

NEW ZEALAND AS AN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE LEARNING ENVIRONMENT: IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCES, PROVIDER PERSPECTIVES AND SOCIAL POLICY IMPLICATIONS

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Abstract

This paper examines the kinds of opportunities available in New Zealand to new arrivals to develop English-language proficiency. In particular, it looks at how adult immigrants and refugees from non-English-speaking backgrounds perceive these opportunities and engage with both formal and informal learning sources in different contexts. It also investigates provider perceptions of the needs and difficulties of ESOL learners and of how provision may be improved. The paper is based on two studies carried out as part of the New Settlers Programme in 2000: one conducted among adult learners of English, the other among professionals involved in providing English-language programmes for adult immigrants and refugees. In the light of the findings, a number of social policy implications concerning ESOL-related tuition in education and training institutions and in the workplace, as well as the participation of ethnic groups and the wider community in enhancing the English-language learning opportunities of immigrants and refugees, are identified and discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Since 1991 New Zealand has followed a more open immigration regime designed to increase the country's human capital. Highly skilled immigrants and those capable of contributing entrepreneurial ability and investment, irrespective of their countries of origin, have formed the main target groups. A consequence of shifts in immigration policy has been an increase in the numbers of General Skills or Business category immigrants from regions where English is not the main language, adding to the numbers of people from non-English-speaking backgrounds (NESB) who have gained entry to New Zealand through other residence categories (e.g. family reunification, refugee, humanitarian). The more diverse linguistic backgrounds of these immigrants raises questions about their opportunities to adjust to and participate effectively in New Zealand's essentially English-speaking environment.

The significance of the role of English in the settlement of NESB immigrants has been underlined in a number of studies carried out in New Zealand in recent years, including Lai (1994), Boyer (1996), Roberts (1997), Barnard (1998), Pishief (1999) and Ho et al. (1996, 2000). The consensus reached in these studies is that development of English-language proficiency is critical in facilitating social contacts, in enhancing employment and educational opportunities, and in providing the basis for productive involvement in the economic, social and cultural life of New Zealand.

While English is the language of the external environment in New Zealand and occupies a central role in everyday life, we know relatively little about the role English plays in the world of the immigrant and the realities immigrants encounter in attempting to develop skills in the language of their host country. In this context, the studies reported here have attempted to investigate the relationship between the NESB immigrant or refugee and the English-language environment that predominates in most spheres of life in New Zealand. The two studies, conducted in 2000, formed part of the New Settlers Programme (NSP) at Massey University, a research programme supported by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology.¹

The first of the two studies investigated the interaction of adult NESB immigrants and refugees with formal and informal sources for learning English, and how particular contexts may contribute to the development of English-language skills in the post-arrival period. This study (hereafter referred to as the Learners' Survey) also explored the perceptions of immigrants about the domains of individual, societal and government responsibilities in relation to the promotion of the English-language proficiency of new settlers. The second study (referred to as the Providers' Survey) examined the kinds of more formal learning programmes available in educational institutions and training establishments. It sought also to tap the providers' perceptions of the needs of learners in English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) programmes and the difficulties they face in developing competency in English; and to elicit suggestions on ways in which English-language provision for adult immigrants and refugees might be improved.²

LEARNERS' SURVEY: RESEARCH DESIGN AND FINDINGS

The investigation was carried out using in-depth interviews (phase one), a postal questionnaire (phase two) and a stakeholder response procedure (phase three). In phase one, interviews were held with recent immigrants in Palmerston North and Wellington in order to explore their expectations prior to arrival concerning English-

¹ For further information on the NSP, see the web site at <http://newsettlers.massey.ac.nz>.

² Full details of the Learners' Survey can be found in White et al. (2001) and of the Providers' Survey in Watts et al. (2001).

language learning opportunities in this country, their experiences of language learning post-arrival, and their response to such experiences.

The findings from phase one were used to generate the 29-item questionnaire in phase two. In March 2000, after piloting, 377 questionnaires were sent out to Auckland, Wellington and Tauranga ESOL Home Tutor Schemes. Information was supplied to both home tutors and immigrants emphasising that the questionnaire was to be completed by immigrant learners of English and that home tutors should take care not to influence their choice of response. Two hundred and eighty questionnaires were returned, of which 32 were not usable due to many incomplete sections and difficulties with legibility. Thus the 248 usable questionnaires yielded a response rate of 65.8%. In phase three of the project stakeholders were given an opportunity to provide further perspectives on the results of the survey.

The participants in the Learners' Survey came from 41 different countries, the five main countries of origin being the People's Republic of China, Korea, Taiwan, Iraq and Russia. Their native language backgrounds were equally diverse: a total of 49 mother tongues were reported, with Mandarin, Korean, Russian, Cantonese, Arabic and Somali the main languages spoken. The largest age category was 30-39 years, and almost three-quarters of the participants were female (73.9%). In terms of educational background, over half the participants had tertiary, polytechnic or vocational training. Most had family in New Zealand (86.7%), generally a spouse and/or children rather than parents. Despite the relatively high proportion with a tertiary qualification, only 25% of the participants were in paid work at the time of the survey.

English-language competence was perceived by the vast majority of the 248 participants as being of primary importance in settlement. It was considered by them as "very important" for finding a job (92.7%), participating in New Zealand life (81.5%), being accepted (70.6%), making friends (68.6%) and finding somewhere to live (64.5%). One hundred and seventy-six participants (70%) had studied English before arrival, and 153 (61.7%) joined English classes in the first year after arrival. The main problems they had faced in learning English in New Zealand were the cost of English-language classes; the lack of opportunities to speak with native speakers of English in classes, and the inexperience of New Zealanders in speaking with people of other backgrounds. They were also concerned that there were very few bilingual teachers. Opinion was divided on whether it was easy to gain information about English-language classes: 145 (58.5%) indicated that they found it easy to obtain this information, while 103 (41.5%) said it was not.

The participants considered that their English-language development could benefit from more opportunities to speak English outside classes. Two hundred and thirty-six (95.2%) indicated that they would value more opportunity for interaction with native

speakers of English. Although 41 (16.5%) participants reported having “a lot” of opportunities to use English during their first year in New Zealand, greater proportions reported having “some” (27.4%), “few” (23.0%) or “very few” (27.0%) opportunities, and 6.0% said that they had had “no opportunities” to use English during this period. The participants mostly spoke English with people while shopping and with New Zealand neighbours and friends. English was used relatively infrequently in the family domain. The majority of the participants were not in paid employment. However, for those who were employed, interaction in the work environment was rated as the most useful means of developing English-language skills. Other informal ways used by the participants to extend their knowledge of English were television, books, newspapers, magazines, films and video.

The participants were asked to reflect on where the responsibilities should lie for providing an environment that would facilitate development of English-language proficiency among new arrivals. They responded by citing 917 instances as to how the English-language learning situation for immigrants and refugees could be improved. These can be grouped as follows:

- individual immigrant responsibilities (376);
- ethnic group responsibilities (200);
- wider community responsibilities (202); and
- government responsibilities (139).

The overall distribution of responses suggests that participants recognised the crucial contribution of individual effort and commitment alongside that of the community and government.

Individual Immigrant Responsibilities

Three broad areas were identified within the results relating to individual immigrant responsibilities:

- engagement with learning sources;
- communication with the host society; and
- use of self-management strategies.

Engaging with learning sources involved preparedness to locate and make maximum use of formal sources of learning (i.e. classes) as well as informal sources such as the media. The participants also recognised individual responsibility for establishing links with the host society, primarily through establishing social networks and friendships with New Zealanders. The third domain of individual responsibility related to intra-personal aspects of self-management; that is, the need for individuals to manage their own affective responses to situations that arise.

Ethnic Community Responsibilities

The more established members of ethnic communities were also seen as having a responsibility for providing assistance, orientation, networks and fostering cultural well-being. The single largest group of responses related – not surprisingly – to the provision of English-language support, followed almost equally by a focus on the role of the ethnic group in society. Apart from providing direct assistance to new settlers through English-language classes (particularly those with bilingual support), ethnic communities were seen as having a key role in providing contacts for new arrivals, helping them to maintain their cultures, and offering a pool of expertise. One further aspect of ethnic group responsibility identified was to provide a bridge to mainstream New Zealand society and to government by acting as a representative of the interests of NESB immigrants and refugees.

Wider Community Responsibilities

The responsibilities of the wider community related to four main areas: ESOL support, attitudinal factors, activities, and settlement and employment. The main aspect of support for language skills was providing immigrants and refugees with opportunities to take part in and learn from conversational interaction. The second key area related to having a positive disposition to newcomers, and a degree of openness and willingness to accept and include them in social activities. A further domain of wider community responsibility was more practical in orientation and focused on the need for providing information, courses, training and employment opportunities, again with the aim of enabling new settlers to enter the mainstream of economic life and to settle comfortably in New Zealand.

Government responsibilities

The government was seen as having an important responsibility for funding ESOL provision, for providing centralised information about New Zealand life and society, and for providing opportunities for orientation to the new society. Government responsibilities were also placed within the context of wider responsibilities for the recognition of qualifications and the provision of employment opportunities as a basis for settlement. Finally, translation services were viewed as a source of concern and an area in which the Government should place more resources.

PROVIDERS' SURVEY: RESEARCH DESIGN AND FINDINGS

A 30-item questionnaire seeking information about policies and practices related to ESOL provision for adult NESB immigrants and refugees was devised, following advice gained in focus group meetings with senior teachers employed in ESOL

institutions in the Manawatu region, as well as discussions with groups and organisations in Auckland and Wellington that have an involvement in ESOL provision (Skill New Zealand, Work and Income New Zealand, Ministry of Education, National ESOL Home Tutors Association). The questionnaire sought information about the ESOL courses offered, the numbers of adult NESB immigrants and refugees who took these courses, the backgrounds of these learners, the qualifications and status of teachers and support staff, the funding arrangements that applied, etc. The views of respondents were also canvassed on the difficulties experienced by adult NESB immigrants and refugees in accessing ESOL courses and the changes required in ESOL provision to better meet their settlement needs.

The questionnaire was trialled among selected ESOL providers in Palmerston North in June 2000. After minor modifications, the questionnaire was sent through the post in July-August 2000 to 155 teaching institutions and establishments throughout the country that were known to have some involvement with ESOL at the adult level. One hundred and seven questionnaires completed by ESOL managers or senior teachers in the educational institutions and training establishments contacted were returned by the due date, which represents an overall return rate of 69.0%. Follow-up interviews were held with staff in 16 of the educational institutions and training establishments that responded to the questionnaire. These interviews were held during October 2000 in Auckland, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Wellington and Christchurch.

The 107 educational institutions and training establishments that participated in the postal survey comprised 32 secondary schools, 29 tertiary institutions, 26 community education organisations and 20 private training establishments. Of these, 87 (81.3%) confirmed that they had offered ESOL classes for adult NESB immigrants and/or refugees at some time in the last five years and 78 (72.9%) were offering these classes in 2000. Four of the institutions that had previously offered ESOL courses said they would offer such courses again if more funding was available, while two indicated that offering these courses in the future would depend on demand.

In both the questionnaire responses and the follow-up interviews the strong view expressed was that immigrants and refugees have diverse cultural, educational and linguistic backgrounds and require flexible learning arrangements to meet their individual needs, including choices of course options at different levels ranging from general to specialised. The institutions were attempting to provide programmes to meet immigrant needs, particularly in areas related to preparation for employment or further training. However, the kind of courses that can be offered depends on the level of funding available. Only 24 of the 78 participating institutions currently offering ESOL courses (30.8%) agreed that the level of funding from external sources was appropriate for the service provided.

The participating institutions also cited a number of problems faced by NESB immigrants that limited their access to ESOL classes. These included individual circumstances such as lack of confidence, family attitudes and religious belief. Closely linked with this cluster, and particularly important for female caregivers, was child minding. The other three main areas of difficulty were the cost of tuition, transport (especially in areas not well served by public transport) and the time of classes (some adults may find it difficult to attend day classes because of work commitments, while others have shift work or family responsibilities which limits their opportunities to attend evening classes). Thirty-nine of the 78 institutions currently offering ESOL courses (50.0%) indicated that they were taking some measures to assist students to overcome these difficulties of access. The measures mentioned included arranging crèche facilities, scheduling alternative times for classes, offering courses of different lengths, providing flexible entry points to courses, and subsidising tuition costs.

The 107 institutions that responded to the survey did not agree that responsibility for facilitating access to English-language learning was or should be their responsibility alone. Seventy-nine of these institutions made comments on different ways in which ESOL provision for adult NESB immigrants could be improved. They provided 182 instances, which ranged from government responsibility for overall policy and direction to matters relating to local arrangements. Sixty-eight respondents also gave 135 instances of areas where they would like to see changes in ESOL provision for refugees. In both cases, over half of these instances related to government policy and resourcing as these have a direct effect on the level of ESOL provision available in educational institutions. In this respect, the results of the Providers' Survey differ (understandably) from those of the Learners' Survey, where the attention of the ESOL learners focused on their own roles and those of the ethnic communities to which they belong.

At the government level, the providers firstly wanted action to improve access to ESOL for immigrants. A major barrier was perceived to be course fees, particularly at the tertiary level. Support was expressed for a system in which new immigrants and refugees received an entitlement to free or heavily subsidised tuition as of right up to the stage of gaining functional competence in English. Additional funding was required to meet more adequately the costs of hiring teachers, bilingual aides and assistants and the purchase of essential resources. A further problem highlighted was the lack of overall planning. There was support for national curriculum and assessment guidelines. There was also a view that considerably more attention should be given to devising a central system to ensure quality control and accountability in ESOL instruction at all levels. In addition, some providers saw the need for a national clearinghouse for ESOL-related information and research.

The providers were also conscious that there were areas within their own jurisdiction that need attention. A major concern expressed in the questionnaires and interviews

was the lack of co-operation between institutions. Imposed market-driven ideologies had led to increased competition between providers, resulting in wastage of time and resources. They felt that ESOL courses could be more relevant to the needs of immigrants and refugees and that there was a need for authentic materials designed for New Zealand conditions. Some institutions felt that greater recognition could be given to offering different modes of delivery to cater for the different situations of immigrants, ranging from classroom-based instruction to individualised packages and distance learning.

A further related problem was attitudinal. The teachers who participated in the Providers' Survey pointed to negative social attitudes towards newcomers that made it difficult for immigrants and refugees to make personal links with New Zealanders. This in turn restricted their acculturation in the New Zealand environment and limited their opportunities to develop confidence in using English in a range of interactional contexts.

IMMIGRANT REALITIES

The respondents in the Learners' Study had, on the whole, developed prior to arrival high expectations about life in New Zealand, with regard to services and the English-language learning environment. For example, they expected that translation and interpreting services would be readily available, that they would have ample opportunity to converse with native speakers of English and that this would assist them in gaining the English-language skills they saw as crucial to settlement. These expectations developed prior to arrival were generally not matched by the realities they faced. Expecting to find a nationwide, easily accessible translation and interpreting service, the reality was that out of necessity many used family members or contacts from within their ethnic communities to meet their needs in this area. Similarly, while immigrants and refugees are in an English-using environment, the opportunities for them to practise English with native speakers are severely restricted, reflecting the fact that relatively few are employed, and many have family responsibilities.

These findings raise questions about the basis for expectations that were formed in relation to the wide availability and low cost of classes and translation services, and what might be needed in terms of pre-migration information, advice and orientation. Questions arise also about the responsibilities of the New Zealand Immigration Service, immigration consultants and the quality of information provided in any pre-migration services.³

³ For more about practices, issues and the provision of information on the part of the immigration industry, see Lovelock and Trlin (2000).

In their first year in New Zealand the participants accessed both formal (classes, tuition) and informal sources of English to develop their language skills. As with translation services, personal networks were highlighted as the main way of gaining information. Other avenues – such as advertisements, New Zealand friends and the local library – were used but to a much lesser degree. This points to the need for a co-ordinated policy for the provision of appropriate information to orient new arrivals to formal means available for learning.

Over half the respondents in the Learners' Study joined classes in the first year after their arrival. Reasons for not joining related to the pressures of circumstances and conflicting priorities. For family reunification immigrants and refugees it was clearly the need to take care of family members that prevented them from taking the time to enrol in classes. General Category/General Skills Category immigrants indicated that they were preoccupied with settling into New Zealand and cited this as the reason for not attending classes. What it does underline is that formal tuition may be a luxury in terms of time, energy and commitment for those immigrants and refugees who have the primary responsibility for establishing a new way of life and attending to family needs.

The new settlers used a range of informal sources to develop their language skills. The most prominent of these was television, followed by books, newspapers, radio, films/videos, conversing with English native speakers, church and work. However, not all these sources were equally valued. Interactive opportunities, which also allow the immigrant or refugee to become involved with an aspect of New Zealand society such as being in the workforce or in English-speaking social networks, are the most highly valued means of acquiring language. The impact of being out of the workforce was felt most acutely in terms of limited opportunities for interaction, social participation and acculturation in the norms of the new society. The significance of not being part of the workforce for immigrants has also been explored in the longitudinal study of the New Settlers Programme (see Trlin and Henderson 1999, Trlin et al. 1999) and makes clear the consequences in terms of accommodation, social participation and personal well-being.

The Providers' Study corroborates the major findings of the Learners' Study, particularly in respect to the barriers faced by immigrants and refugees in gaining access to ESOL courses that they feel best suit their needs. The findings reveal that a wide variety of ESOL courses is being offered by institutions, nearly half of which are courses of a more specialised nature – a considerable advance on the situation in the 1980s reported by Gubbay and Cogill (1988). The fact remains that immigrants and refugees do not always have ready access to appropriate ESOL courses because of the costs (for tuition, transport, child minding, etc.) or, in the case of some courses funded

by Work and Income New Zealand or Skill New Zealand, because of eligibility criteria that may exclude them.

The studies suggest that there are three key avenues for developing language skills in the post-arrival period: formal classes, entry to the workforce, and opportunities for extended interaction with native speakers of English. Each of these avenues is not necessarily open to all new arrivals for a variety of reasons, including personal circumstances and host society receptivity.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

It is essential to locate within the three avenues identified by immigrant and refugee learners for acquiring language skills, entry points by which gains in language skills can be enhanced by new initiatives within an overall policy framework for immigration and settlement. Because individual immigrants and refugees differ considerably in their linguistic and cultural backgrounds, level of education, and personal and family circumstances, these entry points must be flexible and readily accessible.

ENGLISH-LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

One of the key findings to emerge from the two studies is that support for ESOL provision is part of a complex nexus of responsibilities involving the individual immigrant, ethnic communities, the wider community and government. The views expressed by respondents run counter to the assumption that responsibility in relation to English-language support is perceived by new settlers to rest primarily or exclusively with government. This assumption arises, at least in part, from the ethnic communities' repeated calls on government to provide English-language learning resources. What has been revealed is a view that the development of language skills requires a much wider investment.

For the individual, seeking out English-language instructional opportunities and making maximum use of these opportunities can represent a considerable investment of time, effort and financial resources (particularly when one takes into consideration travel expenses, child-minding costs as well as the high course fees that apply in some institutions). Similarly, for members of the ethnic communities and the wider community who are willing to assist immigrants or refugees in a voluntary or semi-voluntary capacity as tutors or conversation class leaders, there are costs involved in obtaining appropriate training, preparing instructional materials, arranging hire of premises, etc. It is clear, then, that a higher level of government support is required to support ESOL provision for adult immigrants and refugees from voluntary schemes such as the ESOL Home Tutors network, to community education programmes and to courses at the more advanced level in tertiary institutions. Furthermore, such provision

for adult NESB immigrants and refugees should be carefully co-ordinated and systematically planned.

A strategy for adult ESOL provision could look for models to the Australian Migrant English Program (AMEP) and the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada. The long-established AMEP, administered by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, provides for up to 510 hours of free tuition for new arrivals who have not reached a functional level in English to allow immigrants flexible access to language training while still meeting family, social, employment and other commitments (Martin 1999). The Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) programme (see Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2000) and the associated Labour Market Language Training (LMLT) programme also provide funding to accredited public and private organisations for the provision of basic English-language instruction to adult newcomers. Both schemes also allow for a variety of training interventions, and include mechanisms for monitoring courses to ensure quality control and accountability. The Australian and Canadian programmes oversee data collection and research, assist in the development of resources and play a part in the professional development of ESOL teachers – activities that closely resemble those proposed at various times in New Zealand (see, e.g., Department of Education 1976, Waite 1992) but which have not yet been acted upon.

Workplace English-Language Opportunities

The studies have pointed to the importance of the workplace for facilitating interaction between non-native and native English speakers, which can lead to increased confidence and proficiency in English communication skills on the part of the adult migrant or refugee. This raises a number of issues, including questions of how adult NESB immigrants and refugees can be better prepared to enter the workplace, and what can be done to improve their English-language needs once they are in employment.

Because work preparation training courses that include ESOL components can be beneficial in developing links with the workplace and assisting immigrants and refugees to obtain jobs (New Zealand Employment Service 1998), there is a clear need for the scope of these courses to be extended. Similarly, there is a need to develop the range and quality of workplace ESOL classes. Such classes should be viewed by employers as an important means of staff development which could lead to greater employee job satisfaction and increased productivity, as well as helping to ensure workplace safety. From the government perspective such classes should also be seen as contributing to the welfare of new settlers and their successful incorporation into New Zealand society.

Government responsibilities in this domain should be placed in the wider context of the need to facilitate the entry of new settlers into the workplace, because employment functions as a crucial basis for settlement. Support measures required include a better system for recognising overseas qualifications, provision of a nationwide service for translation and interpreting, and establishment of centres that could operate as “one-stop shops” to provide immigrants and refugees with advice on employment opportunities and business possibilities.

A more difficult issue relates to removing attitudinal barriers that contribute to unemployment or underemployment of people from non-English-speaking backgrounds. Discrimination against certain immigrant groups has been well documented (see, for example, Basnayake’s 1999 study of the experiences of Sri Lankan professionals). The reasons for such discrimination appear to be a mix of linguistic, cultural and racial prejudices. In the *High Hopes* survey report (Department of Internal Affairs 1996) the observation was made that many of the skilled NESB immigrants appeared to have a high level of English skills, yet were finding difficulty obtaining jobs for which they were qualified. The survey of human resource practitioners reported in the *EEO Trust Recruiting Talent Report* (EEO Trust 2000) also concluded that negative attitudes towards people with non-New Zealand accents was a major form of discrimination among clients.

This points to the need for a policy aimed at educating employers to realise the positive advantages of diversity and the resources that NESB immigrant employees bring to the workplace (for further details, see Watts and Trlin 2000). Greater encouragement must also be given to making productive use of immigrant resources. In this respect, New Zealand would do well to emulate the example of the Australian state of Victoria, which has mounted a concerted campaign to draw popular attention to the advantages of ethnic diversity for increasing productivity. This is a combined effort drawing on government, business and education sectors as well as the ethnic communities themselves (see Employment Victoria 1998).

Social Interaction

In terms of English-language communicative development, the plea expressed in both the Learners’ and the Providers’ surveys to the mainstream New Zealand community was primarily to be prepared to interact and converse with new settlers. This plea was associated with a call for New Zealanders to show a positive orientation to new arrivals, evidenced in such values as tolerance, patience, understanding, encouragement, neighbourliness and friendship, and to be more inclusive and to orient activities to the emergent multicultural character of New Zealand. In other words, there is a need for an ethnic relations policy to educate the wider society and to reduce

xenophobic, monolingual tendencies so that all may benefit from the increasingly diverse nature of New Zealand society.

The findings from the Learners' and Providers' surveys clearly situate the English-language needs of immigrants and refugees in the wider context of the need identified by Trlin (1993) for a co-ordinated, inclusive immigration policy that is concerned not only with entry to the country, but also with settlement and ethnic relations issues. Such a comprehensive policy needs to include a languages policy and to foreground the importance of provision for diversity and of productive relationships between immigrants and the wider community.

CONCLUSION

Although English is the language of the external environment in New Zealand, it is evident that new arrivals need to have support from within the host society if they are to achieve their goals of becoming proficient users of English. Support is required in the form of both coordinated educational provision and community involvement to assist NESB immigrants and refugees in the post-arrival period as they face the complex process of attempting to understand the new society, to fit themselves into that society and to anchor their new lives. Issues relating to the well-being of new settlers cannot be excluded from issues relating to the attitudes, beliefs and habitual responses of the society as a whole.

Although the findings of the two surveys reported in this paper highlight the importance of individual effort and investment in language learning on the part of the NESB immigrant, it is not the exclusive responsibility of the individual. The surveys underline the importance of the commitment of the entire community to the development of language resources. While formal English-language instruction is extremely valuable for NESB immigrants, it cannot provide ongoing opportunities for participating in everyday social interaction and community networks, which form much of mainstream life in New Zealand. Most importantly, the commitment of the entire community is essential to the inclusion of immigrants in everyday life, with the adjustments this entails, and the fostering of this is a key part of any successful immigration policy. There is also an urgent need for an ethnic relations policy to contribute to enhancing the ways in which the diverse groups that constitute New Zealand society can relate as warp and weft. Such an ethnic relations policy needs to be formulated and implemented to change some of the sentiments and attitudinal factors that inhibit a more inclusive understanding of the nature of New Zealand society.

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