike the Chinese system) and since approximately the middle of the twelfth century new, distinct forms have evolved for the major languages of Laos and Kampuchea (Lancaster, 1961).

Communication (verbal and nonverbal) is a very important area of macro- and micro-cultural difference in the situation of many Indo-Chinese immigrants to Australia. This occurs because the cultural "roots" from which the immigrants' and Anglo-Celt Australians' communication systems have evolved are, for the most part, distinctly different.

The cultural origins of the Indo-Chinese are complex. However, important among the influences on their cultures have been the activities in their geographical region of the Chinese and Indians.
3.5 CHINESE AND INDIAN CULTURAL INFLUENCES.

An important feature of the cultural development of the Indo-Chinese peninsula has been the impact of strong outside influences, notably Indian and Chinese. In a sense, the region formed a frontier zone in which the cultures of the two great neighbours met and interpenetrated, with the line of the Annamite Mountain Chain providing a major divide between the smaller, but intensely Sinicised zone to the east, and the much larger area to the west and south, in which Indian influence, though generally in a more dilute form, was predominant (Fisher, 1966). Syncretic cultures developed through a process of discriminated cultural adaptation, with pre-existing civilisation the core.

Chinese expansion southward began during the last half-millenium B.C. The Vietnamese were under Chinese rule from 111 B.C. to 939 A.D., and under the Han (whose dynasty lasted from 202 B.C. until 221 A.D.) they were subjected to intensive Sinisation (Hall, 1981). Duncanson (1968) suggested that it was during the period of Chinese rule that the fusion of the people of Tonkin (northern Vietnam) into, largely, one group speaking one language with its strong Chinese element occurred. He suggested that during the same period, the people learned a system of government which had, as a principal function, the task of regulating drainage and irrigation, which were very important for northern Vietnam's economic growth. Duncanson claimed that, during this period too,
the people became imbued with the Confucian social and political philosophy, which has persisted till the modern era, alongside certain religious practices of Buddhism, which they share with their Indian neighbours (Duncanson, 1968).

For nine hundred years following the period of Chinese rule, the Vietnamese sovereigns held their thrones by virtue of Chinese approval, and at regular intervals acknowledged their subordination by payment of tribute (Duncanson, 1968). Nevertheless, the Vietnamese developed a culture which, while owing much to China, preserved its own identity, with roots going back to a pre-Chinese past (Hall, 1981).

The Indian influence in Indo-China, probably starting as a by-product of trade during the first century A.D., was, in the process of absorption by the native societies, fundamentally transformed (Hall, 1981; Osborne, 1979). For example, while Indian religious concepts were important in the region, one of the essential features of Hinduism, the caste system, had notably little influence. In fact, Hall commented that, after the introduction of both Hinduism and Buddhism, religious ideas and practices of earlier times persisted strongly, and, in coming to terms with them, the two imported religions were profoundly changed. However, of continuing importance to developing structures of state in the region was a particularly significant aspect of the Indian religious influence (whether direct or via Chinese
Buddhism) - namely the notion of sacral kingship. This underpinned later state structures, even for the Vietnamese, who had pre-existing centralised systems (Mus, 1975; Healy, 1982). Similarly, Indian artistic and architectural concepts played an important part in the development of art; and yet the much-praised structures of ancient Angkor, like the temple complexes of Java and the Buddha images in Thailand, are individual in character and quite different from the images to be found in India (Osborne, 1979).

Nevertheless, historically, the impact of the cultures of China and India on the region has been very strong. The Chinese influence (in the east of Indo-China) contained a much more significant political element than the Indian, as India did not exercise sovereignty over the countries concerned (Coedès, 1966). Fisher (1966) claimed that, together, the two cultures produced a transformation in the region's political geography, and this has been one of the most influential and lasting results of the cultural contact. Gradually, under the higher forms of administration introduced by India, and more particularly China, divisions based on local clans and tribes gave way to more intense territorial groupings, which permitted the growth of relatively large and powerful states.

The cultural characteristics of the people living within these states were different in many ways from those of the people in the developing, large states of
Europe, which has been the source of Australia's majority population in modern times. A discussion of the traditional societies which developed in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos follows. The characteristics that will be examined were selected on the basis of their relevance to adaptation issues for the Indo-Chinese immigrants now in Australia.

3.6 TRADITIONAL SOCIETY.

A consideration of traditional cultural characteristics of the people of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos must focus principally on the rural scene, as society in the three countries was traditionally essentially rural. This situation has persisted well into the twentieth century despite the expansion of urban areas and the increased exposure of their occupants to western culture.

The villages of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos (where the great majority of people lived) varied markedly in physical composition and cultural detail. It is possible in this study only to look at selected aspects of this varied rural scene with a view to communicating some appreciation of the village world. This is considered important as numbers of immigrants now in Australia have come ultimately from such backgrounds where certain traditional influences persisted, to varying degrees, at the time of the recent mass departures of people from Indo-China. Furthermore, in urban areas also there was
some persistence of traditional values and attitudes into contemporary times. (Additional details concerning certain specific cultural and psychological characteristics of the immigrants, and their implications in respect to the cultural adaptation process, will be discussed in Chapter 4.)

3.6.1 Vietnam.

Fitzgerald (1972) saw the village as Vietnam's "essential community" (p. 107), with the country traditionally being a world of small, almost closed systems, linked only by the emperor and his mandarins. Society generally consisted of two separate groups - the small literate elite and the mass of the peasantry. The link between the two was the village "notables" whose sons typically studied Confucian texts and competed in the national examinations for places in the bureaucracy. In addition, the notables instructed the villagers in Confucian patterns of behaviour.

When describing the Vietnamese village of Khanh Hau, Hickey (1964) referred to an old proverb known to many Vietnamese, which stated, "the laws of the emperor yield to the customs of the village" - a saying which, Hickey claimed, in many respects characterised the Vietnamese village as a "self-contained homogeneous community, jealously guarding its way of life" (p. 276). This traditional isolation of the villages had, of course, been significantly eroded by the middle 1960's, when Hickey's work was written. However, he stated that while the
"little-community qualities" of Khanh Hau were perceptibly dwindling as a result of historical events since the end of the nineteenth century, those qualities were still very much in evidence.

Within the village hedges each person apparently knew his place in the hierarchy of a few families and, when a group such as the village council gathered, it found its unity through the relationship of each man to the patriarch, in a hierarchical structure which was the foundation of social organisation (Fitzgerald, 1972). Vietnamese society, with its patrilineal kinship system, was modelled on the family and, according to Fitzgerald, most relationships were analogous to the primary one between father and son.

Having a stable technology and a limited amount of land, villagers lived by constant repetition, generally by the sowing and reaping of rice, and by the continuation of customary law. They worshipped their ancestors as the source of their lives, their fortunes, and their civilisation. There was thus a homogeneity in the attitudes and values of many villagers (Hickey, 1964; Fitzgerald, 1972). They shared a "cosmological view deeply rooted in the Buddhist-Taoist-Confucianist ideology of the Chinese Great Tradition, with Vietnamese alterations and additions" (Hickey, p. 277) which underlay the beliefs and practices of village religion and influenced all other aspects of village society as well. In Khanh Hau, as described by Hickey, even the Catholics and other villagers, who for
whatever reason, had rejected some of the traditional ways, showed adherence to this Tradition in their daily behaviour.

There was a general belief in universal order, of harmony with it and human destiny within it. The notion of harmony was involved in many practices and rituals, such as the observance of taboos, use of amulets or talismans, preparation of medicines, consultation with healers, appeasement or expulsion of spirits, invocations to deities, and veneration of ancestors. The aim of these practices was to preserve or restore harmony and, with it, well-being (Marr, 1981). A related concept was that of geomancy, a belief deeply rooted in Vietnamese rural society. It was held that as spirits existed everywhere and took up their abode in anything it was of vital importance not to disturb them. Thus, people would appeal to a geomancer for advice before beginning such tasks as constructing houses and selecting grave sites (Hickey, 1964). The land had such special significance for the Vietnamese that, Race (1972) claimed, closeness to ancestral graves and the fields the family had worked for generations provided "the emotional security and strength which Westerners generally draw from prophetic religion" (pp. 6, 7). Prior to the advent of national government the village shrine ("dinh") referred to the god of the particular earth beneath the village (Fitzgerald, 1972). Later, emperors of Vietnam would appoint a guardian spirit or spirits to each settlement, when it became self-sufficient and attained village
"xa") status. The village was expected to construct a dinh or communal temple as a repository for the imperial document naming the guardian spirit, thus creating a symbolic bond between village and emperor.

In traditional Vietnamese society, an important role was played by the local Buddhist religious leader, known as the "sai" or "bonze". Duncanson (1968) and Benda (1969) attributed the influence of such figures in Vietnam (and China) partly to the disestablishment of religion (that is, the separation of church and state) in these countries, as this helped give the local bonzes greater autonomy. As the Vietnamese moved southwards the bonzes were carried farther from sources of intellectual Buddhism in China and from the sophistication and respectability of three or four historically famous sects in Tonkin. Some bonzes became associated with secret societies founded for banditry and piracy, and these groups have been a persistent feature of the Vietnamese social scene, dominating, for example, the seafaring vocation, into modern times.

Secret societies played a major role in the nationalist movement in Vietnam during the twentieth century, and the piracy practised by members of such societies has provided a major hazard for the "boat people" of recent times. Such clandestine organisations were seen by Pike (1966) as representing "perhaps the single most important Vietnamese sociological heritage", arising as they had apparently done, from a "strong
clan instinct welded to a deep sense of Vietnamese destiny, placed in a setting of foreign control" (p. 1).

Within the villages people spent most of their lives surrounded by kin, and with them shared the daily tasks and pleasures of life, a macro-cultural characteristic which is quite different from the usual pattern in the Australian cultural situation. Hickey (1964) stated that in Khanh Hau few people lived alone and, amongst those who did, no-one was really isolated as everyone had relatives somewhere in the village. Kinfolk worked together in the fields and traditionally all members of the kin group would participate in the series of family celebrations which marked the yearly cycle. (Loss of contact with kinfolk has been an important problem for many Vietnamese and other Indo-Chinese immigrants to Australia.)

In accordance with the Confucian tradition, that "filial piety was the key to all wisdom and virtue" (Fitzgerald, 1972, p. 110), children were taught that their identity depended upon their maintaining a given "place" within village society. They learned to suppress their feelings - particularly hostility and aggressiveness - in the interest of holding their place and maintaining the harmony of the community as a whole. (This kind of suppression of feelings is a micro-cultural characteristic which has been noted among the Indo-Chinese immigrant children and adults in Australia.) Such values were taught both at home and school, where children learned
by repetition rather than questioning. The intellectual world was perceived as uniform and absolute, and, rather than learning "principles" from their parents and teachers, the children learned to imitate them (Fitzgerald).

Formal education consisted of the study of Confucian texts, and this influence remained strong well into the colonial period, despite the French policy of abolishing Confucian schools and replacing them with a small primary education system. (By the beginning of World War II there were approximately 1,000,000 pupils in primary and secondary schools in Vietnam (Warshaw, 1975).) Implications of the traditional educational philosophies of Vietnam, and also of Laos and Cambodia, in respect to the Indo-Chinese children in Australian schools are discussed in Chapter 4.

Many changes occurred in village life during the colonial period and the years which followed. Hickey (1964) noted, however, that many of the old ways survived the sweep of legislation introduced first by the French colonial government and then, after the village became part of the Republic of Vietnam, by the Vietnamese government. Hickey claimed, for example, that in Khanh Hau most decisions concerning village society, such as village projects, welfare, response to such crises as drought, and justice, continued to be dealt with in ways traditional to the village. Essentially, what the Saigon-imposed changes had achieved was the introduction of a number of procedural innovations, and the creation of new tasks for the Village Council, accompanied by a
reduction in the power and prestige of village officials. The war, with its guerilla characteristics, bred conflict and suspicion, and caused many villagers to become inward-looking. Consequently, they became primarily concerned with their own and their family's survival.

3.6.2 Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia).

In traditional Cambodia, like Vietnam, the role played by the village was of fundamental importance. As the country was predominantly agricultural, highly important in the general life cycle were sowing and harvesting time, with most Cambodians sharing the macro-cultural characteristic of living on and working their own land, often combining agriculture and fishing.

The relationship between the Khmer people, their land and their religion, was embodied in the unifying symbol of Cambodian culture, the monarchy. However, despite shared symbols, the social, political and cultural distance between the ruling elite (namely, the king, the royal family, the nobility, and educated commoners) and the Khmer peasantry was wide, with minimal contact between government and villages (Steinberg, 1959). The majority of Cambodians below the elite group were farmers, Buddhist monks (bonzes) and government servants, with few people being involved in commerce or industry.

The Cambodian value system derived largely from Khmer and Indian cultural traditions, and various segments of the population tended to be more influenced by some
elements of the resulting complex of values than others. Among the peasantry support for the Buddhist tradition was very strong, while the nobility and wealthy urban dwellers displayed an affinity with the set of values derived from a combination of ancient Khmer culture with Indian Hinduism. This latter tradition was oriented toward a system of fixed classes with prescribed status and important rank distinctions. The accompanying formal patterns of respect and deference between people of superior rank were supported strongly by the lay nobility and upper-class commoners in rural areas, while the rural peasantry were also affected by it and showed respect to officials. Adherence to the Buddhist tradition was probably greater in the rural areas among the peasantry, although this set of values did exert a strong influence on all aspects of Cambodian society. Whereas the Khmer-Hindu tradition placed a high value on fixed status and rank consciousness, the Buddhist tradition valued individual achievement and the ultimate equality of people. Consequently, the latter doctrine served as a rationale for the peasants' lower status in society (Steinberg, 1959; Mus, 1975).

The rural people were typically devoted to their village temples, the traditional religion being Theravada Buddhism, which had replaced Brahmanism in Cambodia between the sixth and fifteenth centuries. The Buddhist church was legally separate from the state, but symbolically they merged in the person of the king, who, while not an official of the church, was its guardian and
protector, and was looked upon as the divine leader of the nation (Mus, 1975). As it was customary for all adult males to spend some time as monks, Steinberg (1959) commented that, therefore, the bonzes came from all walks of life and they to some degree bridged the social gap between the rulers and the ruled. From early childhood, the Cambodian was encouraged to confide in the bonze, and generally, even before he became the responsibility of the bonze-master (guru) at the pagoda school, he had been considerably influenced by the clergy. Thus, the role of the guru was very important in Cambodian personality formation, and in the development of attitudes that were to be manifest in adulthood.

Steinberg (1959) expressed the doctrinal formula of Theraveda Buddhism as "that which a man is, is the fruit of what he has been" (p. 61). A person's good and bad deeds were irrevocable and became part of his character, with all that happened to him being weighed on a merit-demerrit scale. One could accumulate merits through good deeds and demerits through bad, and the latter could subject one to attacks from the spirit world. Spirits, it was believed, lurked everywhere "always touchy, easily offended - and must be placated" (Steinberg, p. 63).

Primitive religious elements, which preceded both Brahmanism and Buddhism, continued to exist side by side with them in village belief systems. When Buddhist doctrine was seen as unsatisfactory in its explanations
of life's problems, comfort was often sought in the supernatural, namely the cult of tutelary spirits. This tradition, which had deep historical roots in the region, combined animism (belief that spirits were present in all places and that certain men had the magic power of conjuring them up or warding them off) (Mus, 1975), sorcery and naturalism. Cambodian folk religion, like that of Laos and Vietnam, was thus characterised by an array of tutelary spirits and magical practices. These beliefs are examples of cultural characteristics (with macro and micro elements) which were quite different from what may be regarded as the corresponding cultural characteristics (that is, majority-culture belief systems) that have prevailed in Anglo-Celt Australian culture.

Mabbett and Chandler (1975), stated that the cult forms in Indo-China and their associated myths, served to reconcile diverse elements in society. Whereas reality, with its political tensions and multiple cultural influences was heterogeneous and divergent, a myth could, by means of symbols, create identifications between things that were different. This type of identification, of mutual superimposition, could be seen "in the relationship between amorphous earth god and anthropomorphic icon, between priest and sacrifice, between chieftain and ancestors, between royal cult and village shrine, between king and god" and between high culture and local lore (Mabbett and Chandler, p.xi).

A study of kinship in Cambodia reveals contrasts
with respect to the Vietnamese situation. Cambodians did not traditionally attach special importance to tracing descendants through the male line. Rather, their kinship system was bilateral, as in Laos, with relations among kin members being regulated without maternal or paternal bias. A traditional household typically consisted of a married couple and their unmarried children, although economic factors in the rural areas sometimes led married children and their families to live with the parents. Generally, each small family group occupied a separate house, owned its rice paddy and vegetable garden, and planned and operated as an independent unit. The children were treated affectionately and independence was encouraged from an early age. Filial piety in Cambodia was a less compulsive moral obligation than in Vietnam, but respect for one's elders was nonetheless expected of everyone (Steinberg, 1959). This expectation of young people was stronger throughout the cultures of Indo-China than it is in Australia. The respect given to Australian teachers by their Indo-Chinese pupils has been widely commented upon by teachers in this country.

The purpose of traditional Cambodian education was to enable pupils to master and practise the Buddhist doctrine, with the pagoda schools teaching boys to copy and read the sacred texts of Pali. As Pali was not generally used in the country the usefulness of this practice was limited. Few people learned to read and write Cambodian. Under the French regime increasing numbers of Cambodians were taught literacy skills, but
Steinberg (1959) expressed the view that what was learned was often wasted, as the villagers had little opportunity and no great motivation to read. Herz (1958) commented, though, that this was because of the overwhelming French bias in the curriculum and the lack of opportunities offered Cambodians to progress beyond school (see Section 3.7).

3.6.3 Laos.

Traditionally, Laos was an almost completely agricultural country, in which most of the large Lao ethnic group, who were dominant politically, economically and socially, lived as subsistence wet-rice farmers in tiny villages along the Mekong River and its tributaries. A few Lao made up the country's small elite group, which was composed of royalty and the wealthy official class. Also largely engaged in irrigated rice cultivation were the Thai of Laos, while other groups, such as the Meo, Yao and Khmu, led semi-nomadic lives based on slash-and-burn cultivation in the highlands.

In many villages the focus of the villagers' lives was their Buddhist temple, and concepts of the outside world (and the rest of the villagers' own country) were often ill-formed (LeBar & Suddard, 1967). However, this should not be taken to mean that villages were permanently positioned in one place. Halpern (1964b) noted that a village's location was, typically, changed every few dozen years, and was not too stable a unit. Similarly, he stated that the tribal villages of the mountain
dwellers were typically moved every decade or so, and as social units were even less stable. There were not the strong ties to particular plots of land, such as existed among the Vietnamese.

The village was usually founded on a matrix of families based on kinship ties, which were reinforced by reciprocal labour exchanges, participation in village councils, vested interest in the local pagoda, and taking part in village ceremonies in honour of common ancestral spirits. In Laos, bodies were cremated at death and people were often unaware of their ancestry beyond three generations. Family names were nonexistent among the Lao, until 1943, when the government made them mandatory, and the people continued to change their names at will (LeBar & Suddard, 1967). This cultural characteristic (that is, instability of names) has created some difficulties for teachers of Laotian immigrant children in Australia, as names children are called by their parents do not always match teachers' records.

Descent and inheritance were traced bilaterally in traditional Laos and Cambodia, as mentioned in Section 3.6.2, with the woman playing an important role in domestic management. A man's social position in the village was determined by his demonstrated moral and personal character rather than any inherited status.

Among the hill tribes there was considerable variation in village social structure, in organisation and in religious practices. Most hill people were not
Buddhists and so lacked the unification of a formal religious structure (LeBar & Suddard, 1967). The traditional, centralised political structure of the Lao and tribal Thai contrasted with the diffuse forms of authority that existed among the hill people and were generally related to their respective types of cultivation (Halpern, 1964b).

Village life was divided essentially into the rainy season and the dry season. The monsoon's arrival was accompanied by village ceremonies and rites aimed at ensuring successful growth of the rice which was planted at that time. In traditional Lao-Thai culture rice was regarded not simply as a food, but as a sacral substance presided over by a guardian spirit, and thus each stage in the rice cultivation was accompanied by appropriate rituals. The dry season was a time for more intense activity, beginning with the harvest and the accompanying ceremonies and celebrations, and continuing with threshing, winnowing and storage of the rice, followed by building, repairing and restoring farm tools. Religious ritual connected with the rice crop was traditionally common to all ethnic groups in Laos, and it thus formed an indispensable part of basic agricultural activities; furthermore it gave supernatural sanction to the work patterns of the villagers and helped make their tasks in the rice fields part of a supernaturally ordained way of life (Halpern, 1964b).

The majority of villagers were linked in the
religious and political spheres, as the national government and the Buddhist hierarchy provided organisational structures which ultimately related to all villages. More recently, closer ties also developed in the economic sphere with increased dependence of villagers on outside sources for manufactured goods, as well as various foods and raw materials. Such goods were moved through an intricate system of intervillage trade which extended even to the isolated hill groups (LeBar & Suddard, 1967).

The Lao-Buddhist lifestyle was characterised by individualism and emphasis on personal responsibility for self. They were, therefore, possibly more psychologically differentiated in Berry's (1974) terms than the Vietnamese (see Section 4.3.3). This was reflected in the lack of overt guidance apparently received by young children concerning learning tasks. Parental permissiveness continued throughout childhood, although children were expected to learn respect for seniority at an early age (LeBar & Suddard, 1967).

As in neighbouring Buddhist Cambodia, traditional formal education in Laos was conducted by the bonzes. It contained much religious content but was largely oriented toward practical needs, namely, the skills and knowledge required for participation in Lao village society. The arrival of the French saw the establishment of increasing numbers of secular schools, and by the mid-twentieth century education had become a prerequisite
and a means for mobility (Halpern 1964a). However, in 1967 LeBar and Suddard stated it was still the case that in many rural villages the only education available was the traditional type.

LeBar and Suddard (1967) also found that by the late 1960's the basic pattern of Lao values had been relatively unaffected by the years of French colonial administration and the more recent contact with other foreign nations. However, with improvements in communication networks and the influx of western goods and ideas, change was by that time being noticed in rural areas and there were indications that the traditional homogeneity of rural life was beginning to give way.

3.6.4 Conclusion.

Historians generally appear to agree that traditional cultural values such as those discussed in this chapter were still very much in evidence in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in the middle to late 1960's, despite the fundamental societal changes which were by then well underway. Even among the increasing numbers of urban dwellers, adherence to certain traditional values was in evidence to varying degrees. Hence, the relevance of this background information to the issue of Indo-Chinese immigrant adaptation within host countries such as Australia, given that such traditional cultural traits among the immigrants would still be expected to influence, to a greater or lesser degree, the behaviour
It is likely to assist teachers to develop positive and productive educational relationships with their Indo-Chinese pupils if they are aware of principal cultural characteristics which exist among particular groups of Indo-Chinese people. Important characteristics for teacher consideration could include: the extended family; respect for elders; the variety of religious and cult beliefs; social antipathies between hill, village and urban people - antipathies which were encountered in this study, in respect to Vietnamese immigrants in Wollongong, and which have been encountered during other Australian research (Lewins, 1982); and the tendency, particularly among more traditional Vietnamese, toward unquestioning acceptance of teaching. Such issues are dealt with further in Chapter 4.

An understanding of some of the social forces and major events in Indo-China which precipitated the departure of the immigrants to Australia may also be useful for teachers in their dealings with Indo-Chinese students. Some of these forces and events are considered in the following sections.

3.7 **LEGACY OF THE COLONIAL ERA.**

The period of European colonialism in Indo-China, with its attendant collision between external pressures and indigenous traditions, in some instances introduced - and in others vastly accelerated - pervasive internal
structural changes in society. Even in village cultural life, which demonstrated extraordinary resilience to outside pressures, economic transformations (such as the introduction of the cash, as opposed to the barter, economy) affected a remarkably broad range of activity (Osborne, 1979).

3.7.1 Rural communities.

The French occupation brought little positive benefit to the rural communities, in spite of an ambitious program of public works. In Cambodia, there was a large growth in landlordism during and immediately following the French colonial period, associated with a polarisation among the peasant population. By the mid-1960's there existed, in addition to the growing landlord class, a large, fairly independent landholding peasant group and also a slightly less numerous class of landless, destitute rural dwellers - formerly members of the poorer peasantry (Kiernan, 1982a).

In the Mekong River delta, Vietnamese peasants found that they had no role to play on the developing large holdings, except as tenants or labourers. The real beneficiaries were a relatively small number of wealthy Vietnamese landowners (their interests closely linked with the French colonial power) and the Chinese rice merchants and shippers who controlled the vital rice mills of Cholon (Osborne, 1979). Much of the economic investment in Indo-China occurred in Vietnam, rather than Laos or Cambodia, as the development of the export economy was
mainly concentrated around the Mekong River (Fisher, 1966).

In common with other South-East Asian countries, rural indebtedness became a large problem in Indo-China, as producers became dependent on the vagaries of external markets. The markets for such products as rice, corn and beans fluctuated without control and peasants had no power at all over prices (Hou Yuon, 1982).

3.7.2 Roman Catholicism.

Another significant consequence of western rule in Indo-China was the spread of (French) Roman Catholicism (Duncanson, 1968) and the resulting strength of the Indo-Chinese Roman Catholic community, which during the French period grew to be one of the largest in South-East Asia (Fisher, 1966). The missionaries appeared to have been most successful in the coastal provinces of Tonkin, the non-Vietnamese highlands, and among the upper classes in the big towns. In Vietnam their religion was adopted eventually by at least a tenth of the population, with the proportion being twenty to fifty per cent of the people in certain provinces (Duncanson, 1968). Moreover, owing to extensive educational work undertaken by the missions, Roman Catholics came to form a disproportionately large part of the local intelligentsia (Fisher, 1966). (There are now many Roman Catholic Indo-Chinese immigrants in Australia.)
3.7.3 French objectives for social reform.

It has been claimed (Duncanson, 1968) that the French had set for themselves particular objectives for their activities in Indo-China, including unification of the region, the modernisation of the economy, and the establishment of French law. However, Duncanson argued that in practice the balance of vested interests seems to have been much more important to the French than humane considerations on behalf of the people as a whole, even though some important social advances were made. These included the provision of health services and the extension of educational opportunities both at the elementary and higher levels.

3.7.4 Education.

The education policy was apparently aimed at facilitating the achievement of French assimilationist objectives. Until the first decade of the twentieth century, French colonial policy in the region was based upon the theory of assimilation, and when in 1909 a policy of association was approved in its stead, the practical outcome of the change was not appreciably different from the previously stated assimilationist approach. Furthermore, in practice, as Watt (1968) claimed, opportunities for the local populace "to qualify as 'coloured Frenchmen' were limited to a small minority who, in the process, tended to be cut off from the vast majority of their fellow-countrymen" (p. 28).
Kelly (1979), in an analysis of European colonial education systems, claimed that colonial school systems were typically organised along dual lines, with one (metropolitan or European-type) system for the colonisers and one (which very superficially resembled metropolitan schools) for the colonised. Opportunities for student transfer between systems were rare and the quality of education offered within the system for the indigenous people was generally greatly inferior to that within the other system. Generally, only primary level education was available to the colonised until after World War I, and even then access to post-primary education was very limited.

The relation between metropolitan and colonial schools was one of separate and unequal institutions within a single educational hierarchy (Kelly, 1979). This relationship was reflected, not only in the control of colonial schools and their certification equivalences, but also in the relative value of the respective certificates in obtaining employment and in setting wages (Kelly, p. 214).

This was a situation in which the non-metropolitan educated, that is, most of the colonised, were strongly discriminated against.

The Vietnamese communists denounced the colonial education system in Indo-China. Between June, 1946 and June, 1950 Viet Minh guerillas used night classes and
the quiet periods between French bombings to teach basic literacy to some 10,000,000 previously uneducated Vietnamese, in a feat "unprecedented in Southeast Asian history" (Woodside, 1983, p. 401). This was done, partly, to enable the peasants to "understand the politics of an unusually book-dependent group of revolutionaries" (Woodside, p. 427). Following this period, the Vietnamese educational reforms led to important improvements in educational availability and quality, although the war caused great disruption to such activities. By 1980 approximately 80 per cent of all 6 year olds in Vietnam were being educated. However, during the early 1980's there was much frustration among the educated and partly-educated Vietnamese, largely owing to inadequate preparation for the appropriate utilisation of the skilled people emerging from the education system. In 1982, only 30 per cent of all primary school graduates were going on to middle school. This was described by Woodside as a "tell-tale sign" of "poverty and of a primitive employment structure" (p. 427). Such problems appear to have been important considerations for many Vietnamese who left the country during the early 1980's.

In Kampuchea, the educational situation began to improve after the departure of the French. There were considerable problems though, as the colonisers had trained no Cambodians to teach at the high-school level, providing almost all the teachers from France. During the 1960's and early 1970's the independent government
began to divert large amounts of money to the public school system, and by 1970 more than 70 per cent of the potential enrolment between the ages of 6 and 12 years were being taught in public schools (Warshaw, 1975). However, the social upheaval during the period of the Khmer Rouge - Pol Pot regime (April, 1975 until January, 1979) was so pervasive that many of the Kampuchean immigrant children in Australia have arrived here having received little or no formal education. By the end of 1979 in Kampuchea, nearly 1,000,000 children were attending primary schools in makeshift buildings or under trees, but there were few experienced teachers, as the majority of them had died during the Pol Pot period (Kiernan, 1982b).

In Laos, by the mid 1970's, there were still only 204,000 primary and secondary, and 542 college, students among a population of 3,100,000 (Warshaw, 1975). Chagnon and Rumpf (1982) described education in contemporary Laos as being a prerequisite for change. They claimed that the country suffered from a low quality of education, lack of textbooks, poor student study habits and a shortage of adequately trained teachers. Nevertheless, the situation had improved, according to Chagnon and Rumpf, since 1975, owing to the high priority given to education by the government. In 1975, less than 20 per cent of the population had completed six years of schooling and less than two per cent of the population had finished the full twelve years. The educational situation has been reflected in low levels of academic performance among
Laotian children now in Australian schools (Spearitt & Colman, 1983).

3.7.5 Economic enterprise.

Overall, the period of French rule intensified the pre-existing social and economic contrasts within Indo-China (Fisher, 1966). French enterprise in Vietnam was allowed to continue without regard to the development of the Vietnamese economy (Lancaster, 1961). For instance, the adoption of a policy of protection after 1928 largely obstructed development of local industry, for which Tonkin was a promising location (Duncanson, 1968). In Cambodia there was substantial development of plantation cultivation, especially rubber, but little factory industry, while Laos, because of its inaccessibility, was neglected even more than Cambodia in terms of economic development.

3.7.6 Law and order.

The establishment of French-styled law and order was mentioned as an objective of French rule. However, confusion and neglect within the law as exercised by the French militated against respect for it, as did the indifferent ethical and intellectual standards of a large proportion of French officials, combined with the exclusion of local officials from making decisions and exercising responsibility.

In the country areas of Vietnam the weaknesses of government which had existed during the rule of Vietnamese
monarchs Gia Long and Minh Mang persisted under French rule. Secret societies continued to flourish, and to provide much impetus for twentieth century revolts against government. The societies, whether political or religious, were mutually competing factions, which could be patriotic if an appropriate issue developed, but which primarily sought power and influence by force, and their main victims were other Vietnamese, rather than Frenchmen (Duncanson, 1968).

3.7.7 Emergence of an indigenous middle-class.

An important consequence of French rule was the emergence, by 1939 in Vietnam, of an educated professional class. However, the content and structure of French education drew the young professionals towards metropolitan France, rather than towards the service of their native society. In addition, French training did not produce Vietnamese experienced in industrial and financial management and the shouldering of public responsibility, as local men were universally excluded from management (Duncanson, 1968).

As the Vietnamese middle-class developed, growing numbers of indigenous people became aware of the contrast between their own social and political situation and that of the French. Increasingly, Vietnamese were being schooled in the French language and were acquiring professional western skills at the University of Hanoi. Some attended universities in France, and had ample opportunity to contrast the democratic freedoms enjoyed
by French people in metropolitan France with the denial by the French of those same freedoms to the inhabitants of Vietnam in their own country (Watt, 1968). The Vietnamese, like other indigenous people of Indo-China, did not regard French civilisation as superior to their own, except in the technical field, and so they became increasingly disinclined to fill the role of being subordinate and subservient assimilated Frenchmen (Watt).

Following World War II, and largely as a consequence of social forces which developed during French colonial rule in Indo-China, political, military and social events occurred in the region which led to the emigration of many Indo-Chinese people.

3.8 **WAR IN INDO-CHINA.**

It is not the intention of this inquiry to engage in detailed discussion of the causes and nature of the political and military events which occurred in Indo-China in the middle decades of this century. Briefly though, there appears to be considerable agreement in the literature with Watt's (1968) opinion that French pride in the cultural heritage of France proved a fatal obstacle to pursuit of a policy which would have permitted the local people in Indo-China to develop in their own way, with increasing opportunity for self-government culminating in independence. Furthermore, Watt claimed that France's failure to reach an agreement with Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh in 1946 must be counted as one of the most significant causes of the subsequent war
A measure of explanation for the intensity of the struggle which occurred in Vietnam can be found in Fitzgerald's (1972) exploration of its fundamental nature. In her view the intellectual foundations of Vietnamese society had been shaken and permanently altered during the French occupation. Traditional society had been organised as a three-tiered institutional structure comprised of the family, the village and empire derived from a single set of instructions and a change in one implied a change in the others. When the Vietnamese had conquered peoples of opposing cultures, such as the Chams, they had overcome any threat to their own social structure by including the "new" people within the structure of empire only on condition of their total assimilation. Peoples they could not assimilate they surrounded and left to follow their own laws (as in the case of various hill tribes discussed earlier in this chapter). However, the arrival of the French saw the Vietnamese confronting a civilisation more powerful than their own and "for the first time since the Chinese conquest in the second century B.C. they faced the possibility of having to assimilate themselves" (Fitzgerald, p. 13). Consequently, the French posed - and in the course of events proved themselves to be - a threat, not only to Vietnamese sovereignty and beliefs, but to the people's entire way of life.

The years following World War II saw the
Vietnamese involved in a struggle, not merely over the form of their state, but over the nature of Vietnamese society, and identity of the Vietnamese people. Thus, in entering the struggle, the United States of America and its allies such as Australia, with their "domino theory" approach to the situation in Indo-China, were not merely intervening in a border war. Rather, they were entering "a moral and ideological struggle over the form of the state and the goals of the society" (Fitzgerald, 1972, p. 6) in a cultural context which, owing to its alien nature from the viewpoint of their experience, they did not understand.

Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia and Souvanna Phouma of Laos attempted to maintain the neutrality of their respective countries and to resist participating in the war. The United States originally appeared to take over the "protective" role from France and Britain, but it managed in the longer term, while pursuing the Vietnam War, to contribute to the destruction of the fragile basis on which the independence of Laos and Cambodia rested. Consequently, the people of these countries of Indo-China were also drawn into the war (Fitzgerald, 1972; Sihanouk, 1980; Kiernan, 1982a).

3.9 **REFUGEES AND MASS EMIGRATION.**

The effects of the recent political and military events in Indo-China led to the creation, between 1954 and the early 1980's, of a vast refugee population.
3.9.1 Vietnam.

In Vietnam many people were displaced following the Geneva Accords. Approximately 100,000 people moved from south to north (these being mainly troops) while approximately 900,000 people moved from north to south. Many of those moving south were escaping forced labour in the north, and large numbers came from the Roman Catholic villages in Tonkin where entire communities, under the leadership of their parish priests in many cases, took a collective decision to move south. The refugees apparently believed that under the Viet Minh the continued practice of their religion would be extremely difficult. Furthermore, the evacuation was, according to Lancaster (1961) officially encouraged by Ngo Dinh Diem (himself a Catholic), by the Vietnamese hierarchy, and initially by the local authorities.

The refugee influx into the south created considerable logistic and social problems. The land area available for resettlement was restricted and the arrival of the refugees was viewed with serious misgivings by much of the local population. The southern Vietnamese, according to Lancaster (1961), feared that the northerners would "oust them from the positions of profit and power which they regarded as their birthright" (Lancaster, 1961, p. 345). Furthermore, some people apparently feared that the Roman Catholic Premier, Ngo Dinh Diem, would use the refugees to secure his hold on political power (Fitzgerald, 1972). It has also been claimed (Lancaster, 1961;
Fitzgerald, 1972) that the way in which Catholic northerners moved quickly into top positions in the south, and the methods by which relief was distributed, did little to allay such fears. Roman Catholics comprised 80 per cent of the refugee population (about two-thirds of the northern Catholics having been induced to go south in 1954-1955) and they were given priority for relief, while many southern Vietnamese who had been living in a state of destitution in the Viet Minh zone received little government assistance. The northern Catholics with their privileges, alien religion and rather different culture and dialect constituted a cultural minority group in the south, strongly resented by at least some traditional southern Vietnamese. Some Vietnamese immigrants to Australia, though, are of the view that relations between northerners and southerners in Vietnam more often involved "friendly" rivalry, akin to interstate rivalry in Australia (Vo Liem, 1984).

During the 1960's and 1970's millions more Vietnamese became displaced persons and refugees as the destruction of traditional Vietnamese society proceeded. Fitzgerald (1972) wrote that what had, even in 1965, been a nation of villages and landed estates became "a nation of 'bidonvilles', refugee camps, and army bases" (p. 427). The urban population increased dramatically during this period as people left the countryside in the usually false hope of finding better conditions in the towns and cities.
The social destruction was given great impetus by the attempt, in 1962-1963, to establish a system of fortified villages. However, the plan, known as the Strategic Hamlet Program, was ill-conceived (Fitzgerald, 1972), and in creating artificial settlements and separating the people from their land the government and its western advisors undermined southern Vietnam's social foundations. To the local people "the land and the family were the two sources of national as well as personal identity" (Fitzgerald, p. 429). While the government and its (mainly American) advisors were pursuing the Strategic Hamlet Program and the subsequently intensified war, they destroyed those sources of identity for many Vietnamese "not merely by killing people but by forcibly separating them, by removing the people from the land and depositing them in the vast swamp-cities" (Fitzgerald, p. 430). Thus, the country and its people lost the basic support network provided traditionally by the village system with its ability to act, as described by Pike (1966), in the capacity of a general protector of villagers. The lack of such social support networks was also a problem for the earlier Vietnamese arrivals in Australia, and it probably complicated the adaptation process for many of these people.

By the end of the Vietnam war in 1975 there were large numbers of refugees in both rural and urban areas of the country. Significant numbers of these people, for varying reasons, sought relocation to other countries. This situation applied particularly, it seems, to those
people who had been more closely involved with the defeated forces. Roman Catholics, for example, were numerous among the refugees (Martin, 1976; Kelly, 1977). This group, possibly the most westernised segment of the Vietnamese population, included 1954-1955 refugees from north Vietnam who were referred to earlier. Since Catholics previously from the north as well as those originally from the south faced losing their "western-generated and -supported" positions of cultural, financial and administrative privilege, for many of them relocation to another (possibly western) country was apparently a preferable alternative to remaining in Vietnam.

Many members of Vietnam's influential Chinese community who had been virtually in control of trade and commerce in the country obviously held similar views to the Catholics (and there would have been some overlapping of these two groups) as significant numbers of them also left. It was estimated that by 1980 more than 20 per cent of the Indo-Chinese refugees who had settled in France since 1975 were ethnic Chinese (Van-es-Beeck, 1982). Similarly, Lusher (1981) reported that a high percentage of the refugees who left Vietnam in 1978 and 1979 were Vietnamese of Chinese descent, "indicating that the Government was continuing its policy of either driving out or encouraging the departure of its Chinese minority", (p. 25). Some 160,000 Chinese Vietnamese (mainly northerners) crossed the border into China during 1978. Many other Chinese Vietnamese were deported from Ho Chi
Minh City (formerly Saigon) and other urban centres to be resettled in "new economic zones". Large numbers of these people, together with many other southerners who were either unwilling or unable to settle down to life in the new Communist society began leaving Vietnam in increasing numbers. Some went overland and others travelled by boat - all apparently sharing the hope of eventually reaching a suitable host country. The latter group were soon to become known to the rest of the world as "the boat people".

3.9.2 Kampuchea and Laos.

In addition to the Vietnamese refugees, the escalation of the war by President Nixon from 1969 onward created many refugees in neighbouring Laos and Cambodia, as American B-52's expanded their operations to include those two countries. Consequently, in northern Laos a large percentage of the Lao population and most of the montagnard tribes became refugees, while in Cambodia thousands of people were killed and millions displaced. Nor did the end of the Vietnam War in 1975 see the end of displacement of persons in Laos and Cambodia.

Between the creation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic in 1975, and the end of 1980, an estimated 300,000 people, or just under 10 per cent of the total population of Laos, had left the country (Van-es-Beeck, 1982). Many of these were members of minority groups who left primarily in fear of their lives, or at least of their freedom. In addition, many civil servants and technicians
previously employed by the former regime left for fear of reprisals, or fear of being sent to remote re-education camps. Disorganisation of the public service, especially education, was apparently another reason for the departure of many civil servants, teachers and students, while Vietnamese and Chinese merchants also left for commercial reasons. Finally, according to Van-es-Beeck (1982), it was "the petty controls of a suspicious administration that provoked the departure of large numbers of unimportant and politically disinterested Lao citizens after 1976" (p. 327).

In the case of Cambodia, officially renamed Kampuchea from 1976, approximately half a million people had entered refugee camps by early 1980. However, many of the 250,000 Kampucheans estimated to be living in camps on the Thai-Kampuchean border returned to their villages and farms during late 1980 and early 1981 (Lusher, 1981). The large number of refugees had been created initially as a result of the Vietnam War and then by the excesses of the Pol Pot regime, and associated Kampuchean/Vietnamese fighting. Between 1970 and 1975 more than three million people fled their villages to seek refuge in the cities. At first they were escaping American and south Vietnamese bombing, but later the principal motivation was apparently the desire to avoid the cruelty of the Khmer Rouge. Following their defeat of the government in 1975, and until their own defeat at the beginning of 1979, the Khmer Rouge leadership (headed
by Pol Pot) embarked upon a policy of eliminating the old society in order to create a new one based upon collective agriculture. So zealously did they pursue their aim that it has been estimated that as many as one and a half million people may have been killed by the regime (Kiernan, 1982b).

3.10 **CONCLUSION.**

The years of war and socio-political upheaval in the countries of what was formerly Indo-China created a large refugee problem with which the rest of the world has had to come to terms. Furthermore, with continuing instability in the area (especially in respect to Kampuchean-Vietnamese relations) there are still large numbers of people in refugee camps, especially in Thailand, awaiting resettlement.

Significant numbers of the Indo-Chinese people who have come to Australia are probably, in terms of specific experiences, not typical of the majority populations of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos. Nevertheless, it is clear that to varying degrees they do manifest much of the cultural heritage of their respective countries, as described in this chapter. Recently the effects of far-reaching social changes and problems associated with years of war provided common experiences for people throughout Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos. Further, it should be noted that many of the immigrants suffered harsh experiences before reaching transit camps, and the
effects of these, and other, problems associated with their particular situation (as will be discussed in Chapter 4) probably need to be appreciated within the Australian community if their resettlement here is to be successful.

As Australian society and its institutions, such as schools, continue to assist the Indo-Chinese children and adults to adapt to life in this country, the task should be carried out more efficiently if there is mutual respect and understanding on the part of mainstream citizens and immigrants - the immigrant adaptation process being a two-way series of events. The aim of this chapter has been to explore the broad cultural backgrounds from which the immigrants have come in the hope of shedding some light on their situation in Australian society. In general terms the backgrounds of these refugees differ markedly from those of previous groups of migrants who have come here in the post World War II period; this fact seems to make all the more pressing the need for Indo-Chinese background knowledge on the part of Australian citizens, especially educators of the children from Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos. Positive experiences based on intercultural knowledge which is, as far as possible, free from prejudicial attitudes and stereotypes concerning macro- and micro-cultural characteristics, will probably need to be fostered to facilitate positive outcomes from the adaptation process of Indo-Chinese immigrants in Australia.
4. **INDO-CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA: CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ADAPTATION IN PROGRESS.**

4.1 **INTRODUCTION.**

The earliest of the participants in the large-scale immigration from Indo-China to Australia have now been in this country for nine years. Consequently, a small, yet growing, amount of information is available concerning the progress of Indo-Chinese immigrant children and adults towards social adaptation within Australian society. In this chapter selected parts of the reciprocal adaptation process, in which the immigrants and the rest of the Australian community are participating, will be explored. Items from both the acculturation group of variables and the identification group (as analysed in Chapter 2) will be discussed, the identification group being particularly important to emerging social adaptation.

The distinctions between acculturation and identification variables are often difficult to define precisely. Nevertheless, certain items, which are here regarded as principally part of acculturation, will be discussed before others which are seen as mainly part of identification. In addition, an assessment will be attempted of the extent to which potential problems associated with the macro- and micro-cultural differences involved in the two groups of variables can be - and are being - minimised or aggravated,
particularly within the schools. Emphasis will be placed on those problems which are relevant to the cultural and social adaptation of the Indo-Chinese children and their families.

Among the Indo-Chinese immigrants various groups differ significantly from each other in both macro- and micro-cultural characteristics, as well as differing from the Australian "mainstream" community. The development of intercultural understanding between the Indo-Chinese and the Australian community at large, and analysis of the immigrants' progress toward cultural and social adaptation, have been complicated by the many important differences in characteristics among the various groups of people who have come from Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos. There are differences in ethnicity and cultural background, as discussed in Chapter 3. Also, there are differences, particularly between successive "waves" of immigrants, in such macro characteristics as age distribution, sex balance, marital status and the types of skills they possess.

4.2 MACRO-CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS: ACCULTURATION.

In the context of immigrant cultural and social adaptation, acculturation variables, as mentioned in Chapter 2, tend to be objective and observable, in contrast with identification variables, which are generally subjective and not readily observable. Macro-cultural differences, which involve obvious cultural characteristics, such as overt community
structure and household organisation, diet, dress, occupational skills, race, and language (phonology, morphology and syntax) are more closely associated with acculturation than identification, where micro-cultural characteristics seem to be of more direct importance.

4.2.1 Immigrant group structure: age, sex, marital status.

Overall, the Indo-Chinese immigrants are young compared with the Australian population as a whole, and the number of males is significantly larger than the number of females. The Vietnamese are far more numerous in Australia than Laotians or Kampucheans, and consequently significantly more information is available concerning them. The high numbers of young, single males means that the proportion of married immigrants is low by both Australian and Vietnamese standards. As Viviani (1984) commented, the extent of the imbalance departs noticeably from Australian norms and from the immigrants' accustomed family and social patterns, because of the "under-representation of complete families, and the importance of single-person migration" (p. 133).

The structure of the Indo-Chinese communities in Australia is an outcome of both the "pool" of potential immigrants available in first asylum countries, and of the selection policies applied by the Australian government. It has been easier for able young males to escape from Indo-China than for very young children (who are dependent on the family), older people (who may have been less fit, had dependents, or who were perhaps
less inclined to begin life again in a new country), and young girls (for whom, as Vo Liem (1984) commented, the fear of piracy was a significant problem if escape by boat was planned). Furthermore, when families could only afford the funds for one or two members to escape, it was usually the young men who were sent ahead.

Australian selection policies reinforced the resulting imbalance in community composition among the Indo-Chinese in this country, as there was a concentration on selecting those most able to join the labour force. Resulting social problems, arising especially from social isolation (Senate Standing Committee on Social Welfare, 1982), led the government to change policy by 1979 in a move to encourage the immigration of females of marriageable age. This change has not been wholly successful, largely because of the nature of the "pool" of potential immigrants in the transit camps, but also because unattached Indo-Chinese females, given a lack of community support networks in Australia, appear to be less willing to make such moves on their own (Nguyen Van Ru, 1984a) and are more likely to come accompanied (Senate Standing Committee on Social Welfare, 1982).

Viviani (1984) suggested that the strong male bias "indicates that selection on the basis of presumed 'ability to settle in Australia' can produce unintended outcomes working directly against successful settlement" (p. 131). This outcome is a further indication of the need for Australians (particularly those selecting
immigrants) to gain more accurate knowledge of the characteristics of intending immigrants, so that planning for resettlement can perhaps be more broadly based and can foster positive cultural and social adaptation for the whole group. Nevertheless, in recent years, the family reunion policy, particularly important to the Indo-Chinese with their strong family ties, has gone some way towards correcting the imbalance which was most marked before 1980 (Keys Young, 1980a).

4.2.2 Skills.

The immigrants from Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos are also far from being a homogeneous group in respect to their formal education backgrounds and occupational skill levels. There are three principal reasons for this: (a) differences in both the traditional and more modern education systems of the three countries involved; (b) variations in the amount of disruption to education suffered by the immigrants during the war and associated social upheaval; and (c) differences in the characteristics of later versus earlier emigrants from Indo-China.

Variations in the education systems of the countries of birth (outlined in Chapter 3), and differences in degree and duration of social and institutional upheaval experienced by individual refugees, have resulted in a great range of formal educational experience. Chan Kang-Ning (1981) claimed that Indo-Chinese children attending schools in the United
States were at least two years behind American children, owing to the disruption of the school system in Indo-China. Similarly, Spearitt and Colman (1983) noted that some of the immigrants of upper primary and secondary school ages, in Australia, had experienced "little or no schooling because of the long period of hostilities and the lengthy periods they had spent in refugee and transit camps without schooling facilities" (p. 1). Consequently, over 50 per cent of the primary school students and approximately 50 per cent of secondary students for whom information was available in their study, had experienced less schooling than their Australian peers.

An Australian Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (D.I.E.A.) study (Fulton, 1982) found that among any age group of Indo-Chinese immigrants in this country, males are likely to have received more years of schooling than females (presumably for cultural reasons), and that assisted refugees, as a group, had spent more years at school than boat people. Fulton noted that the sex differences in length of schooling were much less significant at younger ages, while Spearitt and Colman (1983) found that among their school-age groups there were no significant differences in length of schooling for males versus females. It thus appeared likely that the Indo-Chinese children were potentially equally disadvantaged relative to Australian children in the schools when grouped according to sex. However, as the range in exposure to formal schooling has been
considerable, the community, especially parents of school-age children, and teachers, need to be aware of this area of difference among the immigrants.

A wide range of skills exists among the children's families, and those who arrived with particular "waves" of immigrants tend to share some characteristics. Fulton (1982) reported that, in the D.I.E.A. study, the largest occupational group was the "sales" group; that is, individuals who in Indo-China had been, for example, shopkeepers and proprietors. Ethnic Chinese accounted for almost 63 per cent of this group. There were also many people in the farming and fishing category, with approximately 95 per cent of this group coming from Vietnam. It was noted, though, that detailed analysis of the farming and fishing group was difficult as numbers of immigrants who had, prior to April 1975, been involved in other occupations, turned to farming and fishing at that time "because of new regime directives to undertake such activities, or to open up an escape route from their homeland" (Fulton, p. 22). Boat arrivals accounted for 52 per cent of individuals in the farming and fishing category in the D.I.E.A. study. Many women had been seamstresses, having been previously employed in cottage industries to supplement the family income. Small numbers of men and women belonged to the professional and technical group, this being a change from the situation which had existed in respect to the middle 1970's immigrants.
The decline in numbers of professional and highly skilled Indo-Chinese coming to Australia has been substantial. For example, among assisted Vietnamese in the Australian workforce, 27 per cent in 1975 were in the professional and technical category, while by 1980 only 1.7 per cent were in this category. The change reflected the decline in numbers with recognised skills among refugees in the camps, a trend which was reinforced by the migration of ethnic Chinese, a group with many traders but proportionately fewer professionals and technicians (Viviani, 1984). The family reunion policy may also have increased the numbers of unskilled in the annual intakes (Gatbonton, 1980). In addition, the more highly qualified immigrants may have preferred resettlement in the United States where, according to Gatbonton (1980), it was easier to have qualifications recognised, and possibilities for advancement may have been seen as greater. However, in the United States, like Australia, a decline in recognised skill level was noted with successive waves of Indo-Chinese immigrants, the more recent arrivals being "less educated than those of the 1975 wave" (Chan Kang-Ning, 1981, p. 39).

4.2.3 Food.

Some adaptation to the Australian diet has been an enforced or obligatory part of the acculturation of the Indo-Chinese (Chapter 2) because of food availability, and offerings in social situations. Food similar to that available in the countries of Indo-China, however, is
becoming increasingly available in Australia, as the immigrants have often found Australian food, particularly that provided within the institutionalised setting of the hostels, difficult to tolerate (Nguyen Huu Thu, 1978). Food provision has been one of the most common reasons given by the immigrants for early departure from the migrant hostels. However, it has not merely been the type of food that has been a problem. In the cultural life of the Indo-Chinese, food has traditionally played a very important role, and the preparation of food outside the family deprives the family of one of its principal functions. "Taking up residence outside the Migrant Centre thus represents a way of re-establishing cultural values and family roles" (Fulton, 1982, p. 4).

Cultural clashes have also occurred outside the hostels over food provision. Just as immigrants from other countries have attracted derision over diet – for example, some Italians who were noticed eating horsemeat in the 1960's (Viviani, 1984) – so the Indo-Chinese have also had some problems. An example was the group in Melbourne in 1983 who, for barbecuing a dog, became the subject of media outrage and public demonstrations. As Viviani noted, the outcome in these two cases was similar – a sharp lesson for the immigrants "in suppression of cultural values" (p. 264).

4.2.4 Clothes.

For such reasons as climate, availability and social expectation, adaptation to different clothing
styles, like diet adaptation, has been a largely obligatory change for many of the immigrants. The immigrants have, in many cases, needed to adjust to wearing types of clothes that they have not worn before. For instance, some Vietnamese have found it difficult "to dispense with thongs and wear shoes and socks in the cold weather" (Jones, 1977, p. 20). Adjustment to different clothing was scarcely facilitated by the fact that, probably under pressure of numbers, many immigrants, upon arrival in Australia with very few clothes and other possessions, were provided with garments often several sizes too large, designed for the opposite sex, or inappropriate in other ways. For many Indo-Chinese who were accustomed to heat and humidity, Australia's winter climate was very harsh and clothing supplied was found to give insufficient warmth (Fulton, 1982).

4.2.5 Housing.

Many of the Indo-Chinese have stayed at migrant centres during the immediate post-arrival period, and have then moved out to live in shared accommodation with friends or relatives. In Sydney, many Indo-Chinese are choosing housing in the south-western suburbs, especially the Fairfield area, near the migrant hostels (Ethnic Communities Council, 1983). Living with people they know gives new-arrivals time to look for more permanent housing without feeling pressured to make quick decisions (Keys Young, 1980b; Fulton, 1982). The ethnic Vietnamese, in particular, are choosing to settle in areas near the
hostels, because, according to Nguyen Van Ru (1984a) they "are not very adventurous people. They stay in the same place" and so tend to remain in the hostel area.

Such immigrant population concentrations appear to have some advantageous effects. Psychological adjustment, for example, is assisted by ethnic group support during adaptation. In schools which have large numbers of children belonging to a particular immigrant's ethnic group, and where a teacher does not speak a child's first language, the establishment of meaningful communication between child and teacher may occur more quickly with other children acting as interpreters. Also, of course, a child in such a setting would be less socially isolated than a non-English-speaking (NES) immigrant child is likely to be in a low migrant density school (Tenezakis, 1977; Brown, 1979). Disadvantageous effects in areas of immigrant concentration also occur; for instance, English-language learning may be slowed down, since the need to use English in order to communicate is reduced (Taft & Cahill, 1978). Collins (1982), as a result of her study of Indo-Chinese children, commented that "large numbers of migrants in a school reduces the opportunities to use English" (p. 16) and thus affects the language performance and overall academic achievement of Indo-Chinese children.

When they needed accommodation in their homelands many of the Indo-Chinese would have sought help and advice from friends or relatives already living in a particular
area. Finding housing by this method in Australia does permit the spread of false information, but the immigrants appear much more comfortable in a situation which removes language and cultural barriers from this area of decision-making (Fulton, 1982). This aspect of adaptation can be hampered by embarrassing "loss of face" experiences on the part of the immigrants.

4.2.6 Employment.

Even though the Indo-Chinese recognise that in most cases they need to learn more English before they will gain satisfying employment, the vast majority seem very anxious to obtain a job as early as possible after arrival. Information obtained by the D.I.E.A. (Fulton, 1982) indicates that Indo-Chinese immigrants use their initiative to locate jobs, if possible, rather than simply waiting for employment to be found for them. Difficulties have arisen, though, from such matters as small numbers of job vacancies, lack of a comprehensive understanding of spoken and written English, problems with obtaining recognition of qualifications, and open hostility on the part of fellow workers towards the Indo-Chinese.

The majority of the employed immigrants work as unskilled process workers in the manufacturing industries of Sydney and Melbourne (Ethnic Communities Council, 1983). As Viviani (1984) argued, the problem with this employment pattern is that, given a continuation of present trends toward restructuring in manufacturing
industry, the section of the community destined to bear the greatest cost of this trend is that consisting of immigrant men and women, particularly Indo-Chinese. The remainder of the Australian community will thus need to be sensitive to this problem and be prepared to cater for the future needs of the immigrants concerned, in the interest of the long-term mutual adaptation of those immigrants who continue to be employed in such areas and the broader community.

Lack of English proficiency and difficulties in having qualifications recognised were found by Cox (1983) to be principal reasons for the fact that after an average of two to three years' residence in Australia many immigrants had not obtained employment in the professions for which they were qualified in Vietnam. The Committee of Inquiry into the Recognition of Overseas Qualifications (1983) found that Indo-Chinese immigrants in Australia had a special problem in that they were not members of "older established ethnic communities with developed support networks and professionals of their own cultural background" (p. 79). This situation hampers the adaptation process by creating dissatisfaction due to loss of status and income (Cox, 1983).

Lewins (1982), in a study of the occupational class of the early (1975) Vietnamese arrivals, found, at the end of the seventh year following resettlement, that an initial period of "levelling" during the early adaptation phase was often followed by a regaining of
occupational position comparable with that held in Vietnam. This happened to more than 75 per cent of the individuals involved. Furthermore, Lewins found that "many middle-class Vietnamese have acquired new competences in Australia over and above job skills, such as understanding how Australian institutions work and how to intervene to achieve ends" (p. 28). While long-term resettlement outcomes thus look promising, Cox's (1983) findings indicate that early-phase adaptation on the part of professionals could be facilitated if the immigrants received more guidance regarding: (a) the acquisition of English appropriate to their occupational needs; and (b) information concerning "alternative paths available for the achievement of recognition and appropriate employment" (p. 275).

4.2.7 Language.

As introduced in Chapter 2, there are both macro- and micro-cultural language differences, and the macro type, especially that which may be termed "survival English", seems to be the main concern of new-arrivals and of their instructors. Nguyen Huu Thu (1978), describing some problems of Vietnamese immigrants, stated that there is "no need to say that the language poses the biggest problem for them when so few can understand and speak English" (p. 2). The importance of language to employment prospects was discussed in the previous Section (4.2.6). In the migrant centres, full-time and part-time graded English-language classes
are arranged for the immigrants soon after their arrival, and use of these is strongly encouraged (Fulton, 1982).

Even though issues of immigrant adaptation, other than learning the language of the dominant culture, are being acknowledged increasingly as playing extremely important roles in the adaptation process, the fact remains that competence in using the English language in Australian mainstream society is still generally acknowledged as fundamental to many aspects of acculturation and identification (Inquiry into Schools of High Migrant Density, 1975; Fitzgerald, 1976; Galbally, 1978; Morrissey & Palser, 1983). In the Galbally report (1978), for example, it was stated that the English language plays a critical role "in enabling migrants to have access to Australian society and its institutions" (p. 37). Similarly, Taft and Cahill (1978) argued that, unless immigrants to Australia acquire English their contacts "with people outside their own ethnic group are severely hampered, and it is a truism that acquisition of the new language is indispensable for successful long term adaptation to a new culture" (p. 66).

In the United States, Nicassio (1983) found that Indo-Chinese immigrants who were "higher in alienation tended to have poorer English language proficiency and to have fewer American acquaintances and friends" (p. 348). Nevertheless, in spite of widespread language-teaching programs, there are many immigrants in Australia, Indo-Chinese and non-Indo-Chinese, whose social interactions outside their own ethnic group are
handicapped by lack of adequate command of English.

The Keys Young report (1980a) on the settlement process of Indo-Chinese and Timorese immigrants in Sydney contained the finding that one-third of the subjects tested lacked "even the most basic command of English" (p. ix), a fact which indicated that a sizeable proportion of the immigrants studied was "severely at risk in regard to ... ability to communicate in English" (p. ix).

The study of English-language-learning needs among adult immigrants in Melbourne, by Mantón, McKay and Clyne, (1983), revealed that many people who had factory jobs found they had little need to speak or understand English to do their jobs. "However a number of problems relating to union activities, workers' rights and safety regulations were reported" (p. 79). Morrissey and Palser (1983) reported that in the steelworks in the Wollongong area the frequency with which "steelworkers' pidgin" (p. 21) was used indicated the low level of complexity of the English used by many immigrants.

Recently, the Family Reunion Study (Keys Young, 1984) showed that many parents of immigrants, brought to Australia under the family reunion policy, made little attempt to learn English. Only a small minority of non-English speakers among those studied had taken English lessons here, especially among the older parents. "Nearly a third of those who didn't speak English handled the problem by keeping to their own people" (p. viii). A
similar finding among the Vietnamese in this country was reported by Nguyen Van Ru (1985).

The task of English-language acquisition, to a standard of some proficiency, is clearly a long and involved process for many immigrants. As a result of their assessment of the Commonwealth Government Contingency Program for Refugee Children, Spearritt and Colman (1983) found that even six months of intensive instruction in English through the Program was too short a time for most students to bring their English proficiency up to the level they required in order to operate within the regular school system. Spearritt and Colman concluded that the continuation of systematic English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) instruction "for at least a further twelve months in the regular schools to which the students move seems essential" (p. 254).

Two variables involved in the children's past experience were found, by Spearritt and Colman (1983), to be particularly important in respect to progress in learning English while participating in the Contingency Program. The more significant of the two was, not unexpectedly, previous study of English. Even children who had studied English for three to six months in a refugee camp had an advantage, which they retained throughout the Contingency Program, over those who had not studied English at all. The other important variable was the extent of a pupil's previous schooling. Lack of familiarity with the formal schooling environment and its
in-built expectations concerning, for example, formal concept development, portends potential difficulties for pupils with little or no previous schooling. In such cases, as was the situation with numbers of older, as well as younger, Indo-Chinese immigrants, there can be illiteracy in the native language and inadequate understanding of how it functions; this often leads to an inability to cope with learning a second language (Fulton, 1982; Ethnic Liaison Officer, 1983). In the light of their findings, Spearitt and Colman (1983) made twelve recommendations, one being that "provision for intensive ESL instruction should be made for refugee students as soon as they arrive at refugee camps, and not delayed until they arrive in Australia" (p. 255), and another stating that "special provision should be made for newly arrived refugee students with little or no previous schooling" (p. 255).

Spearitt and Colman's (1983) recommendation concerning English teaching in the refugee camps seems particularly relevant to older youth and adults, as well as to children. Upon arrival in Australia families need to cope with numerous adjustments and chores while under the pressure of living in a strange environment, so that there is often little time for formal language instruction. When a job is found, it is often impracticable to attend classes, for such reasons as lack of time, distance to be travelled, and tiredness (Manton et al., 1983; Nguyen Van Ru, 1984b). In this context, the Scott report (1980) incorporated results of
group discussions with immigrants who had been in
Australia less than ten years, the discussions showing
that, because of post-arrival language-learning problems,
a basic knowledge of English was seen as a main
pre-arrival need on the part of newcomers. Consequently,
an upgrading of English instruction in the refugee camps
appears to be one appropriate way to minimise immigrant
adaptation difficulties.

Manton et al. (1983) agreed that family and work
commitments were principal contributors to the failure of
the traditional classroom approach to teach English to
adult immigrants more effectively. These authors also
listed another reason for the lack of overall
effectiveness of the traditional approach, based on their
survey; this was that they considered non-classroom
situations "provide the most effective way of learning
English, since the acquisition of the new language is
linked to some other desirable or necessary activity"
(p. 81).

The need for more efficient methods of dealing
with the cultural differences (especially of a macro
nature) associated with language has been revealed in a
number of recent studies, such as those of Manton et al.
(1983); Spearitt and Colman (1983); the Ethnic
Liaison Officer (1983); and Morrissey and Palser
(1983). As a result, various recommendations have been
put forward to the Federal Government, in the interest
of facilitating immigrant adaptation in this area. The
recommendations include improvements in advertising, staffing, organisation and content of language programs, greater contact between immigrants and native speakers of English, and the persuasion of the wider community "that communication problems are not to be blamed only on the non-English-speakers. Native speakers of English must be made aware of what particular modifications are, and are not helpful, to learners" (Manton et al., 1983, p. 84).

4.2.8 **Schooling.**

As in the case of language, schooling incorporates both macro- and micro-cultural characteristics which are of critical importance during cultural and social adaptation of the immigrant child and his family. Furthermore, as in most contexts, the two types of cultural characteristics are closely interwoven. Many of the characteristics (Australian and Indo-Chinese) which are involved in education incorporate such strong micro - or identification - components, that most will be discussed in that category.

Some macro elements previously mentioned in this chapter are very important in the context of schooling. Examples include: the manifestation of basic skills necessary for formal educational instruction (a product, largely, of previous formal educational experiences), food habits, clothing, housing (especially its proximity to school and the facilities it provides for study), and language acquisition to an appropriate level.

As regards manifestation of basic skills, one
requirement of schooling which some Indo-Chinese should adapt to with ease is use of script. The Roman alphabet was introduced to Vietnam in the seventeenth century and a modification of this became the accepted method of writing and printing. Thus, many Vietnamese children previously educated in Vietnam and their (literate) families would be familiar with the type of script used in Australian schools. The immigrants, for example some ethnic Chinese, who are literate only in a non-Roman script such as Mandarin, will be in a similar situation to many from Laos and Kampuchea, where alphabets based on Sanskrit were used traditionally. Significant numbers of people from these countries, however, were also educated in French and they will be in the same situation as those literate in Vietnamese, in so far as familiarity with Roman script is concerned (Commonwealth Department of Education, 1983).

The children's difficulties with language, as already noted, are particularly relevant in the context of acquiring basic skills for schooling in Australia. For instance, regarding numeracy, Spearitt and Colman's (1983) study indicated that, after six months in the Contingency Program, Indo-Chinese pupils performed at levels far below their Australian peers in those numeracy tests with a significant English-language component. In the more straightforward computational items, though, performance approximately equalled that of Australian students.
It was also found that Vietnamese pupils performed at a higher level on the numeracy tests than Kampucheans and Laotians, a result which may have reflected the influence of previous schooling. The Laotian and Kampucheans pupils in Spearitt and Colman's sample had suffered more difficulties in respect to lack of - or interruption to - schooling prior to arrival in Australia than the Vietnamese pupils in the sample; this, it was suggested, may have accounted for some of the difference in test performance.

Another obvious characteristic of adaptation involving schooling is the establishment by immigrants of ethnic schools for home-culture maintenance. This is a development relevant to Indo-Chinese families, which will be discussed more fully in the micro-cultural section concerning attitudes to education.

A strong contribution to the school performance of children from all three Indo-Chinese countries would arise from micro-cultural influences, such as will be explored in the following section.

4.3 MICRO-CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS: IDENTIFICATION.

Micro-cultural characteristics are less readily observable and more subjective than macro-cultural characteristics. They are more closely associated with identification than the macro group, and include such variables as the social "rules" associated with particular patterns of behaviour and language use, the
many nonverbal signals associated with social relationships, learning styles, and attitudes toward work, education and the family. Some specific examples of cultural differences in several of these areas have been given in Chapter 2, and, while space does not permit a comprehensive analysis of all relevant areas, further attention will be given to certain selected variables which could play important roles in the social adaptation of the Indo-Chinese children and their families.

4.3.1 **Social "rules".**

The building of interpersonal relationships within a given society is largely dependent on the manifestation of certain modes of behaviour widely accepted and expected within that society. Considerable unease is created between individuals whose behavioural expectations differ significantly, and this is the uncomfortable situation in which immigrants, especially when recently arrived, are often placed.

Indo-Chinese social rules, for instance, can be a barrier to communication with welfare workers. The immigrants are traditionally reticent about discussing personal matters with non-family members. Nguyen Huu Thu (1978) explained that among the Vietnamese, for instance, there is no tradition of seeking professional help with personal problems - "it is based on the 'loss of face' concept" and consequently, questions "about family and emotional problems may be seen as inappropriate and offensive" (p. 7).
The Indo-Chinese also, as mentioned in Chapter 3, have very strict class codes, reflecting, in part, traditional social divisions in their countries of origin. The tension surrounding interaction between middle- and working-class Vietnamese, which has been carried over into the Australian context (Lewins, 1982), is an example of social ruling which could advisedly be taken into account by Australians when interacting with the immigrants if harmonious social relationships are desired.

In respect to both adults and children lack of assertiveness has been noted as a potential hindrance to positive social adaptation. Fulton (1982) suggested that the immigrants' cultural trait of tolerant acceptance, which caused them to withdraw rather than pursue a matter creating discontent, may lead to "adverse settlement consequences" (p. 5).

In the (American) school context, Chan Kang-Ning (1981) commented that as a result of their generally reserved, non-aggressive behaviours, Indo-Chinese students may be "picked on" by more assertive and aggressive students. The deeply-ingrained characteristic of reserve, stemming from the social rule that one should not be demonstrative in public, holds the people back from behaviour which may draw attention to them. Thus, students in class will be reluctant to ask questions, and will tend not to volunteer answers to questions in case they may be seen to be "showing off" if they know the
correct answer, or in case they lose face if they make a mistake. Duong Thanh Binh (1975) recommended that, in order to avoid typically evasive responses, teachers should ask very specific questions when trying to assess whether their students have understood a concept. Furthermore, he suggested, teachers should stress that "question and answer periods are for instructional and review purposes and not for embarrassing students who do not know the answers" (p. 17).

Another Indo-Chinese characteristic of which teachers, in particular, need to be aware is the separation of the sexes common in Asian society. Even though in recent times mixed classes existed in Vietnamese schools, division between the sexes was still maintained by seating the girls in the front rows and the boys at the back, with boys and girls never sharing the benches. Furthermore, "no teacher would assign a boy and a girl to be a team in any class project" (Duong Thanh Binh, 1975, p. 14). The traditional attitude of reserve and modesty led to an almost complete absence of sex education in Vietnamese schools, and while in Australia sex education is, at present, widely regarded as an important educational function of schools, for Vietnamese children and their families this topic is still surrounded by social taboo (Duong Thanh Binh). This, then, is another example of an area where social rules of Australians and Indo-Chinese are at variance, and teachers, at least during the short term, will need to be cautious in their educational approach if potential
adaptation problems are to be minimised.

Significant among the differences in social rules concerning language, especially as far as the school situation is concerned, are conventions surrounding name usage. This area is clearly one in which improved instruction, of Australians and Indo-Chinese, could help minimise the potential for misunderstanding, especially on the part of more recently arrived and therefore largely unacculturated immigrants. A typical Vietnamese name consists of from two to four words, with the family name coming first and the given name last, the reverse of the order in Australian names. However, out of respect for the person addressed and for his ancestors, the family name is rarely used. Thus, Australians who are often in contact with new-arrivals from Vietnam could consider addressing the immigrants as, for example, "Mr" or "Mrs" plus the given name - on formal occasions - and just by the given name on informal occasions. In their own communities Vietnamese rarely use even the given name as this is considered impolite; an appropriate personal pronoun preceded by the polite form "thua" is used, with no mention of family or given names. There is, though, no English equivalent for this, apart from, for instance, "honoured sister" or "my distinguished teacher" (Duong Thanh Binh, 1975). An additional source of confusion, and thus an area where interpersonal communication could well be improved, lies in the decision of some Vietnamese to anglicise their names in accordance with Australian usage, by stating their given name first. Then those
who are familiar with the conventions of Vietnamese names are left guessing what to call them and may have to ask to make sure which their given name is" (Commonwealth Department of Education, 1983, p. 16).

Kampuchean names are similar to Vietnamese names. The Laotians, however, differ from both these groups in their naming conventions. They generally have only two names and these are often written in the same order as European names, with the given name first. However, like the Vietnamese and Kampucheans, they are customarily addressed both formally and informally by the given name. Furthermore, traditionally, Laotians would often use nicknames for their children, which were quite different from the actual given names, the intention being to fool evil spirits. Kampucheans have also followed this practice, but among them the tradition is not as widespread (Commonwealth Department of Education, 1983).

As the custom can create confusion, particularly in the school environment, teachers need to be aware of it.

Finally, in the context of naming, it is appropriate for teachers (and the rest of the community) to use the terms "given name(s)" and "family name" rather than "Christian name(s)" (which may offend non-Christians) and "surname", where this is practicable, when requiring information in this area from Indo-Chinese immigrants. Intergroup awareness regarding these social rules should help reduce embarrassment and misunderstanding.
expectations can hinder social interaction is in the use of "yes" in response to questions. Whereas the convention among native speakers of English is to use "yes" as an affirmative response and "no" to indicate disagreement or to give negative information, the Vietnamese will often use "yes" as an initial polite form at the beginning of a response, whether the substance of their reply is affirmative or negative. The use of "yes" means that the speaker has been listened to. Duong Thanh Binh (1975) suggested that it is best to ignore the initial "yes" and concentrate on the statement that follows. Furthermore, in an attempt to come to terms with Anglo-Celt usage of "yes" and "no" Indo-Chinese will tend to use "yes" when they mean "no", when some confusing grammatical constructions are used. For example, a Vietnamese may say "yes" in response to "aren't you hungry?" when he means "no", "yes" being logically correct. "Yes" is also often used when "no" would be acceptable according to Australian social rules, but when the Indo-Chinese person does not wish to give offence.

The use of "yes" is, in fact, a major communication problem between Anglo-Celt Australians and Asian Australian immigrants because Asian people generally tend to say "yes" rather than "no" so as not to give offence. Consequently, it is necessary for Australians to develop greater skill in questioning such immigrants if they wish to gain accurate information and communicate more effectively.
Another area of micro culture which strongly reflects the power of social rules, especially within the immigrant adaptation process, is nonverbal communication. It is discussed in detail in Chapter 2 but is referred to here with additional Indo-Chinese cultural examples.

4.3.2 Nonverbal communication.

Nonverbal behaviour, and the communication arising from it, are being recognised increasingly as playing a major part in interpersonal relationships. Furthermore, as this is an area of behaviour not usually subject to rapid change on the part of an individual, and which often forms a basis for prejudicial stereotyping, the nature of this micro-cultural area will need to be better understood, particularly by teachers, if Indo-Chinese social adaptation within the schools is to be facilitated.

In Chapter 2 different expectations on the part of the Australian host community and Vietnamese, concerning some characteristics such as waving, and touching during conversation, were mentioned. Another trait which is important in respect to the differing expectations associated with it, is the smile. The Vietnamese, in particular, use this gesture to convey meanings varying from a friendly welcome and a means of pleasing superiors, to a polite screen to hide shyness, confusion, ignorance, fear, disappointment or anger. Teachers need to understand that smiling during an explanation or reprimand does not indicate insolence or
disobedience on the part of the Vietnamese student. "The Vietnamese smile can mean almost anything", wrote Duong Thanh Binh (1975), and "people from other cultures need not feel frustrated, irritated, or offended at not being able to guess its exact meaning" (p. 18). Nevertheless, the potential for misunderstanding is substantial. As a result, the smile offers a good example of a micro-cultural characteristic about which the wider Australian community may require more accurate information.

The need for such knowledge also applies to the use of other gestures, such as the lower level of eye contact that occurs between Vietnamese students and Australian teachers than occurs between Anglo-European Australian pupils and teachers. It is considered impolite for Vietnamese children to stare at adults.

Teachers also need to be alert to the cultural differences between the Vietnamese, Laotians and Kampucheans. For instance, many Laotians and Kampucheans will not like other people to put their hands on their heads, nor will they put shoes (or other items belonging near the ground) close to their heads, as the head is believed to be where the spirit is. For many (ethnic) Vietnamese, however, such practices as having others' hands patting the head are more acceptable (Vo Liem, 1984).

4.3.3 Intellectual styles.

The issue of intellectual styles and differences in concept development is another area in which
intercultural awareness could be developed, especially on the part of educators. Skills valued in one culture may not be valued in another, so that immigrant children from different cultural and experiential backgrounds may develop intellectual modes at variance with those fostered by schools in the receiving society.

For Indo-Chinese school pupils the traditional approach to learning was by means of listening, watching and imitating, with less emphasis on critical thinking and judgmental questions than exists in Australian education. Teachers were typically afforded great respect within a very conservative, formal school atmosphere, in which it was unusual for children to be permitted to take many initiatives in their studies (Chan Kang-Ning, 1981). Consequently, Australian teachers who wish to see their Indo-Chinese pupils develop a willingness to display originality and initiative in problem solving may need to devise special teaching strategies to encourage this development.

Certain specific concepts may also need to be taught carefully. An example is the concept of time. In the countries of Indo-China (as in many non-industrialised countries) time was usually expressed in terms of the co-occurrence of two or more events, rather than as an expression of precise time as in the western sense. For example, an individual's birth may be remembered as occurring at the time of a serious drought, or a great harvest, rather than on a specific day of a particular
year. In Laos, the traditional lack of interest in precise records was reflected in the reference by Halpern (1964b) to a school-teacher, who "when asked for the birthdates of his children, simply named dates in a series, made up in order to have something for the school record" (p. 137). This notion of time and method of expressing it will probably influence the way Indo-Chinese pupils use English for expression of time, especially during the early adaptation stage when there is inadequate knowledge of English. Concepts of colour can also vary. The Vietnamese have traditionally referred to six basic colours and, to express additional shades they referred to objects in nature, for example sea blue, to qualify one of the basic colours (Duong Thanh Binh, 1975).

Pertinent to intellectual styles was Kaplan's (1972) analysis of the problems confronting ESL teachers, once students have advanced beyond learning basic grammar, vocabulary and sentence structure and have moved on to the task of paragraph formation and presentation of longer written assignments. The problem here, Kaplan explained, is that English paragraph writing reflects the logic of English rhetoric, such logic being more culture-bound than universal. "The English language and its related thought patterns have evolved out of the Anglo-European cultural pattern" (p. 247) and the writings of immigrant students, such as the Indo-Chinese, tend to "violate the expectations of the native reader" (p. 247) in that they employ "inappropriate" rhetoric and thought sequencing. In Asian cultures there is a tendency
toward circularism in discourse and writing, whereas in English, discourse structure is mainly linear and shorter than the circular mode. Transference to English of the circular pattern would lead to writing which would seem awkward and unnecessarily indirect or evasive to the Anglo-Celt reader. Consequently, as Kaplan, and recently Clyne (1985), have argued, considerable care needs to be taken by teachers of English regarding instruction in paragraphing and essay writing. Each culture and language has its own paragraph order "and that part of the learning of a particular language is the mastering of its logical system" (Kaplan, 1972, p. 256).

A number of the differences in the approach to learning and the knowledge base which Indo-Chinese children (and their parents) may be expected to bring — and, indeed have already brought — into the Australian school system, have been described and the information made available to teachers by, for example, the Commonwealth and State Departments of Education and the Clearing House on Migration Issues. It seems, however, that the information needs to reach many more teachers and should also be continually updated in the light of experience gained in schools concerning the strengths and weaknesses of Indo-Chinese immigrant children.

The concept of cognitive style, involving differentiation, as developed by Witkin and his colleagues (Witkin et al., 1962), and explored further by Berry (1974) in the context of ecological
functionalism, may be important in respect to some Indo-Chinese people from subsistence-type life-styles. However, because of the complexity of the backgrounds of this group of immigrants, exploration of the issue, while potentially illuminating in this context, was beyond the scope of this inquiry.

4.3.4 Attitudes toward education.

Indo-Chinese children are typically placed under significant pressure by their families to study hard and achieve high standards of education. In Vietnam particularly, the Confucian influence taught that success comes through education.

According to Chan Kang-Ning (1981), the eat-sleep-work-play cycle of Indo-Chinese children tended to be different from that of their counterparts in countries such as the United States and Australia. "Play is seen as a reward for good work, such as studying, learning, and achieving good grades" (p. 41). Similarly, such activities as sport, drama and field trips, often regarded as very important by Australian children and parents, are frequently considered as not concerned with studying or learning, and therefore not important, by Indo-Chinese parents, who may dissuade their children from participating or even withdraw them from these activities.

The education of children is valued so highly by (ethnic) Vietnamese that parents would often prefer to make such sacrifices as eating less expensively in order
to keep their children at school (Nguyen Van Ru, 1984a). Whereas Australians tend to value wealth as an indicator of success, Vietnamese value a career much more highly. "Education has proved to be a great social levelling force in Vietnam for many centuries" (Duong Thanh Binh, 1975, p. 10) and many Vietnamese parents see in the free, compulsory Australian education system an opportunity for their children to rise in the social class structure.

Problems arising from some poorly planned mainstream group decisions concerning educational provisions, and some differences in attitudes between authorities and immigrants concerning education and methods of meeting particular needs, are influences which can clearly hinder adaptation in the school context.

Important here are some of the problems which have been associated with the main "reception" schools near migrant settlement centres. The difficulties have involved the lack of advance notice given the schools of arrivals of large numbers of children and the practical difficulties associated with having large numbers of children commencing and leaving a school in a continuous flow (Taft & Cahill, 1978). Also significant have been problems associated with the mobility of many of the children during the initial resettlement period, when housing and employment are being sought by their families; and in addition, the fact that the children have often arrived near the end of the year when school
shut-down is about to start - requiring greater flexibility of approach to the provision of educational facilities in the December-January period (Cahill, 1979). Furthermore, criticisms have come from parents concerning, for example, teacher permissiveness, insufficient homework, and the need for more bilingual teacher aides (Spearitt & Colman, 1983).

Many immigrant parents (and a number of teachers) favour bilingual teaching for the children during the first few years after resettlement, in order to cushion the difficult aspects of adjustment to a schooling environment which uses a foreign language to educate the children. This is traumatic because of the language's strangeness, and is an obstacle to the continuation of concept development across the school syllabus as the acquisition of knowledge in other subjects is held up until English is mastered - a special problem for older students and damaging to their self-esteem (Inquiry into Schools of High Migrant Density, 1975; Ethnic Liaison Officer, 1983). In addition, bilingual teaching and other approaches to home language maintenance (through ethnic schools, for instance) are desired by many immigrants as a means of preserving their original culture (Kringas & Lewins, 1981; Smolicz, 1983).

Such bilingual programs as have been in operation in regular schools, though, have often been considered temporary, their main purpose being seen as enabling development of academic knowledge while English is being learned. When sufficient English has been acquired,
usually towards the end of primary school, education has typically proceeded in English alone. However, the concern has been expressed that such an approach to bilingual education may not be meeting the demand that language maintenance programs for children from NES homes should fully develop their skills in their first language as well as in English (Commonwealth Department of Education, 1982). Supporting bilingual approaches to schooling, Brown (1979) warned against the potentially serious damaging effects upon language development of placing young immigrant children under unnecessary linguistic pressures on admittance to school. In fact, Brown stated that "child-adult dialogue in the mother tongue is a vital factor in the well-balanced development of a child's socialised speech at school" (p. 32), and that a conscious effort should be made to link the languages of home and school with experiences of both cultures, in order to avoid disturbing rifts between NES parents and their children.

Many Vietnamese parents wish their children to concentrate on learning English, as these parents see this as the best way of facilitating their children's advancement in the Australian education system. At the same time, though, many Vietnamese "want their own language living generation to generation among their people in Australia" (Nguyen Van Ru, 1984b, p. 14).

In view of the difficulties needing resolution in the area of Indo-Chinese education, Viviani (1984)
commented that what becomes "clear from talking to Vietnamese is that the present system fails at all levels to meet their main educational requirements for settling in Australia" (p. 209). Information gained during this inquiry, though, indicated that Indo-Chinese children seem generally to be adjusting well within the Australian school environment (Collins, 1982; Spearitt & Colman, 1983) and that, given positive commitments toward problem solving by both mainstream Australians and Indo-Chinese, the immigrant parents seem optimistic about their children's ability to succeed in Australian education.

4.3.5 **Identification.**

Mutual adaptation (by host group and immigrants) to the range of macro- and micro-cultural characteristics existing within a society underlies identification by the newly arrived immigrant group. Macro-cultural adaptation is strongly associated with the formation of intergroup relationships (acculturation), while micro-cultural adaptation, which seems mainly to emerge from macro-cultural adaptation, is associated more importantly with the formation of interpersonal relationships between members of the immigrant and host groups (identification) as shown in Figure 1. Identification, according to the analysis in Chapter 2, is closely linked with such variables as commitment to the immigration process by immigrant and host group, value differences and ethnocentrism - including the extent to which negative stereotyping occurs - resolution by the immigrants of
feelings of alienation and marginality, and the effects of the adaptation process on the self-concept and self-esteem of all those involved, especially the new-arrivals.

The Indo-Chinese immigrants have been in Australia for too short a time, and too little detailed information is available on their resettlement, for definitive comments to be made on their progress toward identification with the mainstream society in this country. Some indications of trends, however, are apparent.

Overall, the Vietnamese, Kampucheans and Laotians appear to be progressing towards "successful" cultural and social adaptation. There is evidence of positive commitment toward the immigration adaptation process by both the Indo-Chinese and the Australian host community, even though value and racial differences have caused unpleasant incidents, especially in areas where numbers of Indo-Chinese are concentrated.

As the immigrants are, in most cases, unable or unwilling to return home for the foreseeable future, they mostly seem to have a strong commitment to a successful transition into Australian society. (It should be noted that the relationship between the Vietnamese government and some recent arrivals from Vietnam - who have come with the consent of their government under the family reunion program - seems somewhat less negative than was the situation with earlier waves of Vietnamese immigrants, although fear
of repercussions resulting from criticism could still be an influence in operation here.) The generally positive commitment to resettlement is apparently persisting in spite of the need to cope with macro and micro differences and associated feelings of alienation and mutual ethnic prejudice which can occur.

Individuals and groups in the Australian community have varied in their responses to the arrival of the Vietnamese, Laotians and Kampucheans. There has been recognition of Australia's responsibility to accept the new immigrants on humanitarian grounds, and anticipation of their substantial contribution to this country's development and cultural enrichment, while on the other hand there have been fears expressed concerning cultural difference and competition for resources and employment (Keys Young, 1980b).

Schools are, of course, in a key position to foster identification. By virtue of compulsory education immigrant children (and, to varying degrees, their families) must be in almost constant communication with the school. Early evidence indicates that Indo-Chinese children are progressing towards positive identification within the school environment. Collins (1982), who studied 52 Indo-Chinese children in Melbourne primary schools, found that the children appeared satisfied with life in Australia and seemed "well-adjusted in many aspects of their behaviour and attitudes" (p. 22). Collins, however, also noted that the negative attitudes
often expressed toward the children by Australian children seemed to be "the most common cause of dissatisfaction" (p. 21), indicating the need for more positive action to be taken in schools to foster positive intercultural social relationships among children. Furthermore, this need seems even greater in the secondary schools than in the primary schools.

The study by Spearitt and Colman (1983) of pupils in the Contingency Program and beyond indicated that in secondary schools in Sydney and Melbourne there was a somewhat less-supportive atmosphere for Indo-Chinese immigrant adaptation and identification than existed in the primary schools studied. Spearitt and Colman commented that attaching intensive language classes for newly arrived immigrant children to existing schools has apparently provided "no guarantee of substantial interaction between the refugee students and the Australian-born students [so that] much more explicit provision needs to be made for the students to mix" (p. 259). They noted, as well, that providing for contact during physical education and music classes seemed to be an inadequate approach.

4.4 CONCLUSION.

The Indo-Chinese immigrants and their families and the Australian mainstream community appear to be proceeding towards positive cultural and social adaptation to each other, in spite of difficulties which have been encountered. More detailed knowledge of the
Indo-Chinese resettlement process should assist the development of the intergroup and interpersonal relationships necessary for continued positive adaptation. Indo-Chinese people and members of the Australian host community should benefit from having information which better indicates the strengths and needs of both the immigrant and the host groups, especially in the context of their varied characteristics.

The empirical study described in the following chapter was carried out to gather some necessary information for educators concerning the extent of adaptation of Indo-Chinese children in New South Wales primary schools.
5. **EMPIRICAL STUDY OF INDO-CHINESE CHILDREN IN WOLLONGONG.**

5.1 **INTRODUCTION.**

5.1.1 **Aim of the empirical study.**

There is a scarcity of information available pertaining to the adaptation of Vietnamese, Laotian and Kampuchean immigrant children in Australian schools. The following study was carried out in order to assess progress toward cultural and social adaptation among newly arrived Indo-Chinese children in some New South Wales primary schools. Specifically, the question investigated was: how is the extent of the children's adaptation to the demands of school life indicated by their English-language ability, cognitive development, school academic performance, and social adjustment?

5.1.2 **Nature and method of the study.**

The social adaptation of an immigrant group can probably be advanced most effectively and harmoniously when measures aimed at assisting the group are devised in the light of accurate information. Limited information concerning the adaptation progress of Indo-Chinese immigrants in Australia has become available, since the field work for this study was undertaken (July-August, 1980). At that time there was a dearth of such literature, particularly relating to the social adaptation of the children within Australian schools, and this situation largely remains. The empirical study was
carried out in the context of the lack of base-line data available at that time, the need for such information to be gathered and for important theoretical questions to be investigated.

The practical difficulties encountered by the researcher at this early point in the Indo-Chinese adaptation process were such that the most appropriate primary focus for the empirical work was a case study of the population. The assessment of recently arrived immigrants is a task requiring a cautious approach, and the data obtained in this study did not provide a basis for gross judgments; nevertheless, as the immigrants studied were unlikely to be very atypical of the Indo-Chinese immigrants at large, some extrapolation to the wider population may be able to be justifiably made from the results.

As explained in Chapter 2, adaptation to the micro characteristics of a culture (identification and social adaptation) tends to follow adaptation to the macro characteristics (acculturation and cultural adaptation) at a mainstream level. As the subjects in the Wollongong study were, in many cases, very recently arrived and in the early stages of adaptation to life in this country it was appropriate to study progress related more to macro- than to micro-cultural characteristics, with some indication included of micro-cultural needs which were then becoming apparent. In addition, because this study as a whole is principally concerned with the social
adaptation of Indo-Chinese children within the school system, an assessment was attempted of the children's performance on certain tasks, relevant to their cultural and eventual social adaptation in New South Wales and other Australian schools.

Standardised test materials especially appropriate for assessing the adaptation process in Australia of newly arrived immigrant children with NES backgrounds appear to be essentially non-existent. Thus, researchers must select from what seem to be the more suitable measures which are available. In this study, progress in selected macro areas of English language acquisition was investigated by means of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) and the Tests of English for Migrant Students (TEMS), and performance on less verbal (and possibly more micro-culturally relevant) tasks was investigated by means of Piagetian scales (Nixon test and the Inhelder and Piaget Matrices test (I & PM)). More general progress was indicated by teacher ratings concerning each child's academic and social adaptation to the school environment.

Part of the data base collected for this study included information obtained during interviews with a number of professionals in positions to make reliable judgments. Comprehensive notes were taken during the interviews, after seeking permission to do this in each case. Owing to the sensitive and political nature of the interviews, it was decided that tape-recording would be threatening and reduce the quality of the material obtained, and so taped records were not made.
5.1.3 Difficulties encountered during the study.

Many of the difficulties encountered were typical of those listed by other researchers and professionals who have been involved with Indo-Chinese immigrants. There was, for example, the problem of employment-related mobility of families. Class lists used for the study were often out of date, as there was so much geographical mobility among the Indo-Chinese population.

Many teachers commented on the number of obvious discrepancies between children's real ages and those which appeared on the records. This seemed to be a greater problem with older children, who apparently wanted to be classified as being of school age, in order to receive as much education as possible in Australia before entering the employment market.

The task of compiling family background details was often obstructed by lack of information, because many families were incomplete. At the Intensive Language Centre (ILC) at School 1, (see Section 5.2.2), for instance, in July 1979, 82 families were represented, but of these only 27 nuclear families were complete, and no extended families were complete; 10 children had no parents or guardians with them in Australia - their parents were still living in Indo-China (Brady, 1979). The compiling of accurate details was also complicated by recent short-term changes of occupation by some Indo-Chinese, while still in their own countries, as explained in Chapter 4.
Lack of English proficiency and differences in cultural values were sources of problems for the collection of background information and were variables requiring special consideration in the assessment process. Time constraints were also a problem, it being necessary to avoid undue disruption to school routines during the collection of data.

5.2 POPULATION AND SAMPLING.

5.2.1 Geographical location.

The city of Wollongong is situated on the coast of New South Wales, approximately 80 kilometres south of Sydney. Since World War II many people, from other parts of Australia and from overseas, have been brought into the area to meet the labour demands of heavy industry. Immigrants comprise a large proportion of the total population of 235,000 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1985). Most of the non-British immigrants live in the southern part of Wollongong, close to the manufacturing industries, the work-place for most employed immigrants (Morrissey & Palser, 1983).

The residential concentration of immigrants in Wollongong's southern suburbs, such as Cringila and Warrawong, reflects the immigrants' occupational emphasis and socio-economic status. Another area of Wollongong which has seen some concentration of immigrants is the northern suburb of Fairy Meadow. This suburb contained the Commonwealth Migrant Centre which, during the late
1970's and early 1980's housed many of the Indo-Chinese immigrants upon arrival in the area. By June, 1981, there were 1090 Indo-Chinese immigrants in the Wollongong Local Government Area, of whom 972 were Vietnamese, 89 were Laotian and 29 were Kampuchean (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1981).

An important "migration dynamic", noted by social workers, teachers and immigrants in Wollongong, is the contribution to the mobility of the population coming from the region's proximity to Sydney. This characteristic, coupled with such problems as the lack of employment opportunities for women, "ensures that social mobility is translated into geographical mobility" (Morrissey & Palser, 1983, p. 4) and among some ethnic groups a large proportion of the middle-class immigrants move to Sydney. This pattern was encountered by the author, who found that mobility of the immigrants was one of the main difficulties to be dealt with during the field-work.

5.2.2 The Sample.

The 65 children directly involved in the field-work assessments were Indo-Chinese immigrant pupils at four infants/primary schools in Wollongong. The details are in Table A1. Hereafter, "A" will refer to the Appendix.

The research subjects comprised the greatest part of the total primary-school population of Indo-Chinese in Wollongong at the time, according to information obtained
from the South Coast Regional Office of Education. Primary-school-aged children were selected as it is much easier to gain access to pupils in primary schools than in high schools. Practical difficulties associated with location of, and gaining access to, the entire, very mobile population of Indo-Chinese children made it impracticable to assess directly the total group.

Three public schools and one Roman Catholic school were the source of the research subjects. The Schools (1 - 4) were situated in the suburbs Fairy Meadow, Cringila and Warrawong, with School 1 being the principal reception school for the immigrant children arriving at the Migrant Centre. School 1 incorporated a main school stream of classes in which 54 per cent of the student population had an NES background, and an Intensive Language Centre (ILC), the student population of which was totally made up of newly arrived NES immigrants. The overall composition of the school, when these two sections were combined, was a student population of which 68 per cent were from NES backgrounds. At School 2, pupils from NES backgrounds comprised 80 per cent of the total population, at School 3 the NES background proportion was 90 per cent, and at School 4 the NES proportion was 74 per cent. The Indo-Chinese pupils in the mainstream (those not at the ILC) were given English-language instruction by ESL teachers on a withdrawal basis in the four schools.

The children in the sample had been in Australia
for periods ranging from three months to four years. This three-month lower limit was set during sample selection, to ensure a minimal level of adaptation to the Australian school environment for assessment purposes. The major characteristics of the sample which were relevant to the empirical study are shown in Table A1. Most children in the sample were from Vietnam, with a small number (five) from Laos. There were no Kampuchean children available for the sample in the schools selected. (There had been a small number of Kampucheans, mostly of secondary-school age, at the ILC at School 1 during the previous year.) While ethnicity can be difficult to ascribe to Indo-Chinese immigrants (see Chapter 1), the data in Table A1 indicate that, at least on the basis of language, the majority of children were ethnic Vietnamese, with somewhat fewer ethnic Chinese and a small Lao group. Numbers of males and females were approximately even. Table A1 shows the diversity of the sample, in respect to age, length of residence in Australia, language background and length of schooling.

Many of these children came to Australia with the early waves of Indo-Chinese immigrants, among whom skill levels tended to be higher than was the case with later waves (see Chapter 4). Information from teachers indicated that at least 11 of the children had parents with high tertiary qualifications, although not all parents were highly educated. (In Section A.1 there is additional information concerning the collection of data from interviews and teachers' reports.)
The research sample was chosen on the basis of practicality, rather than being randomly selected. Brislin and Baumgardner (1971) recognised the often-confronted need to forego the ideal of the randomly selected sample in psychological research, in the interests of feasibility. They noted that in the cross-cultural sphere of research:

psychologists, when studying the responses of individuals, have almost always depended upon non-random samples that are better termed 'bunches' or 'samples of convenience'. These bunches are composed of easily available subjects from schools, factories, or a single village. (p. 397)

What is particularly important in such research studies, they commented, is a detailed description of the characteristics of the research population and the environment "which could potentially influence the results or their interpretation" (p. 399). This kind of bunch sampling is often necessary to obtain completion of a survey in practical terms, and this was the case with the present study.

5.3 **ASSESSMENT INSTRUMENTS.**

In this section background, principal features, and reasons for the selection, of the assessment instruments will be discussed. General methodological details relating to testing procedure are explained in Section A.2. Procedures associated with specific instruments are
explained in Sections A.2.1 to A.2.5.

5.3.1 The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) (Dunn, 1965).

The PPVT was selected for use in this study as it is easy and quick to administer and is a standardised instrument which reflects verbal intelligence and exposure to standard English language. Other characteristics which influenced its selection were: a pointing response may be given, facilitating its use with children who have a limited understanding of English or who are reluctant to respond orally; the illustrations are generally clear and simple; and the test covers a broad level of difficulty and wide age range (the whole range in this study). Even though the PPVT is an American test, it has been widely used in Australia, where it has been shown to be a reliable instrument with children of varying language backgrounds, with predictive validity for educational and some occupational purposes (Taylor, de Lacey & Nurcombe, 1972; de Lemos, 1975; de Lacey & Rich, 1977). For testing procedures see Section A.2.1. Curtis and Glaser (1984) claimed that, in their view, the predictive power of verbal aptitude tests "stems largely from the fact that those tests are sensitive to differences in the content and process that are required by tasks in school, but which are not a primary focus of instruction in school" (p. 495).

It has been acknowledged, in a number of studies, that the test's cultural bias requires some caution in interpretation of results when dealing with minority-group
subjects (Potts, Carlson, Cocking & Coppie, 1979). On the other hand Jensen (1980) claimed that the PPVT showed only slightly more cultural bias than the supposedly culture-reduced Raven matrices test, according to indices of item x ethnic groups interaction, and that such bias as did exist on the items was scant. He therefore argued that, "if culture bias is claimed to exist for these tests in these groups, it must also be argued that the bias involves all the items of the PPVT and the Raven about equally" (p. 574).

Recently, Sternberg (1984), in a detailed discussion of the applicability or otherwise of achievement tests within intercultural settings, argued convincingly for a "contextual approach" to test usage. Conventional psychometric tests may, in Sternberg's view, be of greatest use as indicators of cultural adaptation within a specific environment, rather than as accurate measurers of "intelligence" or a specific level of cognitive development, except in a very narrow sense. Sternberg commented that:

The intelligence of an African pygmy could not legitimately be assessed by placing the pygmy into a North American culture and using North American tests, unless it were relevant to test the pygmy for survival in a North American culture (e.g., if the pygmy lived in our culture and had to adapt to it). (p. 313)
Bochner (1978), after reviewing a large number of Head-Start research studies, found that, where minority-group children were concerned, raw scores tend to yield slightly higher reliabilities than Mental Age "and considerably higher reliabilities than IQ scores" (p. 320). Similarly, Potts et al. (1979) analysed their data on a total raw index of the PPVT. In her Australian study of the educational achievement of immigrant children, de Lemos (1975) did not interpret the results as an indication of verbal intelligence, but used the PPVT essentially as "an indication of the level of understanding of English achieved by the non-English speaking migrant children" (p. 11). As the Indo-Chinese children were recently arrived and culturally different in many respects from the Anglo-Celt mainstream, it was therefore decided to use the PPVT in similar manner in this study, that is, as an indicator of exposure to — and acquisition of — English rather than an indicator of intelligence, although the test should inevitably reflect verbal intelligence. The computation of age-equivalent (scaled) scores was mainly carried out with the aim of obtaining a score which partialled out age effects, for use in analysis of inter-relationships between tests.

5.3.2 The Tests of English for Migrant Students (TEMS) (Withers, Renehan & O'Dea, 1977).

The discrimination of English sounds and pronunciation of English have been mentioned by teachers and Indo-Chinese immigrants as presenting important problems for this group of immigrant children. The TEMS
tests were developed for ESL and generalist classroom teachers, to replace ad hoc testing of English-language understanding on the part of immigrants (Kemp, 1980).

Nguyen Van Ru (1984b) surveyed the English-language-learning problems of 67 of his Vietnamese countrymen, and found that, when asked to indicate the most important problem experienced when listening to English, "sound" was selected by his subjects as far more important than meaning or grammatical structure. The Australian accent, with its many diphthongs, is especially troublesome to some Asians, particularly when American or British pronunciation has previously been heard frequently.

One major source of the problem is probably the extent of the difference in the sound systems used in English and the languages of the Indo-Chinese. In order to learn the pronunciation of English the immigrants need to learn both how to hear it in terms of its own sound system and how to produce the sounds in such a way as to be understood (Commonwealth Department of Education, 1983). Consequently, in this study it was decided that, in an attempt to measure a further aspect (other than vocabulary) of English-language-learning progress, the children's discrimination of English sounds would be assessed. This is not meant to imply though, that whatever the language learner finds it difficult to perceive, he will also find difficult to produce. There are many instances of "asymmetry between the learner's receptive and productive control of phonological segments" (James, 1980, p. 81).

At the early adaptation stage, the TEMS number 1 and number 2 tests appeared appropriate. There was a
problem in that not all the students fell within the most suitable age range for the tests (age 9 upwards) but most in the appropriate age group were also in the most suitable range in respect to length of stay in Australia (approximately six months to four years). These tests were also considered appropriate for use in this study, as they involved only minimal pairs; that is, words which differed in one phoneme only. Algeo and Pyles (1966) defined a phoneme as "the basic unit in the sound-system of a language" (p. 66). Perception of these sound units (phonemes) "is the most basic skill of listening competence" (Withers et al., 1977, p. 15). Test 1 assesses vowels, which, in the test reliability trials, proved to be more difficult than consonants, which are assessed in Test 2.

Reliability had been assessed by the TEMS project team (Withers et al., 1977) during trial testing with students who had lived in Australia less than six years, and were therefore born overseas (as the Indo-Chinese of this study sample had been), or who were born in Australia and had a parent whose native language was not English. A table comparing mean performances by immigrant groups and by native Australian speakers of English, in an equivalent year or years of schooling was included in the handbook (Withers et al., p. 95). The TEMS is a collection of 84 tests and checklists and as even more tests were trial tested the project team considered it impracticable to collect ethnic group samples large enough to give valid and reliable performance
data. Furthermore, in the context of changing migration patterns such data, had they been taken, "might very quickly have become useless" (Withers et al., p. 10). Care was taken during the trials, though, to select schools from as wide a range as possible of suburbs and socio-economic groups.

Tests 1 and 2 were found to be appropriate for newer arrivals, as they assess sound discrimination abilities necessary at an early level of English acquisition. As noted in the handbook, and as occurs with other aural language tests, more than mere auditory discrimination is in fact tested during the TEMS 1 and 2, even though the items appear to concentrate heavily on phoneme perception. This needs to be taken into account during administration of the tests and evaluation of the results, which should be done on an individual basis when they are being used diagnostically, especially when used with very recently arrived immigrants. Given care in the use of these tests, Kemp (1980) claimed that the TEMS should assist teachers to "use an evaluation design that provides precision and a clear feed-back of language performance information" (p. 47). Further information on testing methodology is in Section A.2.2.

5.3.3 Piagetian scales: the Nixon test (Nixon, 1971) and the Inhelder and Piaget Matrices (I & PM) (Inhelder & Piaget, 1964).

Grouping, classifying and labelling have long been recognised as the principal means by which people organise
what they hear, see and touch. "They are the processes through which people are able to make judgements about what is going on around them, and are therefore the foundations of thinking" (Nixon, 1971, p. 12). In a given culture, such grouping and regrouping (thinking) is carried out according to particular "rules", although the existence of such rules is usually scarcely recognised by the individuals who act in accordance with them.

Within the western cultural context, Piaget has described a set of such rules associated with the evolution of logical thinking by means of a progression through specific stages, from "sensori-motor schemata" through to "formal propositional logic" (Inhelder & Piaget, 1964; Piaget, 1972). In Piaget's model, class and relations concepts, as basic categories of logical thought, represent an area of primary emphasis. According to Piaget, between approximately 7 and 11 years of age, children pass through the concrete operations stage of intellectual development. The concrete operations stage is characterised by two major kinds of logical rules - class inclusion operations and serial ordering operations; the child has difficulty using these operations without having observable objects in front of him. This stage thus differs from that of formal operations, reached, according to Piaget, during early adolescence. During the formal operations stage an individual has the "ability to reason about thoughts, propositions, and possibilities to combine them" (Mussen, Conger & Kagan, 1963, p. 469). The classificatory ability which emerges at the concrete
operations stage involves, according to Inhelder and Piaget (1964), the ability to think about the parts and the whole independently, that is, distinguishing between the "intension" and "extension" of a class. Joseph (1916) stated that the extension "is defined as the variety of a species in which a common character is exhibited, the intension the common character exhibited in this variety" (p. 136).

There has been much debate concerning certain aspects and applications of Piagetian theory. For example, Bruner (1967) claimed Piaget had under-rated the role of language in cognitive development; Neimark and Lewis (1968) questioned the number of stages involved in the development of cognitive structures and whether progression through the stages occurred in an invariant sequence or if steps were omitted; Macnamara (1975) stated that Piaget's account of how children develop an understanding of number was erroneous in that the relationship between number and class is not as he described it; and Flavell (1977) argued that "cognitive growth is not as stage-like a process as Piaget's theory claimed it is" (p. 255). Nevertheless, there is wide acceptance of the general principles involved in Piagetian theory (de Lacey, 1969; Clarizio, 1982), and his work has provided the basis for much of the recent research regarding the development of reasoning, within both western cultural, and cross-cultural contexts.

In addition to the fact that there is widespread
reference to, and use of, assessment based on Piaget's theory, a further reason for the selection of Piagetian-based tests in this study was that they provide a flexible procedural approach by means of his "clinical method", which is advantageous when dealing with recently arrived immigrant children. There has been considerable debate concerning the appropriateness of Piagetian tests in both cross-cultural and minority group contexts, as they share certain "culture-bound" qualities with other psychological tests (Brislin, Lonner & Thorndike, 1973; Vernon, 1975; Serpell, 1982). Nevertheless, they have been widely used in such situations (for example, Price-Williams, 1961; de Lacey, 1970; Dasen, 1975), being less verbally based than many other assessments, and thus reducing problems associated with language differences during testing. They have been used in this study as they have the potential to tap such conceptual abilities as comprise expectations within Australian schools. In the tests language plays a diminished confounding role by comparison with the part it plays with more verbal tests.

The two Piagetian tests used in this study were chosen as they assess conceptual development through classificatory skills at an emerging concrete operational level. In accordance with Piagetian procedures, both tests require subjects to produce not only correct responses, but also the reasons for those responses, in order for the solutions to be classed as "operational". Both Piagetian tests used here have previously been used with children from minority cultural groups in Australia.
For example, de Lacey (1970) used them with aboriginal children, and de Lacey and Rich (1977) used them with immigrant children in Wollongong.

5.3.3.1 **The Nixon test.** Nixon (1971) devised five classification tasks to investigate the classificatory performance of Australian children. Each task used a particular set of rules "based on operations common in our society, so that some of the rules used for one task are also used for other tasks" (p. 18). The reclassification test measured children's ability to change from classifying certain elements according to one criterion (for example, shape) to classifying the same elements according to another criterion (for example, colour). Inhelder and Piaget (1964) claimed that this ability to reclassify involves flexibility of hindsight and foresight in the handling of elements - hindsight when the child can change the criterion and foresight when he can anticipate a classification before carrying it out. Such flexibility is characteristic of the operational thinker, and its importance to conceptual development was the reason for the selection of this test from the battery of five classification tests which Nixon had devised, access to subjects not permitting use of the full test battery.

The test devised by Nixon was described as a cross-classification task (Nixon, 1971). However, Inhelder and Piaget (1964) defined cross-classification as "a matter of classifying objects in terms of two
"simultaneous criteria" (p. 175), whereas Nixon's test requires subjects to classify elements according to three criteria, but one at a time" (de Lacey, 1969, p. 113). Consequently, following de Lacey, the term "reclassification" is applied to the test in this study.

In the Nixon test, subjects were required to perform six reclassifications according to new criteria defined each time by two exemplars. Test materials consisted of 20 wooden rods about 50 millimetres long, varying in three attributes: height, diameter and colour (Plate 1). The administrative procedure for the test is standardised and so the clinical method was modified. Nixon (1971) commented that, while such a standardised procedure produces results which are less varied than those obtained by Piaget, "they can be interpreted with much greater confidence and can be tested by other investigators" (p. 74). Furthermore, since similar trends were found both in Nixon's results and the results obtained by Inhelder and Piaget (1964), "one may cautiously conclude that they represent ways in which children actually do go about classifying, not just responses to test situations" (Nixon, p. 74).

For the purposes of this study the Nixon test was considered more appropriate than the reclassification test devised by Inhelder and Piaget (1964, p. 208). The less complicated nature of Nixon's test and the less verbal nature of the responses required, made the task better suited to the Indo-Chinese immigrant children. In
addition, being a simpler test than the I & PM, the reclassification test was administered to the younger subjects (5 to 10 years, inclusive).

The content and administration of the test were as described by Nixon (1971), with only a slight alteration to the scoring method (see Section A.2.3).

5.3.3.2 **The Inhelder and Piaget Matrices (I & PM)** (as implemented by de Lacey, 1969). This test is a multiple-classification test, similar in design to Raven's Progressive Matrices. The materials, as produced by de Lacey (1969), were based closely on those used by Inhelder and Piaget (1964, pp. 160 - 161) (Plate 2). The test was used with the older children in this study (8 to 13 years, inclusive) as it is the more difficult of the two Piagetian tests selected, requiring selection of the correct option, for each item, according to two or three simultaneous criteria which the child has to nominate, for the solution to be classed as "operational" in Piaget's terms.

Piaget's clinical method was used during administration of the test. This provided a standardised procedure in that the same basic problems and questions were put to each child, but it also allowed flexibility in that the questioner could repeat, rephrase or further explain questions, according to a child's response, and could make suggestions aimed at testing the stability of the child's answers.
Further methodological details are recorded in Section A.2.4.

5.3.4 **Teacher Ratings (TR).**

To give an added, and potentially different, perspective to each child's adaptation within the school environment, teachers were asked to rate their Indo-Chinese pupils on (1) overall academic aspects of school performance, and (2) social adaptation (self-confidence, friendliness).

Differences in school environments constituted a potentially confounding variable here. However, even at the ILC (Intensive Language Centre) a variety of aspects of the school curriculum were being taught, although the major emphasis was clearly on English language instruction. Not all children in each ILC class were in the research population, although most were.

Teachers were asked to carry out a ranking procedure for TR 1 and 2. Each teacher was asked to arrange his/her class in order, from high-level performers to low-level performers, so that the Indo-Chinese children could be rated relative to the remainder of their class. The procedure was discussed with, and carefully explained to, each teacher. Discussions concerning the performance of each student were also undertaken with ESL teachers in each school, in the interest of assessing the reliability of class teachers' ratings.

The ranking method was selected in preference to
an assessment scale which may have been more likely to yield "a safe average" figure, for example, three, on a five point scale (Nisbet & Entwistle, 1970, p. 122) for pupil adaptation. Nevertheless, pressure of limited school access time did not permit controlled validity and reliability checks on the ratings, and for this reason, added to the in-built variations in assessment such a method is likely to yield because of teacher differences and class composition differences, these results are offered somewhat tentatively. Their value for this study will possibly be more important in the context of inter-relationships between variables than as an isolated table of measurement.

Further explanation of methodology can be found in Section A.2.5.

Before collection of data from the subjects could be initiated, using the assessment instruments which have been described in this section, it was necessary to carry out certain preparatory procedures, as described in Section A.3.

5.4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION.

In this section the results obtained on each assessment will be discussed in turn. Inter-relationships between the groups of results will be further analysed in Section 5.5. Figures and summary Tables of data appear in the text and more detailed Tables of data and results are in the Appendix. Where "short-term" and
"long-term" lengths of stay are referred to, short-term refers to immigrants who have been in Australia for up to 12 months, and long-term refers to immigrants who have been in Australia for more than 12 months. This study is essentially a case study of one group of immigrants, as the children's characteristics vary widely, and as there were practical problems which necessarily limited the rigour of the methodological approach to data collection.

To obtain an accurate analysis of the data, a variety of analyses were carried out. These were data inspection, involving looking for systematic trends in tabulated data; and statistical analyses, using the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis One-Way ANOVA; and, in order to assess inter-relationships between sets of results, a Pearson Correlation Coefficient Matrix and a Cluster Analysis. These different methods of analysis yielded some small differences in evaluation, but overall there was a high level of agreement between them.

All individual scores for each assessment are shown in Table A2. Detailed scores for individual assessment instruments are shown in appropriate groupings in Tables 1 to 5, A1 to A6. Group results for PPVT, TR 1 and TR 2 are shown in Figures 2 to 4, and Table A7 and Figure 5 present results of the Pearson Correlation Coefficient Matrix and the Cluster Analysis.
5.4.1 PPVT.

Group results for the PPVT are shown in Table 1 and in Figure 2. Most scores were low, as would be expected for a recently arrived group of immigrants from a (generally) NES cultural background. However, there appeared to be rapid improvement during the first twelve months in Australia. This is shown in Figure 2, which also indicates some levelling-off in the rate of auditory vocabulary acquisition among these children, at least for a while, after the second year.

The Kruskal-Wallis analysis also showed length of stay to strongly influence the PPVT (scaled) score. The chi-square score (corrected for ties) was 32.880, at the .000 level of significance. (The Kruskal-Wallis One-Way ANOVA was used in this study as it is a powerful non-parametric alternative to one-way analysis of variance; it does not require homogeneity of variance nor normality of distribution. Furthermore, an excellent chi-square approximation is achieved which is comparable to the normal distribution of the Mann-Whitney U-test, even with small samples, for example, n = 10 (Roscoe, 1975).)

Tests of Australian children in Wollongong primary schools by de Lacey and Rich (1977) yielded mean scaled PPVT scores of 102.3 for males (M) and 97.8 for females (F), aged 7 to 8 years; 106.8 (M) and 94.0 (F) aged 9 to 10 years; and 117.4 (M) and 103.0 (F) aged 11 to 12. Immigrant children were tested in the same study.
TABLE 1

PPVT SCORES: AGE x LENGTH OF STAY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in years</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Short-Term Raw</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short-Term Scaled</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-Term Raw</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>57.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-Term Scaled</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>80.2</td>
<td>67.2</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>67.0</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>57.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Raw</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>49.1</td>
<td>46.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Scaled</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>43.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes.** There were no short term 9-year old subjects in the Sample.

The overall mean raw score was 38.18, with a standard deviation of 15.73.

The overall mean scaled score was 48.34, with a standard deviation of 23.88.

*n: number of subjects.*
FIGURE 2 Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT). Scaled scores for Indo-Chinese children plotted against time in Australia (in half-yearly groupings). No children were in the 3-year time group.
However, the only group roughly comparable to the Indo-Chinese in the present study, in terms of length of stay, was the Chileans, and two-thirds of this group were short-term immigrants, whereas only half of the Indo-Chinese group were short-term immigrants. The Chileans' PPVT mean scaled scores were 31.5 (7 to 8 year olds); 33.7 (9 to 10 year olds); and 41.4 (11 to 12 year olds), thus also showing very depressed scores among immigrant children during their first year in Australia.

There was a tendency among the Indo-Chinese children for girls to perform better than boys on the PPVT. However, the Kruskal-Wallis analysis showed that the effect was not significant. (p. = .214, chi-square 1.541).

Predictably, the scaled mean for children with some previous exposure to English (which usually meant that one parent could speak English before coming to Australia) was noticeably higher (64.9) than the scaled mean for the total group (48.3) (based on data in Tables A1, A2). Interestingly, the 64.9 mean was higher than the scaled means of some groups of long-term European immigrant children in the study carried out by de Lacey and Rich (1977). This result seemed to reflect the reinforcement, in regard to schoolwork, which the Indo-Chinese children received at home.

5.4.2 TEMS 1, 2.

Group results of the TEMS 1 and 2 are in Tables 2 and 3, and in Tables A3 and A4. The pooled results in
### TABLE 2

**TEMS 1. MEAN SCORES: AGE x LENGTH OF STAY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Mean Score</th>
<th>Short-Term</th>
<th>Long-Term</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>years (n,n)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 (0,7)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 (5,1)</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 (5,1)</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 (5,3)</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 (1,1)</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean score: 17.45 (standard deviation 2.44).  
(n,n): number of short-term, long-term subjects respectively.

### TABLE 3

**TEMS 2. MEAN SCORES: AGE x LENGTH OF STAY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Mean Score</th>
<th>Short-Term</th>
<th>Long-Term</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>years (n,n)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 (0,7)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 (5,1)</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 (5,1)</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 (5,3)</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 (1,1)</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean score: 17.76 (standard deviation 3.37).  
(n,n): number of short-term, long-term subjects respectively.
Tables 2 and 3 show no important age effect on these tests; in this study, at least, there was no significant correlation between either test and age (p. = .195 on TEMS 1, and p. = .499 on TEMS 2). The Kruskal-Wallis analysis also revealed no significant effect for sex of subjects (p. = .642 on TEMS 1, and p. = .521 on TEMS 2). The Indo-Chinese children found the slightly shorter vowel test (Table A3) easier than the consonant test Table A4), although there was a larger range of scores in TEMS 2.

Of interest was the failure of scores on the TEMS to improve significantly with length of stay, as had occurred with the PPVT. Scores for TEMS 2 even showed a tendency to fall with length of stay, although this was not significant on the Kruskal-Wallis analysis (p. = .379). A detailed analysis of specific causes of the children's phonological discrimination difficulties would lie in the province of linguistic contrastive analysis, and such an analysis was beyond the scope of this study. Guides to potential areas of difficulty have been provided for teachers of Indo-Chinese students (Commonwealth Department of Education, 1976, 1983) and some of these have been confirmed by results obtained in TEMS 1 and 2 (Tables A3 and A4 respectively), as follows.

Table A3 shows the scores for vowel discrimination items. The high error rates for items 7 and 13 were predictable, as the vowel sound [I] in "mill" and "it" does not occur in Vietnamese and is most likely to be confused with the sound [i] as in "eat", especially when
listening to an Australian accent. This sound is also in "meal", although item 7 is probably made even more difficult for the Vietnamese speakers by the presence of the longer vowel followed by the indeterminant sound [ɔ]. In Vietnamese, (a) vowel length is usually not significant (and this also would make items 10 and 12 difficult), (b) unstressed vowels do not occur as they do in English, and (c) a further potential source of confusion is created by diphthongs, which do often occur in Vietnamese, but not before a final consonant, as is often the case in English, especially Australian English (for example, in items 3, 19 and 21). Problems are similar for speakers of Lao, except that Lao, like Khmer, does have some longer vowels than Vietnamese. Such phonetic contrasts are, of course, far from being the only source of difficulties for learners of any additional language (James, 1980). Nevertheless, it is interesting that a number of the errors made by the subjects in this study are consistent with such contrasts (as highlighted in the Asian language notes, Commonwealth Department of Education, 1976, 1983); many of the contrasts were common to the major languages used in Indo-China, and do not just occur as differences between Vietnamese and English.

Mean difficulty of TEMS 1 was 15.6 (Table A3) for the Indo-Chinese subjects. This compared with a mean difficulty of 23.4 for the (mainly European) immigrant children who had been in Australia for six months to two years, tested during the reliability and validity trials for the TEMS, and a mean difficulty of 14.0 for the
Australian children also tested during the TEMS trials. The greater mean difficulty for the trial immigrant group (than for the Indo-Chinese group) was partly due to items 19 and 21, which were very difficult, even for the Australian children, in the original test; these items were retaped for the final form of the test, which was used in this study. The lack of agreement, in terms of item difficulty, in most cases between the trial immigrant group and the Indo-Chinese, perhaps reflects the differences between the languages of the Indo-Chinese and earlier (European) large immigrant groups who have come to Australia.

Table A4 shows the scores for consonant discrimination items. Phonetic contrasts listed in the Asian language notes for teachers (Commonwealth Department of Education, 1976) are reflected in the errors made by the subjects, although a more detailed analysis would be necessary to determine reasons for high error frequency on certain items, rather than on others. Two pairs of sounds which caused considerable difficulty in this test were [tʃ] (as in "choke"), [dʒ] (as in "joke") - in items 15, 18, 21, and 24 - and [f] (as in "fine"), [v] (as in "vine") - in items 5, 9, and 48. These pairs of sounds also occurred singly in other items. Of the first pair, [dʒ] does not occur in Vietnamese, and is therefore likely to be confused with other sounds. In the second pair [v] will be easy for northern Vietnamese to discriminate (when it occurs at the beginning of a word) but southern Vietnamese people are likely to confuse it
with other sounds. This difference in discrimination apparently arises from dialect differences. The two sounds [f] and [v] will be difficult for all Vietnamese, and other Indo-Chinese, at the ends of words where both sounds may be heard as [p] (as in "pen"). This final contrast occurs in items 5 and 19, while in item 23 (where it occurs initially) it was also very difficult. Other important problem sounds for Indo-Chinese immigrants are [θ] (as in "thin") and [δ] (as in "them") - items 8 and 12, because neither of these sounds occurs in the Indo-Chinese languages. Speakers of Lao and Chinese also experience difficulty in distinguishing [l] (as in "look") from [r] (as in "red") but these items did not occur as minimal pairs in the test.

Mean difficulty of TEMS 2 was 20.7 (Table A4) for the Indo-Chinese children. By comparison, the mean difficulty was 18.8 for the immigrant children in the test trials, and 6.8 for the Australian children. As in TEMS 1 the lack of agreement, item for item, in terms of difficulty, on the part of Indo-Chinese and other immigrants, may reflect language-family differences between the immigrant groups (that is, mainly European compared with Asian languages).

Results on the TEMS tests indicate that they may have some diagnostic value for teachers of Indo-Chinese immigrant students, in so far as teachers may find it useful to examine such specific aspects of the pupils' English-language learning. Furthermore, the fact that no
significant improvement in scores was found in this study is an indication of the rather long time it can take immigrants in Australian schools to become familiar with certain characteristics of the English language and adapt to school expectations concerning pupils' language proficiency.

5.4.3 The Nixon test.

Results for the Nixon test shown in Table 4 and Table A5 display apparent higher scores among older age groups (Pearson Correlation Coefficient .345, p. = .008), similar to results obtained in other Australian studies using this test (de Lacey, 1970; Nixon, 1971), and despite the existence, among this group, of intervening variables such as differences in language ability and cultural experience. (There is no scale score for the Nixon test or the Matrices.)

Table A5 shows operational and graphic responses. There was a notable improvement in performance on this classification task from younger to older age groups, with the 8 to 10 year olds doing better than the 5 to 7 year olds in producing more operational and less graphic responses. Also of interest was the item difficulty section at the end of A5. Whereas Nixon (1971, p. 34) found that Australian children had greatest difficulty with items 5 and 6, the Indo-Chinese children had greater difficulty with the earlier items. The most likely explanation of the scoring pattern in this study appears to be the existence of a learning effect in
### TABLE 4

**NIXON TEST. MEAN OPERATIONAL SCORES:
AGE X LENGTH OF STAY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Mean Score</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>years</td>
<td>Short-Term</td>
<td>Long-Term</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(2,5)</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>(4,4)</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>(5,5)</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>(6,5)</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>(0,7)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>(5,1)</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean score (of operational responses): 4.73 (standard deviation 1.48).

(n,n): number of short-term, long-term subjects respectively.
respect to the test task.

In spite of cultural differences (especially language) the scores obtained in the Nixon test compare favourably with those obtained by Nixon (1971), especially if Nixon's results for Australian children are compared with the long-term immigrants in this study. Nixon, who excluded from her sample "children with a language background other than English" (p. 20) obtained means for operational ("R + E" in her study) responses of 3.68, 5.10 and 5.27 for 5, 7 and 9 year olds respectively. Long-term Indo-Chinese children of similar ages obtained mean scores of 4.6, 5.0 and 4.9 respectively, as shown in Table 4. There was a less dramatic improvement between the 5 and 7 year old age group scores in the present study than in Nixon's study, as the 5 year olds' scores among the Indo-Chinese were higher. This may have been a function of family background (Section 5.2.2), the Indo-Chinese scores approximating high socio-economic Australian children's scores obtained by de Lacey (1970).

The Kruskal-Wallis analysis showed no significant effects according to sex (p. = .833) or length of stay (p. = .267) in Australia, for results on the Nixon test. Table 4 though, does show a trend toward improved scores with length of stay, which should be noted because of its consistency if not its statistical significance level, in this study. Results from the Nixon test thus differed from those obtained on the PPVT, which showed a highly significant correlation with length of stay in Australia.
Furthermore, it seems likely that, as anticipated, the Nixon test has tended to penetrate language differences to tap conceptual ability.

5.4.4 I & PM.

Results for the I & PM are in Table 5 and Table A6. As with the Nixon test, and in keeping with the results obtained by Inhelder and Piaget (1964), de Lacey (1970), and de Lacey and Rich (1977), there is an apparent tendency to improved scores at higher ages among this group of children (Pearson Correlation Coefficient .339, p. = .016), despite potential effects from language and cultural differences.

Table A6 shows graphic and operational responses. Unlike the result obtained on the Nixon test and on these matrices by Inhelder and Piaget (1964), no apparent learning effect occurred between items 1 and 9 on this test. These subjects found items 7 and 9 particularly difficult: in item 7, orientation seemed to be the consistent problem, while in item 9 size and colour created difficulties.

On the I & PM classification test, which involved an older group of subjects than were used for the Nixon test, there were far fewer graphic responses than occurred with the previous test. This is in keeping with the findings of Inhelder and Piaget (1964) who found that
TABLE 5
I & PM. MEAN OPERATIONAL SCORES:
AGE x LENGTH OF STAY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group years (n,n)</th>
<th>Mean Score</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short-Term</td>
<td>Long-Term</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 (6,5)</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 (0,7)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 (5,1)</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 (5,1)</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 (5,3)</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 (1,1)</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean score (of operational responses): 4.70
(standard deviation 2.32).

(n,n): number of short-term, long-term subjects respectively.
graphic and operational solutions are quite distinct and, "whatever the item, operational solutions increase steadily with age while graphic solutions decrease after the age of six" (p. 164).

Furthermore, whereas on the Nixon test graphic solutions were more frequently used by younger children, in the I & PM the few graphic solutions which were used were more frequently associated with length of stay in Australia than with age. This may have been caused by the language difficulties complicating the task of response explanation for the subjects. However, there was no particularly important association between length of stay and I & PM scores on the Kruskal-Wallis analysis (p. = .535). Similarly, there was no significant effect according to sex on the I & PM (p. = .833).

The results obtained on the I & PM by the Indo-Chinese subjects (overall mean raw score 4.70) compared favourably with results obtained by de Lacey and Rich (1977) in their study of Australian and immigrant children in Wollongong primary schools. De Lacey and Rich reported the following mean raw scores for different age groups and nationalities:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>boys</td>
<td>7 to 8 years</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>girls</td>
<td>7 to 8 years</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>boys</td>
<td>9 to 10 years</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>girls</td>
<td>9 to 10 years</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilean</td>
<td>boys + girls</td>
<td>7 to 8 years</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>boys + girls</td>
<td>7 to 8 years</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslav</td>
<td>boys + girls</td>
<td>7 to 8 years</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilean</td>
<td>boys + girls</td>
<td>9 to 10 years</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>boys + girls</td>
<td>9 to 10 years</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslav</td>
<td>boys + girls</td>
<td>9 to 10 years</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilean</td>
<td>boys + girls</td>
<td>11 to 12 years</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>boys + girls</td>
<td>11 to 12 years</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslav</td>
<td>boys + girls</td>
<td>11 to 12 years</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the majority of these immigrant children and their families had been in Australia significantly longer than the Indo-Chinese children and their families, and because the scores of the Indo-Chinese compared so favourably with those of the other immigrants and with the younger Australians tested, it appears that, as with the Nixon test, there was no clear disadvantage caused for these children by language and other cultural differences. Thus, the I & PM, like the Nixon test, seems to have been helpful in circumventing such problems while assessing the cognitive abilities of these newly arrived children.

5.4.5 **Teacher Ratings (TR1 and TR2).**

Both ratings, academic and social, show a significant improvement with length of stay, as Figures 3 and 4 clearly illustrate. This effect is heightened when
FIGURE 3  Teacher Rating (TR) 1 for Indo-Chinese children plotted against time in Australia (in half-yearly groupings). No children were in the 3-year group.
Total sample mean: 4.91 (s.d. 2.96)
Mainstream sample mean: 5.00 (s.d. 2.99)
FIGURE 4 Teacher Rating (TR) 2 for Indo-Chinese children plotted against time in Australia (in half-yearly groupings). No children were in the 3-year group.

Total sample mean: 4.65 (s.d. 2.90)
Mainstream sample mean: 4.55 (s.d. 2.94)
mainstream subjects only are included. The ratings of the ILC children are shown where they differ from the mainstream children; as ILC attendance occurs principally during the short-term adaptation period (up to approximately one year) all subjects were in the mainstream at 1.5 years. The "controls", whose average ratings are shown in Figures 3 and 4, were all the non-Indo-Chinese members of the classes from which the mainstream research subjects came.

The mean score for the Indo-Chinese children in TR 1 (Figure 3) was 4.91, with a standard deviation of 2.96. The subjects' mean was therefore lower than the mean rating for the controls (5.3), although subjects' ratings rose well above the mean as "length of stay" increased. Consistent with this trend, the total mean was exceeded by the mean of the mainstream subjects only, this being 5.00 (with a similar standard deviation of 2.99).

The Kruskal-Wallis analysis for the time effect on TR 1 yielded a chi-square score (corrected for ties) of 4.66, with a significance level of .031. In addition, girls were rated more highly than boys on TR 1, the Kruskal-Wallis analysis for sex yielding a chi-square score (tie-corrected) of 4.19, (p. = .041).

The mean score for the subjects on TR 2 (Figure 4) was 4.65, with a standard deviation 2.90. As in TR 1 the subjects' mean was lower than the control children's mean of 5.3, although again the subjects' ratings rose
significantly higher than both groups' means as length of stay increased.

Subjects' ratings, however, for TR 2 were lower overall than their ratings on TR 1, perhaps indicating a stronger influence of cultural difference characteristics, for example, verbal and nonverbal communication, on TR 2 compared with TR 1. TR 2 scores for short-term mainstream immigrants were low compared with TR 1 scores, and they did not rise quite as high as the TR 1 scores in the longer term. An additional distinction between TR 1 and TR 2 is that the possible levelling-off in TR 1 after 2 years in Australia (Figure 3, the significance of the high rating at 4 years presently being unknown), contrasts with the trend in TR 2 which shows no tendency to level-off (Figure 4). In fact, some short-term mainstream children's TR 2 scores were so low that the mainstream mean (4.55, with a standard deviation of 2.94) was lower than the total mean which included the ILC subjects, the opposite of the situation with TR 1.

The Kruskal-Wallis analysis for the time effect on TR 2 yielded a chi-square score (corrected for ties) of 4.36, \( p = .037 \). There was a tendency for girls to perform better than boys on TR 2, but unlike the result for TR 1, the Kruskal-Wallis for TR 2 by sex showed that the effect was not significant \( p = .695 \).

5.5 **INTER-RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RESULTS.**

As mentioned at the beginning of Section 5.4 two
analyses were carried out in order to investigate possible inter-relationships between the sets of results. The analyses were: (1) a Pearson Correlation Coefficient Matrix (Table A7), and (2) a Cluster Analysis (Figure 5).

5.5.1 Pearson Correlation Coefficient Matrix.

The Pearson (product-moment) Correlation Coefficient Matrix was used because this method of determining correlation gives a very widely used and sound measure of the relation between pairs of measures for individuals in a group (Ebel, 1972).

The matrix confirmed the time effects - already identified by means of the Kruskal-Wallis ANOVAs - in relation to the PPVT (p. = .000 for PPVT raw and scaled), and TR 1 (p. = .002) and 2 (p. = .003). The specific results obtained by means of the different statistical approaches varied slightly, but the matrix, like the Kruskal-Wallis analyses, yielded results which are significant for these inter-relationships. The matrix, re sex linkage, suggested that girls performed better than boys on TR 1 (p. = .014), but there was no significant correlation between sex and TR 2 (p. = .337).

In addition, the correlation matrix yielded a significant positive correlation between the Nixon test and the PPVT raw (p. = .029), probably partly due to the strong age effect in both, as there was no significant correlation between the Nixon (which is a raw score) and the PPVT scaled (p. = .116). A significant positive
relationship occurred between the Nixon test and TEMS 2 (p. = .031), although there was no significant relationship between the Nixon test and TEMS 1 (p. = .095). There may be some overlap in the areas of cognitive ability tapped by these two tests, but the subject numbers who did both tests were small (n = 13) and therefore this result may be unreliable.

The I & PM had a somewhat weaker, though still significant, positive age effect (p. = .016) compared with the Nixon test (p. = .008), and its positive correlation with the PPVT raw was marginally significant (p. = .055). As with the Nixon test, there was no significant relationship between the I & PM and the PPVT scaled (p. = .134). This adds weight to the earlier observation (Sections 5.4.3 and 5.4.4) that the Piagetian tests appear to have to some extent circumvented language problems in assessing the conceptual abilities of the children. Like the Nixon test, the I & PM and TEMS 2 were significantly positively correlated (p. = .036) and there appeared to be a relationship (though not significant) between the I & PM and TEMS 1 (p. = .067). Furthermore, the number of subjects (n = 29) to whom the I & PM and TEMS tests were administered was larger than the number to whom the Nixon and TEMS tests were given. These results seem to strengthen the possibility that similar areas of cognitive ability may be being tapped by the Piagetian and TEMS tests.
There was a lack of significant relationships between the Nixon test and TR 1 (p. = .105) and TR 2 (p. = .103), and also between the I & PM and TR 1 (p. = .084) and TR 2 (p. = .183), (although the I & PM and TR 1 came reasonably close to a significant positive correlation). These results probably reflect the English-language difficulties the children were experiencing in the school environment. This is supported by the fact that TR 1 and 2 were strongly positively correlated with the PPVT (raw) (p. = .015 for TR 1, and p. = .019 for TR 2) and the PPVT (scaled) (p. = .006 for TR 1, and p. = .002 for TR 2) and with length of stay.

It is interesting that, while the PPVT and the TEMS are both designed to assess English-language abilities, results obtained on these tests do not have significant positive correlations with each other (PPVT (raw) and TEMS 1: p. = .179; PPVT (scaled) and TEMS 1: p. = .256; PPVT (raw) and TEMS 2: p. = .168; PPVT (scaled) and TEMS 2: p. = .185). The TEMS results correlate much more closely with the Piagetian tests than with the PPVT. It seems that the abilities actually being assessed by the two types of English-language assessment are quite different, and are amenable to improvement over quite dissimilar periods of adaptation. Whereas the PPVT scores obtained by children in this study improved greatly during the early adaptation phase, the TEMS scores did not (p. = .314 for the relationship between TEMS 1 and Time, and p. = .097 for TEMS 2 and Time).
The Piagetian scores and many TEMS results obtained by the newly arrived Indo-Chinese subjects tended to be closer to the scores of Australian children than were their scores on the PPVT. Score improvement was then slower on the Nixon, I & PM and TEMS than on the PPVT. This score pattern could have been an artefact of the cross-sectional, rather than longitudinal research design, with some age groups being slower, by chance. On the other hand, the abilities tapped in the TEMS are perhaps, like those tapped by the Piagetian tests, representative of immigrant adaptation items which are micro-cultural rather than macro-cultural in nature, and therefore adapted to in the longer rather than shorter term. Differences in the children's ability to discriminate Australian-English vowels and consonants are reflected in the close but not significant positive correlation between TEMS 1 and 2 (p. = .072).

The very high positive correlation between TR 1 and 2 (p. = .001) and the strong relationship between these two ratings and both the PPVT and length of stay, probably indicate the extent to which English-language ability has influenced both academic and social ratings awarded to the children by their teachers. These results underline the importance of English-language learning for newly arrived immigrants who are attempting to adapt to the demands of the school environment. In addition, there is a strong tendency (though not statistically significant) for TR 2 (social ratings) to be lower among older subjects (p. = .062) and a weaker tendency for PPVT (scaled)
scores \( p = .138 \) and TR 1 \( p = .195 \) to be lower among older immigrants. Such trends, while statistically attributable to chance, nevertheless support the view of teachers interviewed during the study that there is a particularly urgent need among older Indo-Chinese children for assistance with their educational and social adaptation. The principal reason given for this is the obvious one that they have less time than the younger ones in which to adapt to Australian cultural and social expectations, before leaving the school environment and entering the labour market.

5.5.2 Cluster Analysis.

A hierarchical method of clustering, based on the Pearson Correlation Coefficient Matrix, was used in order to produce a dendrogram (also called a linkage tree) to illustrate classes, or clusters, of data with similarities. Clusters formed at the highest level on such a dendrogram represent homogeneous groups, clusters formed farther down represent groups in which some units differ in larger ways, and clusters formed far down represent classes formed only because the process goes to its logical end of one large group (Wallace, 1968).

The dendrogram produced from the cluster analysis (Figure 5) shows two main clusters. In one the PPVT (raw and scaled) occupy the highest level of clustering and these are then closely linked with Time (length of stay). At a somewhat lower level of clustering are TR1 and 2, and these are linked with PPVT and Time.
FIGURE 5 Dendrogram illustrating the Cluster Analysis of the scores for all tests, time in Australia (years), sex and age (years) for all Indo-Chinese children.
Sex is then loosely linked to this large cluster. In the other principal cluster (or branch of the linkage tree) Nixon and TEMS 2 comprise the highest level cluster and these are linked to TEMS 1 at a similar level to the cluster between I & PM and Age. Thus, one cluster contains the PPVT, TR 1 and 2 and Time (that is, the variables most strongly linked with macro English-language performance and cultural adaptation in this study), while the other cluster contains the TEMS, Nixon and I & PM (plus the age effect associated with the Piagetian tests), these assessment instruments appearing to be linked, as previously mentioned, with micro adaptation to the expectations of the school environment in Australia.

5.6 **CONCLUSION**.

The data and results of analyses discussed in this Chapter have provided potentially useful information concerning the early adaptation progress of Indo-Chinese immigrant children to the demands of primary school life in Wollongong. The effects of low-level English-language proficiency on performance on a number of measures related to the cultural and social expectations Australian primary schools hold of pupils have been highlighted. Although subjects scored well (in comparison with their Australian peers) on the cognitive less-language-based Piagetian tests, the overall academic ratings they achieved were low and closely tied to macro-English-language performance.
As a consequence of the information obtained in this study, some implications for the cultural and social adaptation of Indo-Chinese children in general, and perhaps other immigrant children also, within Australian schools, can be inferred. These implications are discussed in the next chapter.
6. CONCLUSION.

6.1 CONCLUSIONS FROM THE PRESENT STUDY.

This inquiry has essentially been a case study of the issues associated with the social adaptation of Indo-Chinese immigrants, in the context of Australian education.

The background provided by theory and case studies in the literature showed the importance of acculturation and identification, and also of the cultural characteristics (here termed macro and micro) which provide the impetus to these processes, as key areas for study in respect to immigrant social adaptation. For this particular new group of immigrant children and their families the influence on their adaptation exerted by traditional cultural patterns and social values was established as an adaptation issue of principal importance. Key areas of traditional influence are family structure and attitudes, social hierarchy, spiritual belief, teaching and learning style, and interpersonal communication.

Information and results obtained during the study of Indo-Chinese immigrants in Wollongong, and also during discussions with Indo-Chinese immigrants in Sydney, showed that there are important macro- and micro-cultural differences between the Indo-Chinese and other immigrant groups, and between the Indo-Chinese and members of the Australian mainstream community. Caution must be
exercised in the interpretation of the results obtained from the empirical study, owing to the potential for confounding effects related to methodology, and cultural characteristics. Nevertheless, some inferences may legitimately be drawn from the study, which highlighted the problems associated with the school academic performance and social adaptation of Indo-Chinese children with their particular cultural backgrounds. The study also added further weight to the argument (Smolicz, 1983) that high levels of cognitive ability can lie largely unnurtured in the immigrant child while the English language is being learned.

6.2 **SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE PRESENT STUDY.**

Results obtained, in this study, for the language tests (PPVT and TEMS) and for the academic and social ratings by teachers, and also the results obtained during the assessment of the Commonwealth Contingency Program by Spearitt and Colman (1983), support the view that the acquisition by Indo-Chinese children of English language competence - spoken and written - to a level appropriate for upper primary and secondary education, occurs over the long term rather than the short term of immigrant adaptation. Therefore, a strong case can be made for the continuation of a substantial part of a child's education in his mother tongue, at least while English is being learned, if educational retardation is to be minimised. The argument applies similarly to other immigrant children from NES
The Wollongong Indo-Chinese children's depressed social ratings appeared to reflect their lack of English ability at a macro level and probably, in view of complementary evidence available in the literature, they also reflected differences in communication characteristics at the very important micro-cultural level. Much of the communication which occurs at this level is nonverbal, and nonverbal communication, which is largely culture-bound, has been found to play a more important role than verbal communication in many human interactions. Thus, teachers may be very careful about the verbal messages they give to their immigrant pupils, but they may be largely unaware of (perhaps frequent) contradictory messages they may be giving nonverbally (Wolfgang, 1979). As a consequence of the fundamental importance of nonverbal behaviour to classroom interactions, and because many NES immigrant pupils and their families, such as the Indo-Chinese, may need to rely heavily on nonverbal behaviour to make themselves understood and to understand others, there appears to be a need for far greater teacher awareness of the practical and theoretical importance of nonverbal communication in schools, especially in intercultural contexts, that is, when there are immigrant students involved.

Generally increased intercultural awareness on the part of educators, as has been advocated during this study, may help improve the quality of educational opportunities
offered to immigrant students. Communication is likely to be improved, as may be the teacher's understanding of the best approach to teaching particular concepts to a given immigrant pupil, in the light of his existing knowledge.

Educational approaches aimed at improving intercultural understanding between children has also been advocated during this investigation. Research indicates that the years during which children attend primary and secondary schools are critical in the formation of intercultural knowledge and attitudes, and that after that time it may be more difficult for children to learn intercultural concepts (Hughes, 1983). In this context, Phillips (1979) found that Sydney children appeared to select and favour ethnic groups with whom they had positive friendly contacts and reject those with whom they were least familiar. The intergroup conflict and tension which has occurred between some Indo-Chinese immigrants and other Australians reflects, in part, rejection arising from macro- and micro-cultural differences between the groups. If the Australian community desires harmonious intercultural relations between its constituent ethnic groups (including the "ethnic" Anglo-Celt Australians, as well as such people as the Indo-Chinese), then it may be advantageous, for such harmony, to encourage the development of positive intercultural awareness at the school level.

Some researchers are sceptical about the potential of education programs to ameliorate prejudicial attitudes
(Bullivant, 1980). However, others hold more optimistic views (Lippmann, 1973; Davey & Mullin, 1982), provided such programs are formulated in the light of present knowledge concerning the dynamics of intercultural relationships. As Lippmann (1973) commented, "the dissemination of facts about minority groups in itself cannot be counted on to change unfavourable attitudes" (p. 26). Nor is it argued here that every teacher and every child should have a thorough knowledge of the cultures of all, or even many, of the ethnic groups in the community; the impracticability of such an idea was discussed by the Schools Commission (1979). Children, however, rather than unquestioningly accepting stereotypes, could be helped to recognise why it is that people feel the way they do about those who are culturally different. Such an approach could draw the criticism that similarities rather than differences between people should be looked for, especially in educational contexts. On the other hand, the position can be taken that a more open, rather than less open, exploration of cultural similarities and differences, and patterns of social reactions to them, may well prove advantageous to mainstream and immigrant groups. A mutual increase in knowledge, involving more accurate and objective perceptions of one's own and of other cultural groups may, especially if combined with feelings of group security, reduce the expression of prejudice (Berry, Kalin & Taylor, 1977), and it may also provide a basis for increased immigrant participation in the wider community.
Increased participation requires considerable knowledge of the dominant society on the part of immigrants (Hughes, 1983), and therefore, in the case of the Indo-Chinese (and other immigrants) in Australia, will probably be an outcome of long-term adaptation. Here and in other western countries, immigrants, like other minority social groups, have recently begun to increase significantly their level of participation in social policy-making. In America, Bollens and Marshall (1973) commented, low socio-economic-status individuals and ethnic groups "now feel freer to question people at the top, to express critical opinions; they expect people at the top to take their interests into account" (p. 5). In Australia, the New South Wales Ethnic Affairs Commission (1979) produced a report on immigrant participation, in which it stated that it saw "as the fundamental issue the right of minority groups to achieve total participation in the Australian and New South Wales political and social systems" (p. 1). The Commission recognised that increased participation in our society by minority cultural groups would generally be based on their acquisition of such skills as proficiency in communicating in English and an understanding of social institutions. It saw schools as needing to face the challenge of creating educational environments in which "all children are given an equal chance to prepare themselves to compete in life" (p. 3).

6.3 **SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.**

Despite recent advances in immigrant education in
Australia, it is apparent that school systems have some way to go in providing appropriate solutions to many of the problems encountered, particularly as regards the Indo-Chinese, who are culturally different from earlier large waves of post-World War II immigrants to Australia. More detailed information concerning the social adaptation of the different ethnic groups among the Indo-Chinese, and concerning the progress of the more recently arrived compared with those who arrived earlier, could be useful in educational planning. A study of the immigrants' progress in the light of such background characteristics as traditional versus western-influenced, or schooled versus non-schooled, may shed further light on the situation of the Indo-Chinese in Australia. Likely to be particularly important are studies concerning the progress of Vietnamese, Laotian and Kampuchean children in Australian schools, where differing levels of intercultural awareness are in existence, or are being encouraged. Greater knowledge concerning such issues may assist educators to plan the provision of educational approaches which could more effectively equip Indo-Chinese children, and perhaps those from other immigrant groups as well, with the "tools" necessary for enhancement of their life-chances within Australian society.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX

A.1 DATA COLLECTION FROM INTERVIEWS AND TEACHERS' REPORTS.

Before commencing the field-work, and in order to gain necessary information about the background and adaptation progress of potential research subjects, eight formal interviews were conducted with educators involved with Indo-Chinese children and their families. These interviews, which varied in length from 30 minutes to 80 minutes, involved one primary school principal, one primary school deputy principal, three infants/primary school ESL teachers, two secondary school ESL teachers, and an Education Officer at the Fairy Meadow Migrant Centre. As mentioned in Section 5.1.2 notes were taken, but tape-recording was decided against, because of the sensitive and political nature of the subject. Although the interview often provides a more subjective method of acquiring data than the questionnaire, it was the more appropriate method here because of the exploratory character of this phase of the investigation, and the sensitive nature of the discussions (Nisbet & Entwistle, 1970).

While the field-work was being carried out, the author was in the schools involved for large blocks of time, and so there were many opportunities for informal interviews with teachers. In addition, several teachers provided extra written comments concerning family
background and general progress of some children, in conjunction with the ratings on academic performance and social adaptation which were requested. Finally, the progress report of the ILC by the teacher-in-charge (Brady, 1979) provided further important and helpful information.
The researcher collected children individually from their classrooms, after being introduced to the children in a friendly manner by their teachers. Children were taken to rooms designated by the Principals for the tests, and on the way the examiner chatted with them in an attempt to set the children at ease.

The rooms used included spare classrooms, a staff common room and a relatively quiet corner of a large open-plan teaching area. The classrooms and common room were all vacant during the testing, though in the open-plan area there were occasional distractions created by the activity of nearby classes.

Each child was seated at the opposite or adjacent side of a table to the examiner, and time was taken after each subject was seated, to exchange a few more pleasantries, until the examiner formed the opinion that the child was comfortable and responsive. The materials for each test were displayed in succession, each test being introduced as a puzzle game. The tests and the items comprising them were presented in the same order to the subjects. The test order was: PPVT, Nixon Test, I & PM, TEMS 1 and 2. No time limits were imposed. Testing time for each child was approximately 20 - 40 minutes, depending on the number of tests administered, and the child's understanding of English, as children with poorer English required more extensive explanations of some tasks.
A.2.1 The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) (Dunn, 1965).

Administration of this test was in accordance with the standardised procedure (Dunn, 1965), apart from two changes to stimulus words: wiener was replaced by sausage (item 25) and caboose by guardsvan (item 32). Form A was used, and the test was given to every child. A pointing response only was required of each subject, to indicate the appropriate picture in response to the stimulus word, although the alternatively acceptable oral response (calling the number) was given by some children. The children seemed to have no difficulty understanding the task.
A.2.2 The Tests of English for Migrant Students (TEMS), (Withers, Renehan & O'Dea, 1977).

Administration of the TEMS 1 and 2 was in accordance with the standardised procedure (Withers, 1977), although as the subjects were from such a recently arrived group, some had been in Australia less than the optimal six months suggested in the handbook (Withers et al., 1977). For this reason only tests 1 and 2, which are more appropriate than later tests for newer arrivals, were used. In accordance with the test handbook recommendation, children less than 9 years of age were not tested in case they did not comprehend the task.

TEMS 1 and 2 involve the subjects in listening to taped pairs of monosyllabic words; the words are taped to give standardised pronunciation of the items. The pairs are either the same or different. For each pair, the students circle "s" or "d" on an answer card to indicate "same" or "different".

The children's performances on the trial items indicated that they understood the task. However, if a pupil appeared to experience difficulty in keeping up with the tape (as occurred a few times with more recently arrived subjects) the tape was stopped briefly where necessary, to give a little more time. The authors of the test (Withers et al., 1977) stated that extra explanations for students who need them are permissible and these were provided in the present study. Also, in
keeping with the instructions, the taped introductory segments for each test were played in advance, so that subjects could become aware of the nature and quality of the speaker's voice before they were required to work on the test material.
A.2.3 The Nixon Test (Nixon, 1971).

The reclassification test involved six items, the materials being a set of twenty wooden rods which varied in colour, height and diameter as follows (Plate 1):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Blue</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Green</th>
<th>Red</th>
<th>Yellow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thick tall</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thick short</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thin tall</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thin short</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each rod was numbered at its base and rod measurements (approximate) were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Thick</th>
<th>Thin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inch mm</td>
<td>inch mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diameter</td>
<td>1 25</td>
<td>0.625 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tall</td>
<td>Short</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inch mm</td>
<td>inch mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Height</td>
<td>2.5 63.5</td>
<td>2 51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before the items were administered a standardised introduction to the rods was given (Nixon, 1971, p. 86) to make each child familiar with their colour, height and diameter, and to ensure that the child could use appropriate words to describe the rods. This introduction included a practice item.

Administration of the test was in accordance with
the following description by Nixon:

The plan for each item was for the tester to put in front of the child two groups of rods, four in each group, standing up on end. One group might consist of white rods, the other of red. The tester would then pick out two rods which differed on only one attribute (say, height) and place them well apart, in front of the child. She then told him to 'make two different heaps', using the eight rods on the table. The tester pointed in turn to each of the exemplar rods, and said 'Put with that one all the rods that are like it', repeated for each example. (p. 30)

Using colour, height, and diameter, the items were built up on the following plan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Established Classes</th>
<th>Required Classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colour</td>
<td>Height</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e.g. red and white tall</td>
<td>and short)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Height</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Colour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Diameter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Height</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Diameter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rods of two colours were used in each item.

Following the precedent of Inhelder and Piaget (1964), two attempts to make correct groupings in each item were permitted by Nixon (1971), if the first attempt was unsuccessful. When the child had completed his
groupings he was asked to state the attribute which differentiated one group of rods from the other. Thus two scores were obtained for each child: (1) the number of items on which the child correctly grouped the rods - called "R" by Nixon, (p. 31); and (2) the number of items on which he combined a correct grouping of the rods with an acceptable explanation of his groupings - called "R + E" by Nixon, (p. 31). Nixon's R and R + E scores were very similar to the graphic and operational solutions to additive or multiplicative classifying obtained by Inhelder and Piaget. Therefore, in this empirical study, the graphic/operational scoring method as used by de Lacey (1970), following Inhelder and Piaget was used.

Scores were recorded thus:

Incorrect grouping after two attempts  0
Correct grouping after two attempts but criterion not given  -2
Correct grouping after two attempts and criterion given  +2
Correct grouping after one attempt but criterion not given  -
Correct grouping after one attempt and criterion given  +

Plus signs indicate operational responses, minus signs indicate graphic responses.

This test was based closely on the matrix test used by Inhelder and Piaget (1964, pp. 160 - 161), with the materials as produced by de Lacey (1969). The test was comprised of a series of multiple-choice items, each item stem consisting of three or five elements with a space to be filled by one of a number of options displayed (see Plate 2). The nine items described by Inhelder and Piaget were used, the first item being a trial to ensure that subjects understood the task.

Three kinds of black and white shading represented the colours of the items used by Inhelder and Piaget (1964). From the test commentary (p. 164) though, it is possible to infer four colours, namely red (flower and apple), yellow (flower and apple), blue (fish and bird) and green (fish and bird). As Inhelder and Piaget did not prescribe the colours, or which ones should be represented in particular items, it was assumed (de Lacey, 1969) that the choice of colours for various elements was unimportant, provided that they could be clearly distinguished by the subjects, and that possible confusion of red and green, or yellow and blue was precluded by avoiding the use of the colours of any of these pairs together in the same item.

The practice item and the first four test items (2 to 5) were 2-attribute items (colour x shape in 2 and 3, shape x number in 4, and colour x orientation in 5) and
the last four (6 to 9) were 3-attribute items (colour x shape x orientation in 6, 7 and 8, and colour x shape x size in 9). This order followed that used by Inhelder and Piaget.

The administrative procedures of Inhelder and Piaget (1964, pp. I59 - I63) and also used by de Lacey (1969, pp. 112 - 113) were followed in this study. Each item stem was displayed and its options (on small cards) were indicated in succession. Every child was allowed to try each of the options in the empty cell until he decided on the one that fitted best. The order of presentation of the items was constant. Each child was asked three questions: (1) to find the correct option; (2) to justify his choice; (3) to say whether any of the other options might fit in as well or better (this question being asked to test stability of choice).

The scoring system was very similar to that of Inhelder and Piaget (1964). Following de Lacey (1969), a raw score was calculated by awarding 1 point for each operational solution, so that over the eight items the maximum possible score was 8. Operational solutions were those which were stable, and in which the correct options were chosen and all the attributes were identified; graphic solutions were those in which, although the correct options were chosen, all the attributes could not be named or there was instability in the answer. Scoring during testing was recorded as follows:
Correct answer and all criteria given +
Correct answer and all criteria not given -
Incorrect answer

Subscript shows the number of the incorrect options.
(Each small option card had a number on the back.)

The following is an example of test protocol.

After rapport was established -

Tester: I want you to look at these shapes. See, there are three of them, and there's a space here.
Now, look over at these shapes. (Tester indicates the options.) I want you to see which one of these fits best over here. (Tester indicates empty space.)

Child: That goes there.

Tester: Tell me why that can go there. (Tester takes care to ask the child to justify his choice in a non-threatening manner.)

Child: It's little and round.

Tester: Are you happy with that one or would you like to try another one? (Tester takes care not to influence child's free choice.)

Child: I think that one.
A.2.5 **Teacher Ratings.**

To obtain the two ratings, teachers were asked to place every child in the class in order, with no two children sharing a rank, so that for example, in a class of 30, each child would be allocated a different number between 1 and 30 (inclusive). Teachers found it easier to give low numbers (1, 2, 3) to the highest achievers, and higher numbers (for example, 28, 29, 30) to the children experiencing greater difficulties. It was then necessary to reverse this order when compiling the data for further analysis, to bring the ratings into line with the pattern of scores from the other assessments, in which low numbers represented poorer performances and high numbers represented high performances. As class numbers varied, the raw rankings were converted to deciles (1 being a low score, 10 being high).

The original intention was to give each teacher two sets of small cards, each set containing all the names of the children in a particular class, with each name on a separate card. One set could be used for the academic rating and the other for the social rating, the method being for the teacher to arrange the cards in rank order, and to give the rearranged cards to the researcher. This procedure was followed at the ILC. However, in the case of the other (mainstream) classes, in which the concentrations of Indo-Chinese children were much lower, school policies concerning use of class lists ruled out this method. Consequently, the mainstream teachers
constructed their rankings by referring to their own class lists and giving rank order numbers to each child; the numbers allocated to each Indo-Chinese child were given to the researcher with the total number of pupils in each class. For example, an Indo-Chinese child may have been ranked at 22/30 for the academic rating, and at 18/30 for the social adaptation rating.
Initially, it was necessary to complete the procedure of obtaining permission from the New South Wales Department of Education for access to pupils in schools. This permission having been granted, approaches were made to a number of school principals for the following purposes: to determine their willingness to have their pupils and teachers participate in the study; to establish the numbers of Indo-Chinese enrolled in particular schools; and to discuss the general situation of the Indo-Chinese within each school and the nature of the data collection procedures to be followed. The principals were very helpful, despite pressing demands on their time.

There was experimentation with the use of an ethnic aide as an interpreter. However, it was decided not to use this approach, as the explanations being given by the aide were extremely lengthy, and the teachers advised the examiner that, in their opinion, the children selected as subjects had sufficient understanding of English to be able to understand the tasks involved.
### TABLE A 1
DETAILED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>School Grade</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Time in Australia</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Total Schooling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.K</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>V, E</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.K</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>V, C, E</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>C, V</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>V, C</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>V, C</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>V, C</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.ILC</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>V, C</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.ILC</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.ILC</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.ILC</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>C, V</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.ILC</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.ILC</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>V, C, E</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
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<td>7.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L, V, C</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.ILC</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
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<td>7.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>1.ILC</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1.ILC</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>1.ILC</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>V, C</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>V, C</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>V, C, E</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>C, V</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>V, F</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>C, V</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>1.ILC</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>1.ILC</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>1.ILC</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>1.ILC</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>School Grade</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Time in Australia</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Language Background</td>
<td>Total Schooling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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Notes. Research subjects, schools and most grades, have
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been identified by number. K grade is Kindergarten and ILC is the Intensive Language Centre at School 1. Language background refers to the language(s) spoken in the child's home: V (Vietnamese); C (Chinese); L (Lao); F (French); and E (English). The languages used most frequently by the child are underlined; teachers were the source for this information. Total schooling includes home country and Australian schooling. The subjects' characteristics have been tabulated in order of testing, which was organised to fit in with school routines.
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Mean difficulty for test for Indo-Chinese children = 15.6.
Mean difficulty for test for test-trialled immigrant children, in Australia 6 months to 2 years, Grades 5 to 8 = 23.4;
mean difficulty for test for Australian children, Grades 5 to 8 = 14.0 (cf. Withers et al., 1977, p. 95).

The individual item data above for immigrant children were taken from Withers et al. (1977), p. 16.

*Items 19 and 21, which had a very high error rate during the trial tests (Withers et al., 1977), were retaped for the final tape which was used in the present study.
**TABLE A.4**

**ITEMS 2. MEAN ITEM DIFFICULTY FOR TEST-TRIALLED AND INDO-CHINESE CHILDREN.**

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Mean difficulty for test for Indo-Chinese children = 20.7
Mean difficulty for test for test-trialled immigrant children, in Australia 6 months to 2 years, Grades 5 to 8 = 18.8; mean difficulty for test for test-trialled Australian children, Grades 5 to 8 = 6.8 (cf. Withers et al., 1977, p. 95).

The individual item data above for immigrant children were taken from Withers et al. (1977), p. 18

*Item 15 was changed for the final tape, after trial testing because of unreliability.*
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**Total**  40  29  32  41  41  43  23  226

**Operationally Correct**
Table A 5 (Continued)

Notes. For scoring system see Appendix A.2.3.

The mean score (of operational responses) for the Nixon test was 4.73, with a standard deviation of 1.48.
## TABLE A 6

**I & PM RESULTS. GRAPHIC AND OPERATIONAL RESPONSES**

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Total 30  25  27  25  21  16  27  17  9  188
Operationally Correct

Notes. Test items were numbers 2 to 9, item number 1 being the practice item.
The scoring system is described in Appendix A.3.4
The mean score of operational responses for the I & PM was 4.70, with a standard deviation of 2.32
(In the column headings the following abbreviations were used:
Subj. for Subject;
Op'nal for Operational; and
Resp's for Responses.)
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(COEFFICIENT / CASES / SIGNIFICANCE) (A VALUE OF 99.0000 IS PRINTED IF A COEFFICIENT CANNOT BE COMPUTED)