MINORITY LANGUAGE EDUCATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CULTURAL ADAPTATION OF THE ETHIOPIAN COMMUNITY IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

by

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This thesis endeavoured to examine different views on language education which are pertinent to the teaching of minority languages in schools with special reference to the cultural adaptation of the Ethiopian community in South Australia.

The research methodology was based on multiple triangulation approach. The implementation of language policies as they relate to the teaching of community languages in the schools was studied by means of interviews and non-participant classroom observation techniques. The research participants consisted of school principals, both teachers and students of Languages Other Than English (LOTE) and English as a Second Language (ESL). The community language classes under investigation were Vietnamese and Italian, which were part of regular school programs, and Arabic and Amharic (Ethiopian) which were taught in the context of language education carried out in part-time ethnic schools. The investigation of the Amharic language school formed the nucleus for a holistic study of the Ethiopian community in South Australia.

The Ethiopian community, which represents one of the most recent immigrant groups, was studied by the adoption of humanistic sociological approach. Data were collected by using oral memoirs, in-depth interviews and participant observation techniques. The data from the Ethiopian community were analysed in terms of a theoretical framework which consisted of ideological, social, religious and linguistic systems of cultural values. This led to the identification of three value clusters (Ethiopian Monocultural, Bicultural and Anglo-Assimilate) that were used to classify the respondents on the basis of their value activation.

One of the main findings of the investigation on Ethiopian community is the ability of its members to retain the Ethiopian cultural values while showing a high degree of adaptation to the Australian way of living, mainly through their success in learning English. This tenacity of Ethiopian cultural retention is partly a reflection of the relative recency of the arrival of most of its members in South Australia. It was also found to rest in the historically grounded valuation and high esteem in which Ethiopians regard their culture and their desire to perpetuate it, while thoroughly integrating into the Australian society. The thesis throws light on the way Australian values were adopted and modified or, at times, rejected by the participants. The research has also identified individuals moving across Ethiopian/Australian ethnicity continuum either towards majority culture or towards Ethiopian culture. Among Ethiopian values Amharic language could be viewed as a core of culture not only for Amharas themselves but also for most members of other Ethiopian ethnic groups in South Australia.
This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university and, to the best of the author’s knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

I consent to the thesis being made available for photocopying and loan, if accepted for the award of the degree.

NEGA WORKU DEBELA
From the conception of the topic till the writing up of the conclusion, this thesis has been supported by two complementary advisers. Consequently, the researcher got the benefit of utilising two different types of advising skills. On the one hand, there was perfectionist attitude and support given by Professor Smolicz and, on the other hand, there was a consistent and continuous support provided by Miss Margaret Secombe, who positively valued the ideas of the researcher at all times. It would not have been possible to reach at this level of the thesis without the scholarly approach of Professor Smolicz who never got tired of looking at each and every word as an outsider and then providing feedback as a supervisor on how it should be put to the readers. I enjoyed all the constructive critiques put forward by Professor Smolicz and used them to build the whole thesis up to its present level. Therefore, I wish to thank my supervisor Professor Smolicz for the invaluable contribution he made to this thesis and the interest he showed in all of my work, and on Ethiopians in particular.

I also wish to thank Miss Secombe, who was always encouraging me, and whose support at all stages helped to shape the thesis. She has been the positive pillar of my research investigation which backed me up whenever I needed it.

I would like to express my gratitude to the participants of this study who gave their time freely to share their experiences; to many others, too numerous to mention by name, for their support which eased the labour of collecting data and completing this thesis.

I wish to thank Ms. Wendy Buxton for reading the draft tirelessly and for giving valuable comments.

Finally, I want to thank my wife Hellen Yigzaw Bihonegn, for her continuous encouragement and support. I would like to dedicate this thesis to her.
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<td>ALL</td>
<td>Australian Language Levels</td>
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<td>ALLP</td>
<td>Australian Language and Literacy Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>BSSO</td>
<td>Bilingual School Service Officer</td>
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<td>DEET</td>
<td>Department of Employment, Education and Training</td>
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<td>ECASA</td>
<td>Ethiopian Community Association in South Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td>EOC</td>
<td>Ethiopian Orthodox Church</td>
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<tr>
<td>EPRDF</td>
<td>Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESL</td>
<td>English as a Second Language</td>
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<td>ESP</td>
<td>Ethnic School Program</td>
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<td>FIFO</td>
<td>First In First Out - linguistic inventory system</td>
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<tr>
<td>HEES</td>
<td>Higher Education Entrance Score</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICRA</td>
<td>Indo-Chinese Refugee Association</td>
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<td>LAP</td>
<td>Learning Assistance Program</td>
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<td>LIFO</td>
<td>Last In First Out - linguistic inventory system</td>
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<td>LOTE</td>
<td>Language Other Than English</td>
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<td>MECC</td>
<td>Multicultural Education Coordinating Committee</td>
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<td>MTD</td>
<td>Mother Tongue Maintenance</td>
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<td>NAFLaSSL</td>
<td>National Assessment Framework for Languages at Senior Secondary Level</td>
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<td>NES</td>
<td>Non-English Speaking</td>
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<td>NESB</td>
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<td>PES</td>
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<td>SASSL</td>
<td>South Australian Secondary School of Languages</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBS</td>
<td>Special Broadcasting Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>SSABSA</td>
<td>Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td>TGE</td>
<td>Transitional Government of Ethiopia</td>
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Abune (አቡን) is one of the highest religious ranks in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Abyssinia (አዲስደ.neg) is the ancient name of Ethiopia.

Abyssinian (አዲስ) is the ancient name given for an Ethiopian.

Adal (አዳል) refers to a group of people living in the North Eastern part of Ethiopia.

Addis Abeba (አዲስ እ እ ከ) is the present capital city of Ethiopia.

Agew (አጠቃላይ) is one of the minority ethnic communities in Ethiopia.

Aksumite (አጢሮይት) refers to the ancient people of Ethiopia who lived in the city of Aksum.

Aksum (አዲስ እ እ ከ) is the ancient capital city of Ethiopia.

Amara (አማራ) is the second largest ethnic group accounting for twenty eight (28.3) percent of the total population of Ethiopia.

Amaras (አማራ) are the native speakers of Amharic or Amaregna.

Amharic (አማርኛ) is the English version of "Amaregna". The natives call Amharic "Amaregna". Amharic is the language of Amaras; it is also the official language of Ethiopia.

Awakiwoche or Shimagelewoch (አወቀው ዳር ከማገድወር) means 'wise persons or senior citizens'. They are responsible for settling social problems in the society.

Dabo (ዳቦ) is a thick bread (unlike Injerra) which is usually made of different types of cereals.

Eritrea (ኤርትራ) is the former northern province of Ethiopia. Eritrea seceded from Ethiopia in 1993.

Ethiopia (ኢትዮጵያ), which was formerly known as Abyssinia, is a country located on the horn of Africa.

Galla (ጆ) is a derisatory name given for Oromos.
Gondar (งง�) is one of the administrative regions in Northern part of Ethiopia.

Guragegna (גר **)& is the language of the Guragies.

Guragie (גרא) is the fourth largest ethnic group accounting for four (4.4) percent of the Ethiopian population.

Guragies (גרא^ג) are the native speakers of Guragegna.

Harrar (הראר) is an ancient city situated in Eastern part of Ethiopia.

Ikub (ימם) is a 'money club' where every member contributes a fixed sum of money at every interval. The collected money will be distributed back to the members turn by turn.

Injerra (יינר) is a flat thin spongy - like bread which is made of Teffe. It is a stable food for most Ethiopians.

Ketfo (קיטו) is an Ethiopian speciality of raw meat.

Lalibela (לאלי) is a christian religious site where several churches were built by King Lalibela.

Lijihen le Leji (לייחה לייח) is an old form of marriage which literally means your son or daughter to my son or daughter

Meskel (מעסקל) (the founding of half of the true cross) is one of the main celebrations of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Oromiffa (אומי) is the language of the Oromos.

Oromo (אום) is the largest ethnic group comprising twenty nine (29.1) percent of the total population of Ethiopia.

Oromos (אום^ג) are the native speakers of Oromogna.

Pagumen (פגוון) is the 13th month which consists of 5 days (6 days in a leap year) in the Ethiopian Calendar

Sheba (שברה) is the ancient queen of Ethiopia.

Shemma (שמנה) is a hand woven cotton made clothe.

Sidamo (סידם) is one of the Southern Administrative Regions in Ethiopia.
Somali (在玩家) refers to the speakers of Somali languages.

Tabot (玩家) is the symbol and representation of the ark of covenant.

Tewahedo (玩家) means monophysite and refers to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Teff (玩家) is an endemic cereal which grows in Ethiopia.

Tigre (玩家) is the third largest ethnic group which comprises nine (9.7) percent of the total population of Ethiopia.

Tigreans (玩家) are the native speakers of Tigregna.

Tigregna (玩家) is the native language of the Tigreans who live in the Tigrai Administrative region in northern Ethiopia, and in the highlands of Eritrea.

Welaita (玩家) refers to a minority ethnic group in Southern part of Ethiopia.

Wette (玩家) is a hot chilli stew prepared from meat, lentil or bean powder.

Wollo (玩家) is one of the Northern Administrative Regions in Ethiopia.

Yebuna Bahil (玩家) is a coffee ceremony which takes place at least two or three times, turn by turn, among neighbours in Ethiopia.
PART I
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY
Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Theoretical Framework

1.2 Application of Cultural Systems Analysis to Ethiopians in Australia

1.3 Research Methods

1.4 Profile of Respondents
Chapter 1. Introduction

The major questions which this study attempts to answer concerns how far state language policies assist in maintaining minority ethnic languages in South Australia. While four languages are investigated, the focus of the research is on the Ethiopian-Australian community and the extent to which this, as one of the smallest of the small ethnic groups in Australia, has been able to maintain its language and culture in the light of
a. the South Australian language policies, and
b. Ethiopians' own evaluation of their language as a core value of their culture.

The investigation is carried out within humanistic sociological theory and method (Chap 1) which are applied to both the critical overview of minority language education in general, and the investigation of the Ethiopian community, in particular.

Theories related to the teaching of minority languages education as a world phenomenon are discussed in Chapter 2 where distinct orientations and paradigms in language education are identified. The different situations which arise from language contact are examined as "healthy" (supportive) or "unhealthy" (non-supportive) from the perspective of minority languages survival. The conflicting orientations of supporters and sceptics of the teaching of minority languages are reviewed, leading to the explication of paradigms that are favourable to this type of education.

This theoretical discussion is then brought to bear upon the
Australian language scene in general. Chapter 3 provides a brief overview of the Australian linguistic history from pre-European settlement to modern times. The Australian National Policy on languages and the South Australian State Languages policy are also reviewed.

The initial empirical study (in Chapter 4) involves an investigation of the language education provided for four community groups (Vietnamese, Italian, Arab and Ethiopian) in the formal school system and in ethnic schools.

The study of community language education at school level, per se, is insufficient and incomplete without considering the home situation. Therefore, the major part of the investigation consists of an in-depth study of one of these groups, namely the Ethiopian community in South Australia as a whole (Chapter 5) with special focus on its cultural adaptation (Chapters 6 - Chapter 8) and on the Amharic language and its maintenance by group members alongside English (Chapter 9). The analysis of the data enables the allocation of the respondents into clusters of cultural values and provides evidence of individual mobility between clusters (Chapter 10).

The conclusion considers to what extent the education and cultural reality of South Australia provides a healthy context for the maintenance of Amharic among the Ethiopian community.
1.1 Theoretical Framework

The conceptual framework utilised in this investigation assumes that a group's culture is composed of various systems of cultural values such as: ideological, religious, social and linguistic systems (Znaniecki 1963, Smolicz 1979). There is some overlap between these systems of cultural values so that some values can extend over two or more systems. Cultural value systems exist at two levels. Group systems of values can be seen to act as reservoirs from which individual members of the group construct their own personal systems of values.

Ideological System. It ought to be noted that 'ideological' system is here considered as a much wider concept than that which is commonly perceived in the popular sense of the term ideology, ie. it does not necessarily embody any connotation of economic or political power which is to be found, for instance, in Marxist oriented sociology or political science. In broader terms, the ideological system refers to the group's 'standards of values and norms of conduct', or the 'principles of judgement and ways of acting which members are supposed to accept and abide by' (Znaniecki 1963:267).

One of the main functions of the ideological system is to act for each generation as an evaluating agent for other items of culture, as well as for structuring both the individual's and the group's social systems. In general the evaluating function of the ideological system is two-fold. 'On the one hand, it is used to assess the significance of 'new' values...and probably more importantly to bear upon the heritage and to evaluate it afresh to meet the changing needs of the group' (Smolicz
1979:35). Therefore, the first purpose of the ideological system is to guide the future experiences and activities of others. In this sense it is linked to the humanistic sociological concept of tradition (Znaniecki 1968, Smolicz 1974).

From humanistic sociology perspective tradition is interpreted as each generation's evaluation of the cultural heritage transmitted to them from the past. For example, it is important to know how the Ethiopian children evaluate learning Amharic, as their heritage language. The concept of tradition also holds in the case of negative evaluation as when children rebel against parental wishes in refusing to learn and speak their home language.

The ideological system at a personal level can be regarded as made up of a set of attitudes, with ideological values constituting their group counterpart. Attitudes could be divided into "ideational attitudes" which are not practised in reality, and "realistic attitudes" which are expressed as "tendencies" in the performance of actions. It should be noted that tendencies in humanistic sociology refer to the implementation or activation of cultural values. Some minority ethnic children express realistic attitudes towards their home language and do not defy them in personal conduct, by using the language in public without fear of becoming outcasts from their majority peer group. At the other extreme, are children who display a positive ideational attitude to their mother tongue, but who are unable to activate them as a realistic attitude due to being denied access to their group linguistic system, due to isolation or lack of schooling. For such children, it is easier to internalise group values as ideational attitudes
(see section 6.2) while being unwilling or unable to activate them in real terms.

On the whole, there could be two reasons why some minority ethnic children fail to activate their ideational attitudes. Firstly, it may be a result of practical problems, where there has been no opportunity to get access to the target language and hence to activate their attitudes as tendencies. Secondly, due to 'axiological impediments', the learners may have no actual interest in putting their ideational attitudes into practice. It is argued that 'an axiological impediment is that kind of modification in the composition of a system which makes some of its essential values axiologically conflicting, incompatible with one another from the point of view of the constructive tendencies of this system' (Znaniecki 1968: 299). In this sense, whether minority ethnic individuals activate their ideational attitudes reflects their relative evaluation of both the ideological values derived from the dominant group and those from their own ethnic group.

It is important to remember that ideational attitudes, perse, need to be recognised as social facts in the analysis of ethnic group language maintenance or loss.

Social Systems. Every human being is considered as a social value in the same way as every word is taken as a linguistic value and in the Znaniecki framework are viewed in general as cultural values. Humanistic sociology perceives individuals as cultural values having both content and meaning and views individuals as fulfilling a double
role; the first being individuals' unique capacity as a human being to function as an active agent, while they assume their second role as social objects of the activities of others.

As Znaniecki puts it 'A social person is a centre of relationships with a number of other persons and groups, in which relationships he appears as object of their activities and they appear as objects of his activities' (Znaniecki 1968:132). Hence cultural facts can only be understood in the form in which they are perceived by conscious human agents. It is the conscious human agents who are the final judges of a fact's significance and validity. At the same time, they are inevitably required to play the role of an object in the activities of other individuals.

Systems of Social Values. The various networks and social relationships among individuals can be perceived as group social systems in which the members constitute social values for one another. Group systems serve as social reservoirs for individuals in the construction of their personal social systems. Social systems are brought into existence with the cooperation of all members. In this regard social systems could be seen as the creation of individuals, while at the same time individuals become part of the product itself and can be regarded as social values for one another.

Primary relationships include those contacts which are personal, informal and usually face to face, and involving the entire human personality. Secondary relationships are of a more formal nature, such
as those found in a work situation: impersonal, formal and restricted (Cooley, 1909). These relationships are not mutually exclusive since certain values can be included in both relationships of the same individual. This primary and secondary distinctions applies to social systems as well as to relationships. As Smolicz (1979:147) puts it 'An individual can (...) construct two sorts of social systems- a primary personal system, made up of the people with whom he has primary relationships, and a secondary personal system consisting of those linked to him through secondary relationships. (...) A particular social value may be included in both the primary and secondary systems of the same individual, since the same person can be both a close friend and a business associate.'

The Ethiopians in South Australia are members of each other's secondary group system by the mere fact that they have similar culture and language. In many cases, almost all of them have also developed this into primary personal relationships, so that they represent primary social values in each other's personal systems.

*Linguistic System.* Language guides the way we perceive our environment. We think in terms of the words, phrases, clauses and sentences of our first language which provides us a structure upon the way in which we look at the world around us (Whorf, 1956, Wiezbicka 1992:213-214). For many if not most ethnic groups language helps to maintain their culture and preserve their identity (Smolicz 1981).

In line with the principles of humanistic sociology, 'the words of a given language can be defined as cultural objects or values in the life
of a particular speech community or group' (Smolicz 1979:112). Apart from their material content, words have come to acquire a meaning in the consciousness of that group of people. Because words are not used in isolation but in relation to one another, they can be regarded as forming a group's linguistic system, in the same way as economic or ideological values form specific systems.

The tendency of individuals to activate certain values in the group's linguistic system can be observed when the individuals in question attempt to communicate with other members of their group. By so doing, the individuals gradually form their own personal linguistic system right from their childhood. This process of activating one's personal linguistic system shows the tendency to use the linguistic stock of the group.

**Personal Linguistic System.** Individuals who have constructed their own ethnic language system may later find it difficult to activate these values for external reasons such as isolation and limited number of domain for its use. Under such circumstances, the existence of their personal linguistic system may continue to be observed in the form of ideational attitudes. Once the hindrances are removed then there is a possibility of reactivating these values. In some cases, individuals may feel positive towards the minority ethnic language in the form of ideational attitudes, but prefer not to make the effort to actually learn the language.
Where individuals know more than one language, there may be some degree of hybridisation or interchange among the different linguistic systems. This phenomenon is most often apparent when their command of one language is insufficient to express their ideas.

Many of the Amharic speakers activate two, three or four linguistic systems according to the social context in which they find themselves. What has become common among the newly arrived child migrants is the introduction of borrowed words from English into their Amharic system. The main reason for this is that their Amharic group linguistic system or stock is insufficient to accommodate the new concepts learnt from the Australian society. It is not uncommon among the newly arrived migrant children to make use of hybrid forms, as a result of insufficient knowledge of both English and Amharic.

*Religious System.* For the purpose of this study religion will be considered in relation to the inner belief system or doctrine, but to its outward or manifest form. According to Grundy (1958:8) ‘All religions are made up of a way of thinking, behaving and feeling- in other words, of a way of living; but this thinking, behaving and feeling is of a special kind.’ From this definition, followers of any religion build their own belief systems of how the world came into existence. They also set their own codes of rules that govern their life style, including speech. Likewise, members of a religious community perform their prayers, rituals and ceremonies which they regard as "correct". In line with this argument, it may be difficult to escape from
any notion of religion. From a humanistic sociology perspective, all of
these aspects of religious life can be viewed as the religious values
which make up the religious systems of the group. Grundry (1958:7)
says that, 'even a denial of the commonly accepted teachings of the
great religious systems by an individual leaves him with a way of
looking at things, a way of behaving and a way of feeling.'

Group Religious System. In this study religious values are considered
only in relation to Ethiopian Christian beliefs. At the beginning of the
Christian era, Ethiopia was already a powerful kingdom with its own
unique characteristics and civilisation. Even before Christianity,
Ethiopian religious values were built on the basis of belief in one God
or monotheism.

Referring to the past history of Ethiopia, Jesman (1963:1) states that 'Its
continuous historical filiation, however, is much older than the
antecedents of any African state and indeed than most states anywhere
in the world. Second only to Japan and Iran, Ethiopia can trace its
direct lineage to the beginning of the Christian era. Its indirect roots go
much further back in time.'
1.2 Application of Cultural Systems Analysis to Ethiopians in Australia

The four cultural systems discussed in Section 1.1 can be applied to the study of a culturally plural society, such as Australia or any other multi-ethnic community. In the case of Australia this thesis focuses on Ethiopian ethnic group and examines the degree of individuals' activation of Ethiopian and Australian cultural values by reference to the four cultural systems mentioned previously, namely, ideological, linguistic, religious and social.

The individuals' activation of values within these cultural systems can be examined by comparing the relative importance given by each individual to the Ethiopian as opposed to the Anglo-Australian group value systems. If each individual's total cultural activation is investigated for both Australian and Ethiopian values, it should be possible to articulate the range of value clusters which are described below.

*Types of Value Clusters.* Three basic value clusters can be postulated as: the **Ethiopian Monocultural** (EM) which is perceived as predominantly reflecting Ethiopian cultural values; the **Bicultural** (BI) value cluster which is intended to signify the presence of both Ethiopian and Anglo-Australian values; and the **Anglo-Assimilate** (AA) value cluster which is taken as corresponding to predominantly Australian (Anglo-Celtic) values. This typology has been adopted after similar classifications of minority group individuals in Australia, arrived at through the research of Harris (1976), Smolicz (1979), Smolicz and Secombe (1989), Lee (1988), Murugaian (1988), and Smolicz, Lee, Murugaian and Secombe (1990). The value clusters proposed above are discussed in depth on the basis of data collected from the Ethiopian respondents.
The ideological values which would embody self-identification as an Ethiopian, would be indicated by pride in being Ethiopian, pride in being brown; positive attitudes to Amharic language, its teaching and maintenance in Australia; recognition of the importance of language maintenance; positive attitudes to Ethiopian cultural heritage; and intention for future residence and/or visiting Ethiopia. The linguistic values would incorporate factors including language used at home with adults, children, parents of other children; and understanding, reading, writing and speaking ability and activation of the Amharic language. The religious values would be indicated by factors such as the importance of retaining religious ceremonies, importance of Ethiopian New Year, Ethiopian Christmas, Easter, 'Meskel' (which is a religious ceremony) and religious services. The social values would encompass factors such as, primary personal relationships, primary group relationships, marriage intentions, respect for the aged, retaining cultural celebrations, rituals and commemorations such as the coffee ceremony, as well as attachment to Ethiopian food, holidays, videos and dress.

Those respondents who are shown to have high valuation, activation and affiliation to the Ethiopian linguistic, social, ideological and religious values would be clustered as Ethiopian Monocultural. The Ethiopian Monocultural respondents could be expected to rely upon extensive use of Ethiopian ideological and religious values. Likewise, they would give evidence of extensive usage of Ethiopian linguistic and social values, with a much more limited or non-existent use of English language. Since such individuals would have very little knowledge of English, their degree of interaction with the Anglo-Australian society would be minimal. As a result, to a very large extent they would activate their Ethiopian culture, language and way of life in isolation from the mainstream society. Language mastery should not be the only factor to determine in which
category the respondents are placed, since mere fluency in English does not necessarily imply integration into the Australian society.

Individuals who give evidence of high valuation and affiliation to the Ethiopian values and activate both Ethiopian and Anglo-Australian values side by side are labelled as Bicultural. All people in this category could be expected to exhibit a reasonable integration into Australian society, while at the same time maintaining close links within the Ethiopian-Australian community. The Bicultural group could possibly be divided into two subgroups: Extended Bicultural (EB) and Restricted Bicultural (RB).

Extended Bicultural individuals would be characterised by competent use of both Ethiopian and Australian ideological, religious, linguistic and social values, although these could be demonstrated to a different degree, for example, people in this category could be fluent in both English and Amharic, but may vary greatly in the extent of their ideological commitment to Australia as compared to Ethiopia.

Restricted Bicultural individuals would be distinguished by the high activation and command of Ethiopian values, with only a moderate or more limited use of the Anglo-Australian values. The category of Restricted Bicultural would reverses the pattern of what was reported by Smolicz and Secombe in the 1981 Polish study and 1989 linguistic study where the groups labelled bicultural or bilingual contained a sub-group that activated Anglo-Australian values more extensively than the minority ethnic values.

Those respondents who are shown to have high valuation, activation and affiliation to the Anglo-Australian linguistic, social, ideological and religious values would be clustered as Anglo Assimilates.
1.3 Research Methods

This thesis adopts a multiple triangulation approach which is preferred because of its strategy of combining various research methods to accumulate different kinds of data pertinent to the investigation. Each data collection method on its own is admittedly limited and potentially flawed and it is only a blending of several methods that gives rise to a more complete cognition of the phenomenon under study. By using multi-methods it may be possible to overcome the deficiencies that follow from a single method and source of data.

In this dissertation, three types of triangulations have been used viz.: theoretical, methodological and data source. Theoretical triangulation involves the use of several different perspectives in the analysis of the same set of data since there is no generally accepted and solidly grounded theory that has emerged in this area. In this study the researcher has compared two opposite theoretical perspectives in relation to the teaching of minority languages namely supporters' and sceptics' views (see sections 2.2 and 2.3). In the method triangulation, the researcher has utilised non-participant classroom observation, participant observation, interview, informal conversation, and oral memoir approach (see Table 1).

In reference to the different types of data, McNeill (1985:92) says, 'The data that is used by sociologists may be primary or secondary. Primary data is collected by the researcher at first hand, mainly through surveys, interviews or participant observation. Secondary data is available from other sources and comes in various forms'.
In the data triangulation, the researcher has collected primary data from the Ethiopian-Australians through being a participant observer in Ethiopian Community Association in South Australia (ECASA) general meetings; in various committees, holding positions such as public relations officer of ECASA and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Organising Committee, a member of the Ethiopian Soccer team and at Ethiopian cultural shows. Moreover, the researcher has both collected oral memoirs and employed questionnaires to gather primary data from Ethiopian respondents.

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<tr>
<th>Research Method</th>
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<td>Non-participant Observation</td>
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<td>Vietnamese, Arabic, Italian &amp; Amharic</td>
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<td>Interview</td>
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Besides, the researcher has interviewed principals, teachers, students (of State, Catholic and Ethnic schools) in order to gather primary data in relation to the teaching of minority languages in South Australia. The non-participant observation has been conducted using semi-structured and unstructured research tools in the classrooms. To summarise, the researcher follows what Denzin (1970) has suggested: 'The greater the triangulation, the greater the confidence in the observed findings. The obverse is equally true. The conclusion is evident: Sociologists must move beyond single-method'.
The researcher strongly believes that the combination of research methods in social sciences enables the gathering of various information which it would not be possible to collect using any one single method.

*Participant Observation.* The researcher, being a native speaker of Amharic and bilingual and bi-literate in Amharic and Tigregna, has been able to communicate with all the members of the Ethiopian community Association in South Australia (ECASA) for three and a half years. The researcher himself is one of the founding members of ECASA and other associated committees, including sports committee and Ethiopian Orthodox Church Organising Committee in South Australia. He has also served as public relations officer of ECASA and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Organising Committee. He has served as a master of ceremonies at ECASA functions and been awarded a certificate from ECASA for the service he has rendered for the Association.

The participant observation has been taking place continuously on all occasions whenever there have been members of the Association present. The researcher has played soccer with the Ethiopian team every week and then enjoyed a long talk with the players at the end of the match. The researcher has attended celebrations of Ethiopian mass and accepted all invitations by the members on occasions like birthdays, funerals, anniversaries, graduations, holidays, weddings and "coffee ceremonies" (see section 8.3). This continuous observation of each member has enabled him to see the ongoing changes in the respondents. This method has been absolutely crucial in understanding community life as a whole, in addition to the data that have been gathered using other supplementary methods about the members. The data which have been gathered using
participant observation have not been discussed separately, but rather incorporated throughout the discussion.

*Oral Memoirs.* This approach has been used to collect data from Ethiopian community respondents (See Appendix 1 for the concrete fact profiles of the respondents). The researcher has employed a set of questions and guidelines designed to elicit extensive answers from the respondents which were recorded at the time of conversation. (A copy of the questions and guidelines is included in Appendices 2 and 3). Sample memoirs of selected respondents from each value cluster are attached in Section 10.1. Further clarifications have been asked whenever the need has arisen. The collected data was first transcribed from the tape into a computer using a dictaphone and then processed in line with the basic principles of humanistic sociology.

The Oral Memoir method is derived from the principles of humanistic sociology, which are based on the assumption that cultural and social phenomena can only be fully understood if they are studied from the viewpoint of the participants (see Section 1.1). The advantage of the oral method over the written memoir or personal statement is that it includes those respondents unable or unwilling to make the effort required to write down their thoughts and experiences.

*Non-participant Observation.* This method has been used in studying language learning in LOTE classrooms. In all classes the teacher first introduces the researcher to the students. The researcher introduces himself to the students and attempts to minimise his presence during the lessons by avoiding too much exposure, even avoiding too obvious writing. By visiting the same class on a number of sessions, students become familiarised with the researcher's presence. Five to seven contacts
have been made with each observed classroom. The observation techniques used in this research helped in collecting observational data that threw light on general pedagogical issues. The research examines the day to day language teaching i.e. how the language policies are working at a classroom level across the whole range of primary schools that were selected as subjects of the study.

The researcher has used both semi-structured and unstructured observation techniques to collect the school data. Appendix 4 provides the format for semi structured observation in class rooms in addition to samples collected from schools, while Appendix 5 shows samples of data collected from schools. The semi-structured observation technique is developed by borrowing concepts derived from the works of van Lier (1988) and Allwright (1991). The use of these techniques within the observation method has enabled the researcher to gather a wider range of related data (See Chapter 4).

*Interview*. This method has been used to gather data from school principals, teachers (LOTE and ESL) and coordinators. Preliminary steps before conducting the interview have involved sending a formal letter to the principal of the schools about the nature of the research and brief background of the researcher. (A copy of the letter is included in Appendix 6). After Confirming the receipt of the letter by telephone, the researcher makes an appointment to visit the school and be introduced to the classroom teachers concerned.

The interviews usually takes place at the end of the classroom observation. All respondents are given the interview questions, at least a week, before conducting the interview in order to familiarise them with the questions and to give them time to prepare their answers. The
interview starts with the LOTE teacher (Appendix 7), then the ESL teacher (Appendix 8), followed by the ESL coordinator (Appendix 9) and finally the formal school principal (Appendix 10).

The interviews in the ethnic schools follow a similar pattern: first the teachers (Appendix 11) then the principal (Appendix 12) are interviewed. The researcher asks the respondents which method they prefer: either to answer each question one after another by themselves or to respond to the researcher who reads the questions for them. A tape recorder is used for all interviews but one.

*Informal Conversation.* This has been used to collect data from formal school learners (Appendix 13) and ethnic school students (Appendix 14). The researcher talks to all the students when the class size is small. If the class size is large the researcher selects a few students who are considered as the "best" and "least" achievers by their teachers in their LOTE studies. This is possible through teachers who are asked to evaluate the achievement of their students against the four language skills (Appendix 15). The informal talk has been helpful to determine the attitudes and evaluation of the students towards their own language and English.
1.4 Profile of Respondents

The school-based study of community language education exemplars (see Table 2) focuses on seven schools that teach a total of eight languages. They are Amharic, Arabic, Coptic, Chinese, German, Italian, Khmer and Vietnamese. However, this thesis focuses on only four of the languages, namely Italian, Vietnamese, Arabic and Amharic. The school-based study considers 7 principals, 8 teachers, 1 ESL coordinator and 123 students as subjects.

It is also important to mention that the ESL coordinator for schools A
and B was one and the same person. Therefore, the actual number of respondents from schools is 142 when physically counted, while numerically they are 143.

The community-based study focuses on the 114 members (100%) of the Ethiopian community in South Australia in 1994. The investigation involves 37 households (see Figure 1) out of a possible 43. The six households not included are inaccessible for interview. The 37 households constitute 94 family members (85% of the total community). The number of people interviewed from within these households is 50. Of the total 50 respondents 17 are female while 33 are male. In some cases all family members are interviewed while in other cases only one or two members are interviewed. In addition, two classrooms of 15 primary student children are also observed and talked to. But these are not included among the 50 respondents that are interviewed.

Of the total 50 respondents 21 are parents who have children ranging from one to six in number. Seven of them are married but have no children while nine of them are single individuals. Of the 94 individuals from within the households that are participating in the study, the number and the gender of those interviewed are dependent in the availability of family members at the time of the interview. Whenever there are two parents, the researcher tries to interview both of them. However, at times, it is difficult to get the female parents since they are busy doing home duties. Adult children are included as respondents when available. Most of the interviews take place in the homes of the respondents. Sometimes, the interviews take place in common meeting places, such as "get togethers" organised for Ethiopians only.
Figure 1 Visual Representation of Households of Respondents
PART II
AN OVERVIEW OF LANGUAGE EDUCATION
Chapter 2: Minority Languages and Education: A Critical Review

2.1 Language Contact Situations

* "Healthy" Language Contact
  - Language Acquisition
  - Language Revival
  - Language Development
  - Language Maintenance
  - Language Spread

* "Unhealthy" Language Contact
  - Language Shift
  - Language Attrition
  - Language Loss
  - Language Death

2.2 Orientations Supportive of Minority Languages

- The Issue of Equity of Access
- The Issue of Equity of Content
- The Issue of Multiculturalism
- The Issue of Multicultural Education

2.3 Orientations Sceptical of Minority Languages Survival

- The Issue of Equity of Access
- The Issue of Content
- The Issue of Multiculturalism
- The Issue of Multicultural Education

2.4 Paradigms for Minority Language Education

- Linguistic Human Rights Paradigm
- Core Values and Overarching Values Paradigm
- Reactivation and Revitalization Paradigm
- "Empowering" Minority Students Paradigm
- Ethno-linguistic Vitality Paradigm
2.1 Language Contact Situations

There are a number of possible outcomes of language contact situations, which, from the perspective of a supporter of minority languages can be deemed as "healthy" or "unhealthy", depending on the effect they have on the languages of minority groups. Healthy language contact is indicative of a positive outcome, leading to language acquisition, revival, maintenance, standardisation (development) and spread, while unhealthy contact has a negative outcome resulting in minority language shift, attrition, loss and eventually death. It should be noted that the term minority is used to signify not only the relatively small number of speakers of a language in a particular community but also the subordinate status of the speakers in the society as a whole.

In the context of Australia, the maintenance of a minority language would be envisaged in a bilingual situation when the other language is invariably English (Marjoribanks, 1979, 1980). The aim is to maintain and increase the domain range of community languages other than English without at the same time expecting them to become fully functional in all spheres of life. The term "healthy" is not intended to denote that the community languages concerned are comparable to English in the extent of their usage for the country as a whole, but rather that they have a recognised place in a multilingual Australia. In addition there is an expectation that at times they could transcend the limitations of their own communities and become attractive to speakers of other languages, including some of the dominant group.
"Healthy" Language Contact

In a healthy language contact situation, languages coexist without the domination of one language over the others. For healthy language contact to occur, there are various factors that need to be considered. These include support for learning languages from parents (as in case of first and second language acquisition); from speakers of the language generally (as in case of language maintenance, revival and development), and from governments (as in case of language maintenance and spread). The contribution of each of these may vary in different circumstances, but the combination of two or more is most likely to prove effective.

Some languages are mutually comprehensible and may lead to mutual respect, avoiding superiority of one language over the other. However, it does not necessarily follow that language dominance could be more easily overcome in cases of bilingualism involving linguistically related languages. Beardsmore (1986:97) argues that 'easy mutual intelligibility between two language varieties may not necessarily help in attaining balanced bilingualism of the type that will eliminate dominance of the one over the other'.

Language Acquisition. Language is primarily spoken, with talking preceding other language skills such as reading and writing. When children learn their first language, 'they begin by interacting with the meaningful people in their environment, and they converse, play games and engage in rituals long before they are able to utter their first recognisable words' (Van Lier 1988:229).
In a plural society, minority ethnic children would have the possibility of learning two or more languages. However, initially, children go into this language acquisition process through the support of their parents and other family members who are the primary source of the children's first language. Children need family linguistic 'scaffolding', in order to acquire their mother tongue or home language. Bruner (1983:60) explains, 'One sets the game, provides a scaffold to assure that the child's ineptitudes can be rescued or rectified by appropriate intervention, and then removes the scaffold part by part as the reciprocal structure can stand on its own.' Such family help empowers children to acquire their mother tongue. Once acquired at home it is imperative that the language continue to be used in the home domain.

As opposed to the commonly held view that a child masters the basics of his or her native language grammar by the time he or she reaches the age of 6, Chomsky (1969: 121) contends that 'active syntactic acquisition is taking place up to the age of 9 and perhaps even beyond'. This is particularly relevant in considering second language learning. Clyne (1986:7) states that 'at least some of the developmental sequences in the acquisition of morphology run parallel in the first and second language'. Successful second language learning is partly dependent upon 'both an ability for language acquisition and an appropriate motivation' (Gardner 1982:31).

The differences between L1 and L2 acquisition are many and varied. It is not the object of this research to focus on these distinctions. However, it is worth noting that 'important general features of language acquisition may be a guide to loss as well' (Berko-Gleason 1982:19). Parental support may prevent the replacement or loss of
mother tongue by a dominant language in a "healthy" language contact situation.

Language Revival. Clyne (1992:18) considers that the revival of a language is usually 'a language planning process.' Spolsky (1977:8-10) states that 'If a language is to be revived, a decision must be made on the domains for which it will be intended'. Languages which have been declining or even near extinction may undergo vigorous attempts to revive them either as spoken language or through literacy development as in cases of Welsh and Irish (Hughes 1994, Buachalla 1984). The revivals may of course vary in extent from languages which are near extinction to those that have been greatly diminished and impoverished by external suppression but which continues to be spoken by the people concerned.

In some instances languages have become totally extinct as a spoken tongue and some endeavour has been made to revive it, as in the case of the Kaurna language of the indigenous people of Adelaide plains. Amery and Bourke (1994:105) recount that 'Karuna ceased to be spoken as a mother tongue back in 1929.' The same authors state that over sixty years later 'The Kaurna language is also being used increasingly to deliver speeches at public meetings, hence one must ask: Is Kaurna really "dead" or "extinct"? (1994:105)

In other instances languages which have been mainly linked to one highly specific domain, can be revived for more wide spread use as in the case of Hebrew. From being confined to religious worship Hebrew has been revitalised as the lingua-franca in Israel and become 'the national and official language of the country' (Fishman and Fishman (1974:125). In the case of Spain, the removal of the prohibition on the
use of Catalan in schools, after the end of Franco's rules led to the establishment of the autonomous community of Catalonia. The resurgence of Catalan provides probably one of the most successful examples of language revival as a result of a "healthy" linguistic environment. This is shown by the comparison of 1986 and 1991 census data, demonstrating the increase in number of people who can understand (from 91 to 94%), speak (from 64 to 68%), read (from 61 to 68%) and write (from 32 to 40%) in the Catalan language (Romani 1994:60).

Language Development through Standardisation. Language development is perceived by Spolsky (1977:7) as both 'languages' modernisation and standardisation'. There has been a number of attempts by different linguistic groups to standardise their languages. 'A standard language is accepted for full use within the political unit or cultural ethno-space involved and permits expression of a wide range of cultural, scientific, technological, and economic notions' (Spolsky 1977:7). It is noticeable that modernisation of Hebrew has given confidence to other smaller linguistic groups to fight to 'save their ethnic mother tongues from oblivion' (Fishman 1972:2). In a personal communication, Arnold (1995) reports that following the successful normalisation of Catalan the most recent example of this phenomenon is provided by the "normalisation" of Bable varieties in Spain into 'standard' Asturian.

Language Maintenance. The attitude of minority language speakers towards maintaining their languages may depend upon each one's 'cultural perceptions of his or her image when using the native language' (Gardner 1982:37). If the language is the main carrier of their
cultural values there is a strong likelihood that the minority language speakers would tend to maintain their language. The other factor that should be considered for language maintenance is the status of the language. Fishman (1972:49) believes that 'although immigrant status itself is not predictive of either language maintenance or language loyalty, both of these phenomena are heavily dependent upon immigrant status— with the colonial languages marking the only noteworthy exceptions to this generalisation'.

Citing the language situation in the United States, Fishman and Fishman (1974:54) state that 'language maintenance is currently strongest among those immigrants who have maintained greatest psychological, social, and cultural distance from the institutions, processes, and values of American core society'. Moreover, Pauwels (1988:12) argues that 'communities which attach (a) symbolic function(s) to their language may have a greater chance to preserve their language in one form or another'. The study by Smolicz and Secombe (1985b:31) of maintenance of particular cultures, such as Latvian, Polish and Greek, shows 'members of the generation which has now reached young adulthood to be essentially linked to the survival and development of their ethnic languages in Australia'. In this regard community cultural loyalties play a significant role in maintaining their languages.

Language Spread. Under healthy language contact, languages could spread for different purposes. Language spread entails the intention of 'spreading a particular language such as German to support German schools abroad (with various subtypes) and ordinary schools' (Ammon 1992:33-44). In some situations languages spread for purposes of international communication like English and French in Ethiopia. In
this case, language spread has an additive effect.

The spread of languages is also possible through linguistic diffusion, which is otherwise known as 'language borrowing' (Haugen 1972:81). However, if languages spread to the point of becoming a new mother tongue, 'then language becomes a case of, language shift' (Paulston 1987:266). This has been observed in some African countries where English or French have replaced the indigenous languages. Zimbabwean writer Chinyakata (1994:25) says 'Surprisingly, 14 years after our bitter fight for independence, no-one has assessed and challenged the heavy price that goes with the forced use of English in our society'. Fishman (1989:392) states 'the spreading language initially associated with newer, more statusful roles and pursuits, soon competes with and also begins to erode the remaining functions originally allocated to the language(s) previously employed by the speech community.' This indicates that under certain circumstances particularly in the case of strong international tongues language spread may gradually turn to a situation of language shift which lessens the survival chances of local languages. Language shift is discussed further under the next section.

"Unhealthy " Language Contact

Unhealthy language contact creates a milieu for the ultimate downfall of community languages and strengthens the supremacy of the dominant tongue over the subordinate languages. The absence of assistance from the government and general society contributes to the gradual erosion of minority languages. When languages come into contact in a linguistically unhealthy environment the outcomes range from a gradual shift to a complete loss of community languages other
than the dominant.

Beardsmore (1986:95-96) believes that 'the extent to which two languages differ from each other, might also play an important role in determining the nature of dominance, with its related implications affecting the amount and type of interference it may lead to....' In the case of immigrant languages, if the minority community retains its language in only a very limited number of domains and if the majority language invades those that still remain, an unhealthy contact situation can be said to prevail leading to the gradual erosion of the minority language.

Language Shift. Clyne (1992:18), states that 'often research is concerned not with total shift but with a gradual development (a shifting)', while Dorian (1982:44) considers language shift as the 'gradual displacement of one language by another in the lives of the community members'. Language shift could also be used to 'indicate the process by which L1 [first language] is (gradually) replaced by L2 [second language] in all spheres of usage' (Pauwels 1985:42).

According to Fishman (1972:107), modern history shows at least five major instances of language shift. They are: 'the vernacularisation of European governmental, cultural activity; the Anglification/Hispanization of North/South America; the adoption of English and French as languages of elites in Africa and Asia; the Russification of Soviet controlled populations and the growing displacement of imported languages'. Srivastava (1989:11) argues that 'when immigrants ... are eager to assimilate, we find a situation which leads to voluntary language shift;' and this is highly likely when members
of communities gradually 'acquire sociolinguistic communicative competence with respect to appropriate language usage' (Fishman 1972:5).

*Language Attrition.* Language attrition is a gradual erosion of any language or any portion of a language by an individual or a speech community. Gardner (1982:24) perceives attrition as 'a decrease in the level of proficiency' in one's first language. It could also be used when 'a person's competence diminishes and the linguistic content of his speech erodes' (Anderson 1982:83). Freed (1982:1) views language attrition as 'a loss of language skills by those who have studied and then discontinued the use of a second language'.

Some of the linguistic features of language attrition include 'restriction in language use and linguistic tradition, reduction in linguistic form and the creation of gaps in form-meaning relations, coping with linguistic reduction and gaps, and non linguistic consequences of linguistic erosion' (Anderson 1982:83-118). One other aspect of language attrition occurs when the social communicative situations and the functional range of a particular language are diminishing, resulting in 'attrition of vocabulary but no obvious sign of disruption of the internal language structure' (Craig 1992:21). In the case of the Bretons, for instance, 'the growing impact of French civilisation reduces Breton to mono-stylistic usage in very few speech situations and leads to increasing primary socialisation in French' (Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter 1977: 40).

Instrumental attitudes which are characterised by 'a desire to gain social recognition and economic advantage through knowledge of the other language and a desire to be like representative members of the
other language community' (Gardner and Lambert, 1972:14) can be seen as the possible 'source of personal and group reasons for minority language decay' (Baker 1992:34). Not everything withers away during language attrition. Berko-Gleason (1982:21) states, 'routines such as politeness routines, as well as other routinized sequences like days of the week, months and numbers ... may resist attrition'.

Wherever languages are in contact, they are often in a state of competition for users. Hofman (1974:39) says 'Language is so much taken for granted that its resemblance to other consumer goods often goes unnoticed. Yet, in several important respects, languages are produced, conveyed, and consumed much like any other product.' Therefore, languages may be considered as commodities in a language market. Their survival depends on the customers who buy them and on the "market forces" which are monitored mainly by governments. From this perspective, language competence is perceived as a skill with a market value that determines who will acquire it. Furthermore 'the price of a language is the effort required to learn it and its value (the value of a language involves both material and spiritual) is the benefits its use will bring to the learner' (Haugen 1980:114). Considering the American situation, Epstein (1977:33) states that 'if limited English-speaking students become well educated in English as well as in their native languages, most of them probably would find English the more useful language in our 96 percent English speaking society, and there would likely be a steady attrition in use of the native tongue'. Such statements point to an unhealthy language contact situation in the USA and predict a negative outcome for all community languages other than English.

Language Loss. Languages become vulnerable 'in the absence of a
supportive social environment' (Berko-Gleason 1982:13). Ethnic groups are forced, out of economic, political, cultural and social necessity, to learn the language of the majority; by so doing they see the displacement of their language by the language of the majority in their children's lives, and to a lesser extent in their own. Pye (1992:75) argues that 'all situations of language loss are simultaneously instances of language acquisition and that language loss may be thought of as a case of defective bilingual acquisition'. Whenever there is an obvious difference in prestige and official support for two or more languages 'there are usually marked differences in the utility of the two (or more) for the speakers' (Dorian 1982:44). Some languages could attract just a few speakers. Under such circumstances 'the loss of that language because of its limited usefulness for communication' (Miodunka 1995, in press) could be imminent. What is evident in the fluctuation of the linguistic fortunes is that 'they are linked to rises and falls in political fortunes' (Dorian 1982:44).

Language Death. Many languages are dying in different parts of the world. It is also true that the 'dying languages are typically within the boundaries of a country in which a "major" language is spoken (Dorian 1982:48). When there is , 'a massive shift to a special form of Creole, as in the case of the Rama language in Nicaragua' (Craig 1992:21), it creates a situation leading to language death. Based on the language death in a Mayan community in southern Mexico, Garzon (1992: 61-64) states that 'an extended period of limited language contact culminating in period of language shift, a shrinkage of domains for the subordinate language, use of the dominant language by parents with their children and failure by young people to gain proficiency in the subordinate language' are considered as steps in the language death process.
According to Skutnabb Kangas and Phillipson (1989: 5) language death or linguisce, 'occurs through the process of 'linguicism' which forms part of the hegemonic structure which permits the dominance of certain groups or classes and their languages over others'.

If protecting endangered species of animals and plants is justifiable then protecting languages should not be ignored. Haugen (1980: 115) stresses that 'we are here to ponder the means that will enable our leaders and our peoples to look less at the cost of maintaining small languages, and more at the values that are lost if we let them die'.

Whorf (1956) has provided probably the most potent reason why we should be concerned about the disappearance of minority languages, however small their number of speakers. He argues each language provides a different, equally provisional perception of the world. Hence specific languages are likely to have developed over time particularly powerful ways of creating different perceptions of the world, but at the same time may have developed blind spots in other areas. According to Muhlhausler (1995) 'By emphasising that each language can only offer a partial view of reality, Whorf provided one of the most powerful arguments for studying a diversity of languages of all sizes. It is only by combining the insights of all languages that a comprehensive view of the world can emerge'. This view explains the urgency of supporting small languages with vastly different structures to those of the dominant European languages wherever these still survive in Australia, in Brazil or in Papua New Guinea.

It follows that the loss of these languages would be "unhealthy" not only for the linguistic communities concerned, but for the whole world. In this sense one could agree with Muhlhausler (1995) that in
the present conditions in Australia 'this means that 'mainstream'
students might profit more intellectually from studying a small
indigenous language than a large economically 'useful' one. It seems
likely that such study would promote not only better understanding
between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people but also lead to a much
enhanced understanding of Australia's natural environment'. It
would also create a more "healthy" atmosphere for the development
of multiculturalism in society as a whole.
2.2 Orientations Supportive of Minority Languages Education

There is a spectrum of views within the group of researchers who are supportive of minority language education ranging from mild to strong. It is not the intention here to evaluate the relative degree of support to minority languages, but rather to highlight the argument of the supporters of community languages that any attempt to hinder the teaching of minority languages will prove counterproductive and even destructive to the interests of the society as a whole. They are supportive of a curriculum in which the teaching of minority languages is recognised as worthy in its own right, as well as on many other grounds, be it human rights, social justice, economic needs or social stability.

The Issue of Equity of Access. The issue of equity of access is a question of equal opportunities. Equity implies that all who are entitled to a certain right should be equally likely to receive it. Initially, equality of opportunity was most often understood to mean that all people would have the same access to resources, irrespective of their social circumstances. Then equality of opportunity was perceived as a catalyst for changing the structural characteristics of schools to be reflective of and responsive to individual differences, so that individuals would be provided with more favourable learning environments. One view of equality of opportunity is that 'extra resources are allocated to disadvantaged groups so that they may aspire to similar sets of educational objectives as does the general population' (Donovan et al 1983: 15). This involves access to programs to advance equality of opportunity for the disadvantaged. Obviously for community languages,
this means 'recognising the needs of non-English speaking groups' (Clyne 1991:19). A society which calls itself multicultural should be characterised by equality of all members of the society in the sharing of resources and services. On the whole, it is a question of doing justice, since injustice is likely to lead to division and to the belittlement of those belonging to minority cultures. In this sense, equality should be understood in terms of the redistribution of resources, so that viable community-based organisations can function more appropriately to meet the needs of the underprivileged. Jupp and Mc Robbie (1992:1) state that 'The empirical observation that children from 'deprived' backgrounds were less likely to achieve desirable educational outcomes provided a rationale for special attention or remedial programs. In Australia these programs have been directed towards Aboriginal and immigrant children as well as towards those living in remote areas'.

The way to build unity and cohesion in a society is to ensure that all members of the community have an 'equal place in the Australian scene' (Grassby 1984:159). If that is the case, then, 'a truly multicultural society is one in which all ethnic groups have equal access to the resources of society' (Kringas 1984:112). It is therefore important to make adjustments within the school environment, so that all students are given equal opportunity through educational experiences that cater for their specific needs. More importantly, we are talking about how to make a multicultural society more efficient and more fair, in the interest of both the individual and the community as a whole. The question that should be raised here is whether educational equality refers to equality of access to resources or equality of end results.
According to Donovan et al (1983: 15), 'The rational for the unequal distribution of resources is derived from a desire for equality of opportunity for all, regardless of innate ability, ethnicity and social circumstance'. In this sense, equality of opportunity virtually presupposes an uneven distribution of resources. McLaren (1986:36) perceives the perplexity of education, whereby 'equal treatment of everybody will produce inequality'.

Supportive views suggest that community language education should be provided effectively for groups from non-English-speaking backgrounds (NESB) in Australia such as ethnic minorities and indigenous people. Donovan et al (1983: 9-11) summarise the alternatives left for such disadvantaged groups to be threefold: 'assimilation into the general population; preservation of ethnic characteristics (linguistic and cultural); and the accommodation of the general population to the sub-culture'.

Darnell (1983:299) asks the question, 'how can equal access to education be assured in light of the extraordinary physical and/or social environment of many indigenous minority peoples?'. Some provision may need to be made for these groups since it is 'a matter of equity and social justice' (Smolicz and Secombe 1988:18). To thoroughly realise their potential, meet the responsibilities and share the benefits in the community, it is crucial that members of minority linguistic and cultural groups be given equality of opportunity to participate in the life of the nation while maintaining the language and culture of their own group.
In order to lessen the tension between school and home through some provision to improve the home/school relationship, Blackburn (1983:133) believes that it is important to take 'action in the school to make the minority culture officially visible there in various ways.' Some views indicate that learning second languages accompanied by attitudinal shifts by a larger percentage of people will also contribute greatly to the ideals of equity. The kernel of this argument is that the social responsibility underpinning the principle of equity should call for a language policy that will teach the mainstream language without destroying the basis for home language.

Gauthier and Kach (1991:62), with the USA in mind, say that 'the policy purported to be the means of assuring cultural freedom and breaking down discriminatory attitudes has been an empty charade'. In such instances minority education may be no more than mere celebration of multiculturalism, 'instead of ensuring the equitable participation of minority ethnic Australians in a cross-section of occupations, as well as in the decision making processes of society' (Smolicz 1992:20). The basic concept which should be stressed here is that minority ethnic groups should participate in, and not just be left out of the decision making process.

Multiculturalism goes far beyond tolerance of cultural pluralism but requires 'a legitimate and equitable sharing of power in the decision making process' (Saha 1984:3). In this regard, more than passing notice should be taken of the fact that, for example, in the American situation, 'what is wanted by non-English-speaking Americans is a greater share of
the wealth and power of American society and a social order that guarantees the end to humiliation and denial of elementary human rights' (Pratte 1979:197).

Smolicz (1992:21) is critical of the flawed view of ethnic identity which assumes that 'equity could be ensured by a sense of ethnicity, without any reference to the culture upon which the ethnicity itself was primarily based'. Martin (1978: 56) in contrast, is apprehensive of the situation, whereby 'the promotion of cultural pluralism as no more than a means of diverting attention from the crucial point of ethnic rights'. The Report of the Task Force to Investigate Multiculturalism in Education (1984:12) suggests that 'Access to society's political and social resources should be more widely open to minorities, but not at the expense of their cultures'. According to the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, (1989:2), the National Agenda identified three fundamental dimensions of multicultural policy 'These were:
cultural identity: the right of Australians, within carefully defined limits, to express and share their individual cultural heritage, including their language and religion;
social justice: the right of all Australians to equality of treatment and opportunity, and the removal of barriers of race, ethnicity, culture, religion, language, gender or place of birth; and
economic efficiency: the need to maintain, develop and utilise effectively the skills and talents of all Australians, regardless of background.'

According to the Task Force Report, 'Treating in the same manner people who belong to groups which are unequal, serves merely to compound the
inequality. Equity in a multicultural society implies recognition and provision of alternative equivalents' (1984:12). Lo Bianco (1986:7) emphasises that for multicultural policies, as they have been formulated in Australia, 'equity for all community groups and cultural diversity within national cohesion and unity do not mean uniformity'.

The Issue of Equity of Content. Equity of access to mainstream educational institutions and structures, can be regarded as incomplete, if it does not carry with it its corollary, viz 'equity of content through a culturally inclusive curriculum' (Smolicz 1992:21). From the access perspective it certainly is a democratic right for community members to get an equal chance of acceptance whether in educational institutions or in other aspects of life. But it is also necessary to ensure that the content of the curriculum reflects the needs of students with different cultural backgrounds. There is a growing recognition and understanding of the need to include alternate perspectives and knowledge in the curriculum and school practices. From the point of view of the protagonists of community languages point of view, cultural literacy includes such skills as the ability to function and relate in a culturally diverse society and the ability to analyse and appraise other cultural values. According to Sloniec (1990:47), in a culturally literate society, 'it is possible to attain greater social cohesion and for cultural diversity to be managed equitably and productively through Government policies and initiatives.'

Equity supporters generally seek the adoption of policies which will reduce the disadvantages of ethnic minorities, originating from their concentration in low Soc-economic occupations and their insufficient
understanding of the majority language. There are others, however, who comment that those equity proponents who stress access to the job market and higher positions in particular, appeared in some way to be returning to the earlier the assimilationist era by down playing the importance of community languages and cultures. Smolicz (1992:21) argues that in certain situations 'minority ethnics were virtually being invited to barter their languages and cultures in exchange for the promise of a better job'. There is a deep concern that ethnic community languages ought not be taught in isolation from their cultural context since language teaching will only be successful if accompanied by the study of the culture from which the language developed.

Supportive views suggest that the content of the curriculum of the school in a multicultural society should be wide ranging and diverse in origin. According to the South Australian Multicultural Education Coordinating Committee (1983:7), the curriculum in a plural society should give an opportunity, 'to see that the knowledge we prize has been created and is shared by humans from many different cultures'.

*The Issue of Multiculturalism.* There are various conceptions of multiculturalism, often contrasting and conflicting. The differences between them are so considerable that they themselves are significant objects of study. The word multiculturalism is generally assumed to have originated in Canada. Gauthier and Kach (1991:53) assert that 'multiculturalism within a bilingual framework was announced by Prime Minister Trudeau'. In Australia, the term began to be used in the mid
1970's when Grassby was Minister for Immigration in the Whitlam government.

The concept of multiculturalism has never been clearly defined. As a result, some people still perceive it in transitional terms with the interpretation that 'minority cultures would fade away with the deaths of the first generation of non-British migrants' (Smolicz 1987:316). By contrast, 'those who support the preservation of minority ethnic cultures, have conceived of it as a more lasting state of affairs, or multiculturalism for maintenance' (Smolicz 1987:316).

In a descriptive sense multiculturalism is simply a term which describes the existence of cultural and ethnic diversity. When a society is based not on one culture, language and tradition, but on a great variety, from all corners of the globe, then the term multicultural is often used. This term has also tended to carry certain policy and planning implications. In this sense Smolicz (1984:13) perceives multiculturalism as being located 'in between the 'assimilationist' and the separatist approaches'. Despite the fact that there has been growing criticism of the ambiguity and confusion surrounding the use of the term multiculturalism,'to argue that multiculturalism is a vague term is to ignore the reality that all ideological and political terminology is vague including that of conservatism, liberalism and socialism, the three dominant systems of ideas which have shaped Australian political debate for a century' (Jupp 1983:158).

Rubenstein (1991) insists that 'a degree of community scepticism and confusion about the term multiculturalism cannot in itself justify its rejection either politically or as a sociological model'. Moreover, Clyne
(1988:67) states that 'multiculturalism can, in fact, resolve some identity problems'. Martins (1981:152) asserts that the emphasis should be on 'cultural pluralism of a controlled, modest and un-threatening kind'. To achieve multiculturalism as an accepted feature of society, 'it needs to be much more than a marginal series of cultural and welfare programs for minority groups but an attitude towards society as a whole' (Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs 1982:31).

In the past two decades the social milieu in the Australian context has increasingly become more and more culturally diverse. Consequently, in the present climate of Australia, it is not uncommon to air the view that ethnic groups should at least maintain 'the best of their cultural traditions' (Martins 1981:20). Some supporters wonder why diverse foods from different countries have been welcomed to Australia as one of the most attractive aspects of multiculturalism, while languages have not met with such acclaim.

The one sided view of multiculturalism, as something devised mainly for the advantage of the ethnic minorities, has not gained currency in Australia. For example, Zubrzycki (1987:52) insists that 'the future vision of a multicultural Australia must be a shared one because only then can cultural diversity and national cohesion co-exist with in one economic and political unit'. According to Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs Report (1982:12), 'multiculturalism did not deprive Anglo-Australian society of anything; rather, it added value to it.'
Smolicz differentiates between different types of multiculturalism according to the degree of language and cultural maintenance that it permits or encourages. The first category of multiculturalism is 'referred to as residual, when ethnic cultures have been degraded to ethnic residues through the loss of their native tongues' (Smolicz 1984: 15). The loss of linguistic core values reduces most cultures, if not all, to residues which represent peripheral of cultural activities. Residual multiculturalism is characterised by fragments of ethnic cultural survivals, food, folklores, and sympathy and understanding. Therefore, 'it represents essentially the old integrationist recipe whereby society is essentially monistic in its Anglo-cultural orientation' (Smolicz 1981:7). Under such circumstances, lest they lose their languages, some ethnic groups strive valiantly to preserve their language as indispensable for the preservation of their ethnic identity. Smolicz suggests that if the majority group wishes to avoid fragmentation of education along ethnic lines, then it must recognise that a policy of residual multiculturalism in the main stream schools must be revised.

His second classification of multiculturalism is transitional multiculturalism. This refers to a situation in which government funds for teaching community languages are allocated merely for a transitional and very limited period and not for the long standing maintenance of children's mother tongues. A third classification of multiculturalism is labelled as internal or stable multiculturalism. The policy of dynamic but lasting multiculturalism 'needs the introduction of minority languages and cultures into schools attended by all Australians' (Smolicz 1984:12).
This will give opportunities to all members of the society, including members from the majority group, to acquire aspects of other Australian cultures. The learning of a particular community language by any other majority or ethnic group members 'represents cultural pluralism at its deepest and most meaningful level' (Smolicz 1981:10).

*The Issue of Multicultural Education.* The cultural complexion of any society and its future development in the light of ethnic plurality is partly dependent on the nature of the education that children from all ethnic backgrounds receive in school.

Rado identifies three types of multicultural programs in schools. The first one, in her review, which described the status quo in the mid-eighties focuses on assimilation to the majority ethos. The philosophy is, according to Rado (1984:20), 'We prefer that minority children submerge so that they become indistinguishable from the majority, but we don't oppose some manifestations of differences, particularly if the take the harmless form of some picturesque and entertaining activities...' Those programs that aim at reflecting the multicultural reality of Australian society are labelled as 'Enrichment'. Enrichment programs expand the knowledge of both majority and minority children. The philosophy of Enrichment program, according to Rado (1984:20) is that 'we can and should benefit from the heterogeneous nature of our society. Diversity is an asset, consequently we invite our students to declare their ethnic background, and encourage a measure of identification with it'. A participatory program, the third type, according to Rado, is one 'containing a first and second language learning component for all students to meet their
individual needs so that language competence and not only age is taken into account when forming language classes. The third program satisfies most completely the requirements of a multicultural curriculum. Such programs introduce students to a great variety of cultures not only as individuals and as members of Australian society and as world citizen.

One of the most successful language-based projects in multicultural education in Australia has been done by Rado. Smolicz (1979: 259-260) argues that Rado's pioneering the Multilingual Education Project has proved successful in encouraging the recognition of minority languages and cultures in the classroom, as well as the effective participation of all students in the learning process.

In the Australian context, multicultural education is not strictly based on bilingual-bicultural concept as envisaged by staunch supporters like Skutnabb-Kangas (1984), but it focuses on three basic strands mainly the teaching of ESL, community languages and the provision of culturally inclusive curriculum. It is essential that the teaching of English as a second language should be accessible to all non-English background students. The teaching of community languages is also of paramount importance to ethnic minorities and the opportunity to learn them should be available. The perpetuation of community languages ought not to be regarded as being at odds with national loyalty. Culturally inclusive curriculum is designed to enable all members of society to have access to each other's cultural traditions, so as to advance cultural diversity within the framework of social cohesion. This would be possible if the ethnic communities were given sufficient resources to provide a reciprocal
exchange of their cultures and languages with the rest of the society. The dream of cultural diversity within a cohesive social framework could then become a reality.

Some supporters of multicultural education believe that in a plural society the attitudes of the society towards unity in diversity is absolutely crucial. Positive attitudes help in developing better relationships between the society at large and ethnic minority groups. Such positive attitudes are expected to help both the majority and minority groups develop 'the ability to live and work together harmoniously;' and facilitate 'the desire to make use of the cultural wealth which diversity affords' Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (1980:7).

There have, however, been criticisms of how effective multicultural education has been in practice. Horvath (1981:39) believes that multicultural education, at its worst, 'represents a trivialisation of language and culture and is, therefore, counter productive to its own aims'. According to Cummins (1992:128) , 'multicultural education should be "anti-racist education" in essence, otherwise it may paradoxically serve only to offer a 'veneer of change that in reality perpetuates discriminatory educational structures'. Multicultural education is perceived 'as though it focuses only on the educational system rather than on the power relations in the broader society' (Cummins 1992:130-131). From this perspective the result of multicultural education will be seen as a waste of time and resources, unless it affects children's life chances and gives them as adults some influence in the economic or political domains. This socio-economic aspect needs to be supplemented by a firm reassertion of the importance
of the "culturalist" perspective. Skutnabb-Kangas (1989: 52) pushes this argument further and argues that only 'anti-linguist policy, ie overt promotion of dominated languages, can counteract linguicism'.

In reference to the teaching of languages at the university level, Rado and Foster (1995:173) suggest that 'Language Departments could profitably collaborate with each other to mount courses leading to multilingualism. We believe that multilingualism would enhance the career prospects of LOTE graduates'.
2.3 Orientations Sceptical of the Survival of Minority Language Education

Sceptics of the survival of minority languages opine that it is uncommon to maintain group bilingualism. They think that it is inevitable for language shift to occur in the context of prolonged contact with a dominant language. They are of the opinion that community languages diminish gradually. Sceptics perceive language maintenance among migrants as practically impossible, and consider it is therefore not worth wasting scarce resources on the teaching of minority languages in a process of language shift which represents an inescapable transition to linguistic assimilation. Edwards (1993:7), in a paper which he presented for UNESCO consultative meeting on the International Science Program entitled "Management of Social Transformations' (MOST) states that 'language is a visible marker susceptible to early shift... It is possible, then, for language to retain symbolic status, and to continue to be at least a psychological prop of groupness, after it has had to surrender its 'communicative role'. In the long run, however, Edwards (1993:7) maintains that 'people will not retain two languages indefinitely if one serves across all domains'. This view dismisses the 'immersion' bilingual technique which has been the most successful experimental program in second language learning in Canada.

The Issue of Equity of Access. Sceptics tend to disregard the equity of access question. They believe rather that when a small language community interacts with a large one, the assumption is that, it is
inescapable that the elements of the larger community's culture will tend to predominate. In the long run, the smaller community is expected to become assimilated into the larger community. It is even argued that this process doesn't take a long time - 'several hundred years as with Gaelic of Great Britain or over the span of three generations as has been the case of the European immigrants to Australia and the United States' (Paulston 1987:267).

Hansen (1937:15), however, claims that 'What the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember'. Pratte (1979:13) also perceives that assimilation characterises the second generation, but 'when the second generation throws off its immigrant skin, the third generation suffers an identity crisis'. Opponents argue that where this phenomenon of renewed interest in a language does occur it must be the minority communities and families, and not the government, who must shoulder the primary responsibility for language maintenance. It is argued that 'maintained group bilingualism is unusual. Therefore, it is believed that while moral decency dictates the language rights of minority groups, it does not necessarily follow that the state is under any obligation to support such rights economically nor does it follow that minority groups have a right to impose their language on the nation' (Paulston 1987:283). It should be noted that the question of whose property the State is and who pays the taxes seems to be overlooked in this particular instance.

It is argued that it would seem that party competition to attract the migrant vote further expands the issue of multiculturalism. In this context, multiculturalism is viewed as a fine balancing act and a catch
word to attract the ethnic vote. On the other hand, sceptics argue that the minority ethnic members are not the real beneficiaries of such policies but rather, 'those who today stand most to gain from multiculturalism are the ethnic leaders drawn from the ranks of the ethnic middle class and petite bourgeoisie, and it is they who play the broker role by manipulating the ethnic vote for whatever party they support' (Jayasuriya 1985:28). Chipman (1980:3) stresses that the ultimate beneficiaries will be 'those who wish to exploit ethnic minorities for their own political ends'. Therefore, the equity issue is perceived from the sceptics' perspective as though it has been initiated by parties and privileged minority groups. It is interesting to note that sceptics believe that there is no evidence of enthusiasm in the communities themselves for maintaining their ethnic culture but that it is just seen as a certification of organised interest groups. In the eyes of the sceptics, the issue of equity involves the pouring of public money into an enterprise which must inevitably and eventually fail.

Bullivant (1985:20) states that, in the Australian situation, 'paradoxically, the more pluralist the societal image and associated policies have become in Australia, the more the pluralist dilemma has been exacerbated...' Paulston (1987:270) believes that 'language can be seen as a resource which is available to ethnic groups in their competition for access to the goods and services of a nation' rather than a question of justice for members of minority ethnic groups.

As an alternative to equity, Pratte (1979:70) suggests 'an open society' which is 'a rejection of ethnicity, religion, or whatever as a basis for group
association, particularly as these become political interest groups in the hope of determining the distribution of society's goods and services. In this case, the right or the desirability of groups to maintain their languages and cultures disappears in a way that ensures that the dominant language and culture is left with no competitors.

*The Issue of Equity of Content.* The teaching of minority languages and cultures in the school is considered by some sceptics as mere trivialisation of the curriculum. Sceptics are not impressed by the culturally inclusive objectives of multiculturalism and think that programs like bilingual-bicultural education are a waste of state funds. They stress that such programs should be supported only after taking account of resources, costs and benefits. Here the question of teaching minority languages is not perceived as an issue of justice but a matter of economics and there is no danger of the dilution of the dominant culture.

*The Issue of Multiculturalism.* Jayasuriya (1985:24) considers that 'multiculturalism, which in some respects may suffice as an accurate description of current social reality, has many shortcomings'. In his view, multiculturalism is 'vague and imprecise in meaning and implicitly subscribes to a consensus view of society - a reconciliation of competing plural interests' (Jayasuriya 1985:28). Pratte (1979) in his introduction states that, 'like some primitive native god, cultural diversity has many faces but few clear meanings. It has reflected different racial, religious, and ethnic traditions. Its influence has been discontinuous, for different
phases of cultural diversity have required different ideological justifications'.

Some sceptics classify multiculturalism into two types: soft and hard. Soft multiculturalism is characterised by 'tolerance not support', while hard multiculturalism is about the preservation of ethnic identity. Blainey (1984:31) argues that multiculturalism can be supported only 'if it is moderate, tolerant and articulate, rather than rabid and woolly and divisive'.

In the eyes of the sceptics the suppositions on which multiculturalism are based are rather inconsistent, resulting in undeniable difficulties inherent in a society advocating 'diversification and yet hoping for national cohesion' (Poole 1985:62). Sceptics claim that the causes of poverty and deprivation cannot be identified in terms of cultural and linguistic suppression, specially in reference to the those of lower class background, since 'no amount of cultural enhancement will alleviate structural inequalities' (Jayasuriya 1985:31).

There is one line of argument which maintains that it is the political parties which have been responsible for creating strong ethnic groups, capable of making increasing demands. For some sceptics multiculturalism can be seen, as a creation of the political parties. Political parties are shown to be the initiators responsible for injecting this idea into the ethnic communities. Blainey (1984:22) wonders 'how much the present call for a multicultural Australia, comes from the migrants
themselves and how much from politicians or people like you and me who think we know what the migrants would like'.

Sceptics warn that although multiculturalism apparently promotes harmony there is a clear likelihood that it may create more friction between the different ethnic groups. Sceptics think that multilingualism provokes differences and disagreements. In order to avoid these conflicts we should strive towards becoming monolingual. Moreover, sceptics stress that, language diversity has been a major cause of conflict in so far as most international and intranational wars have been caused primarily by differences in language or other such cultural variables as religion, political philosophy, race and culture. Sceptics perceive ethnicity as a nuisance, even as dangerous. Religious, racial, nationalistic, and kinship ties are treated as obstructions that must be examined so that 'students can come to understand their negative influence' (Pratte 1979:79). Blainey (1984:22) says in the era after the gold rushes, Australians had 'experienced what is now called a multicultural society. Their experience convinced them that such a society did not work'.

Sceptics claim to have detected a fundamental contradiction, which they label the "pluralist fallacy", at the heart of this multicultural ideology and the teaching of minority languages, in particular. Patterson (1975:11) argues that 'cultural pluralism neglects individuality in so far as an emphasis on group diversity and group tolerance works against a respect for individuality'. Poole (1985:59) argues that in order to attain 'Unity within Diversity', 'we need to transcend ethnocentricism and construct uniquely Australian core cultural values, universally shared in the public
domain, while encouraging cultural diversity in the private domain'. Such critics oppose the state sponsorship of minority languages and culture; since these are believed to belong to the communities themselves and not the state. They further argued that the fate of a group's culture is in the hands of those who own that culture. Partington (1980:18) while appreciating the teaching of multiculturalism in the Australian schools, stresses that 'many of the core values which are stated by proponents can only be private and cannot apply to the state'.

The Issue of Multicultural Education. Bullivant (1985:20) argues that the stress that multicultural education puts on teaching about the heritage, tradition and languages of the ethnic communities 'can actually do a disservice to children from ethnic backgrounds'. In the sense that it may prevent their full integration into the mainstream society, sceptics are critical about spending on multicultural studies. Chipman (1980:3) argues that large amounts of money have been spent to 'provide “multicultural studies” or courses in 'community languages'; in other cases by creating vaguely defined posts labelled multi-cultural or inter-cultural'. Sceptics of the teaching of minority languages believe that 'immigrant groups use language as a weapon when they see stigmatisation, economic exploitation and systematic unemployment instead of socio-economic opportunity' (Paulston 1987:271). In essence, the sceptics seem to argue that minority group members should strive above all to acquire the language and culture of the dominant group, in the hope that if they do their utmost to 'fit' in, they may be accepted and some of them even rewarded by a degree of social mobility to the upper echelons of society.
2.4 Paradigms For Minority Language Education

The term paradigm is not used here in the way Kuhn (1962: 47) defined it for conceptual models in the natural sciences. In the case under consideration, paradigms have a notational function, or as Merton (1968:70) puts it, 'They provide a compact arrangement of the central concepts and their interrelations that are utilised for description and analysis.' Therefore, the paradigms referred to here help to explain the relationship between minority and majority languages. While paradigms exist which are more or less supportive of the teaching of minority languages education, this chapter deals with five minority language paradigms which argue for the preservation of minority languages.

The researcher has identified these paradigms and used them as a foundation for the analysis of both the school and community based studies. These paradigms not only explain the socially and culturally important factors that are relevant for the discussion of language maintenance and loss, but also strongly argue for the protection of minority languages. They are the Linguistic Human Rights Paradigm, Core Values and Overarching Values Paradigm, Reactivation and Revitalisation Paradigm, Empowering Students Paradigm and Ethno-Linguistic Vitality Paradigm. The paradigms in question are not mutually exclusive, but rather reinforce each other by emphasising those aspects of social reality that favour a healthy language contact situation.

*Linguistic Human Rights Paradigm.* Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1989:3), strongly assert that 'all languages should have the same rights
and the same possibility of being accepted and respected, of being learned fully and used in all situations by their speakers'. According to this view, all human beings are the owners of all languages in this world; therefore all languages must be 'legally safeguarded by a universal declaration in order to avoid language death' (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1989:3). In line with this argument, all human beings as individuals and groups should be allowed to communicate in their preferred languages. However, this does not occur always in multilingual settings where there are majorities and minorities and dominant and subservient. Under such circumstances, 'Most linguistic majorities seem reluctant to grant "their" minorities rights, especially linguistic and cultural rights, because they would rather see their minorities assimilated' (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994:3). These authors suggest that linguistic majorities always tend towards restricting ethno linguistic democracy.

Supporters of this line of thought point out that children from the majority group have the right to learn their mother tongue while children from the minority group are often denied the right to do so. Kerr (1984:92) asserts that the basic right to freedom in a multilingual society embodies 'the right to maintain language and culture, and that parents have a qualified right to select the kind of education they want for their children'.

In her analysis of 'deficit theories', Skutnabb-Kangas (1988:32) states that 'there is something lacking in majority individuals, peers and teachers who may discriminate, because they have not had enough information'. She believes that it is important that majority children and teachers learn something about minority cultures. Skutnabb-Kangas (1988:34), has
proposed 'enrichment theories' which emphasises the significance of bilingualism that provides separate equal school systems for minority and majority children where 'L1 is medium for both and L2 obligatory (or possible to study) for both'. Pattanayak (1986:14) asserts that since the use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction is accepted for majority mother tongues, 'its denial to the minority is discrimination against them and a violation of a fundamental human right'.

**Core Values and Overarching Values Paradigm.** The basis of the core values and overarching values paradigm is dependant on the view that not all ethno-specific items of culture are of equal importance for the identification of individuals as group members. In considering the nature of core values in a particular culture, it is crucial to recall that more than one core value may be involved and that it may be possible to establish a relative hierarchy of importance among them. In this line of thought, it is perceived that some items may be drastically altered, or even shed altogether, without undermining the stability of the group. However, there are other aspects of culture which are seen by Smolicz and Secombe (1989:479) as the 'pivots around which the whole social and identificational system of the group are organised'. According to (Clyne 1988:71) this paradigm has particular significance for an 'ethnic group which finds the language crucial to its existence'.

The core value paradigm argues that every culture has certain core element(s) which stand as a hallmark or its central part, and act as distinguishing characteristics for its members. The term core value is pertinent to those values that are perceived as constituting the most
'fundamental components or heartland of a group’s culture, and which act as identifying values that are symbolic of the group and its membership' (Smolicz 1986:45). What this implies is that loss of a community's core values inevitably results in its ultimate 'disintegration as a community that can perpetuate itself as an authentic entity across generations' (Smolicz 1989:479). This paradigm emphasises that if the linguistic core were to be plucked out of their cultures, ethnic communities that are language-centred would turn into empty structural shells, which are culturally uncreative, and a potential breeding ground for frustration and discontent. For such minority groups, the safeguarding of their linguistic core is essential for the maintenance of their cultures as viable entities. Core values are not at all independent of other values, but rather as Clyne pointed out ‘it is necessary to see core values as interdependent’ (1982: 40) with other cultural values.

This paradigm considers not only core values that are ethno-specific but also values that are shared by all members of a society. These values shared in common are said to be overarching values. Smolicz (1984:11), states that, 'if a society is governed by a degree of consensus rather than coercion, there must have evolved a set of shared values that overarch the various ethnic groups'. One example of an overarching value in a plural society is provided by the fact that 'English in Australia is accepted as a common language' (Smolicz 1986:53). Moreover, the importance of English and the need to promote fluency in the English language and the importance of the existing laws and practices are recognised as part of the overarching values.
A plural society which is proud of its diversity, ensures a fair go for all, and provides the opportunity for everyone to contribute their talents to a prosperous society. As Rubenstein (1991) points out, however, 'not anything goes and not all values and practices are acceptable if they breach the framework of shared values and practices common to all Australians within the laws of Australia upon which multiculturalism is based'. The Office of Multicultural Affairs emphasises that multicultural policies expect all Australians to work under the basic structures and principles of Australian society which include: 'the Constitution and the rule of the law, tolerance and equality, Parliamentary democracy, freedom of speech and religion, English as the national language and equality of the sexes' (1989:3). Linguistic pluralism poses no threat to Australian overarching system of values since 'the recognition of linguistic pluralism represents an affordable tolerance for the country as a whole' (Smolicz 1992:14). Following the same argument, it could also be correct to state that 'to ensure stability multicultural and multilingual states must achieve a degree of consensus since, in its absence, the dominant group would have to rely on some form of manipulation or coercion to maintain the state' (Smolicz 1986:45-53). Proponents of this paradigm believe that in Australia the political and economic systems show signs of stability because of consensus and the acceptance of the overarching values in these areas. Therefore, this paradigm argues that a dynamic equilibrium should be established between the overarching or shared values of the country, on the one hand, and ethnic core values, on the other, in order to maintain stability.
Reactivation and Revitalisation Paradigm. Some languages that are apparently only infrequently used in public places may be limited to home use. Some others have only survived as languages of liturgy, for example, the Geez language which is now the language of liturgy in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (More explanation is given about the Geez language in Chapter 5).

Such languages that are used for limited purposes or domains could return to active use. Revitalisation is possible when there is a positive attitude among the whole population towards the language's reactivation and some new opportunity encouraging a change in use, arises. This phenomenon is well expressed by the reactivation and revitalisation paradigm, which describes what can happen at the other end of language shift. According to Clyne (1992:18) 'ethnic revivals and other phenomena can lead to "revitalisation" (the opposite to "shifting"), while "passivization" (restriction to passive use, ie., another partial shift) can be followed by "reactivation" (return to active use), once the psychological or sociological reasons for a shifting subside'. The reactivation of the Hebrew language in Israel could be cited as an example.

"Empowering" Minority Students Paradigm. According to the "Empowering" minority students paradigm, two types of students can be identified: those who are empowered by their schooling experiences and those who are disempowered by the same circumstances. According to this paradigm, in order to redress the imbalance, there should be some kind of 'empowering'. Cummins (1987:317) argues that 'students who are empowered by their schooling experiences develop the ability, confidence
and motivation to succeed academically'. He further argues that 'students who are disempowered or "disabled" by their school experiences do not develop this type of cognitive/academic and social/emotional foundation' (Cummins 1987:317). In line with this argument, empowerment is considered as 'the interactional process whereby students develop the critical abilities and the personal confidence in their own identities to acquire the knowledge and skills they need to take control of their own lives and to envisage and plan their futures' (Cummins 1994:164-165).

Cummins believes that the frequently found pattern of minority group educational failure could be reversed, provided that educators and policy makers are faced with both a personal and a political challenge: 'Personally they must redefine their roles within the classroom, the community and the broader society so that these role definitions result in interactions that empower rather that disable students. Politically, they must attempt to persuade colleagues and decision-makers that the school should redefine its own institutional foundations so that rather than reflecting society by disabling minority students, it begins to transform society by empowering them' (Cummins 1987:325).

Ethno linguistic Vitality Paradigm. This paradigm considers a number of factors in determining a particular language's chances of survival. The factors involve the demographic, economic, political and cultural capital of ethno-linguistic groups. According to Allard and Landry (1992:172), 'the more positive an ethno linguistic group's relative position is on these
factors the better its chances of survival and further development. Conversely, the more negative the group's relative standing is on these factors the more likely its chances of disappearing as a collective entity'. It is interesting to note that this conceptual framework tries to link society and individuals in an interactive process which can lead to different levels and types of bilingualism. In this paradigm, the individual network of linguistic contacts is analysed based on three dimensions. These are 'interpersonal contacts, contacts through the media and educational support' (Allard and Landry 1992:227-228). The individual's network of linguistic contacts is believed to permit the development of competencies in the first and second languages, and the formation of language-related beliefs, attitudes and values. This paradigm seeks to establish some form of recognition and protection for minority languages 'so that their intergenerational self guided ethno-linguistic continuity can be more successfully attained, and retained' (Fishman 1989:3).
3.1 Australia’s Linguistic History: A Summary
- Pre-European Settlement
- European Settlement
- The 19th and Early 20th Century
- The Two World Wars and between
- Post World War II
- The 60s
- The 70s
- Since the 1980’s

3.2 Australia’s National Policy on Languages
- The Background
- Languages and Curriculum Development: Phases and Focuses
- Multicultural Education
- The Teaching of English as a Second Language
- The Teaching of Community Languages
- Ethnic School Programs
- Australia’s Current National Language and Literacy Policy

3.3 South Australia’s State Policy on Languages
- The Beginning
- The Teaching of Languages Other Than English (LOTE)
- School Curriculum and its Development
- Ethnic Schools
- The Issue of Class Size and Lesson Time
3.1 Australia's Linguistic History: A Summary

*Pre-European Settlement.* Australia's language history is a history of multilingualism. Australia has been inhabited by the Aboriginal people who have spoken different languages and dialects for centuries. However, it is difficult to tell the exact number of languages spoken before European settlement. According to Yallop (1982:27), the wide disparity in the estimate of the number of Aboriginal languages is 'due to lack of clear information but also to the very nature of the Australian situation'.

The fate of Aboriginal languages remains uncertain. Dixon (1980:18) estimates that 'of the 200 or so languages spoken in Australia before the European invasion about 50 are now extinct... there are probably around 100 languages that are on the path towards extinction'. Schmidt (1990:1) assesses that 'only 20 of these are in a healthy state; in other words are being actively transmitted to and used by children'. According to Lo Bianco (1987:10) 'the rate of extinction is about one distinct language per year'. Oppression and assimilation pressures have led to the death of a number of Aboriginal languages since 1788 by gradually changing the original healthy language contact situation into an unhealthy one.

There has been a widespread misconception that Aboriginal people are "primitive" people and that they speak "primitive" languages. Dixon (1980:6) argues that Aboriginal Australians were not 'in any sense survivors of an earlier, primitive age', since they had generated unique
responses to the milieu in which they lived. Undoubtedly, 'all languages are capable of expressing whatever the human beings using that language want to express' (Blake 1981:4). People labelling some languages as "primitive" overlook the complex social and intellectual developments of communities that are at different stages of technological and social development. Language was used as a bridge to link different language groups. It is argued that in societies with oral traditions the part that is played by language is absolutely crucial. Languages then unquestionably supply 'an irreplaceable repository of experience, history, mythology, spiritual belief, law and socio-cultural organisation and values' (Lo Bianco 1987:10).

Linguistic and cultural pluralism is not a new situation for Aborigines because even long before 'the arrival of the 'First Fleet' from England in 1788, the Australian population had many different cultures which co-existed as entities of their own' (Bourke 1983:321). The Senate standing Committee on Education and Arts (1984:8), identified that 'Because mobility was restricted, one language group had knowledge of the languages spoken in the territories immediately adjacent to their own'. Yallop (1982:27) recounts that in 'some parts of Australia neighbouring tribes had close contact with each other and spoke very similar languages...It can often happen that neighbouring languages form a chain'. Hence the ancient linguistic history of Australia bears witness to the linguistic diversity that became modified over time by the addition of immigrant languages, corresponding to the shrinkage of the Aboriginal ones.

Lo Bianco (1987:10), quoting the Australian Institute of Aboriginal
Studies, states that a 'study in 1971 shows that 114 (Aboriginal) languages were spoken by less than ten people with a further forty five being spoken by between ten and one hundred'. Many of the living Aboriginal languages still remain dangerously near extinction. However, many people of Aboriginal background are becoming more willing to identify themselves as Aboriginals and to speak their tongues. Figures show that in South Australia alone the jump in the number of speakers of Aboriginal languages was from 2970 in 1986 to 3354 in 1981, up to 14,291 in 1991' (Smolicz 1991:40;1994::40). Such evidence points to the gradual re-creation of a healthy language contact environment.

*European Settlement.* Right from the start of European settlement in 1788, English was given pre-eminence by the settlers. The European settlement brought a turning point in the linguistic history of this country. English became the language of the settlers and gradually dominated Aboriginal languages; hence, many of the indigenous Aboriginal languages ceased to exist as living languages.

According to the Senate Standing Committee on Education and Arts Report (1984:8), 'The first white settlers, convicts and soldiers and later, free settlers, came almost exclusively from the British Isles'. Some of them spoke standard English whereas many others, according to this Report, spoke 'a wide variety of the non-standard forms of English that flourished in various areas of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales...including Gaelic, Irish and Welsh' (1984:8). As white settlers disseminated throughout this country 'Aboriginal Australians - naturally multilingual in their traditional society - found no difficulty
in learning to understand and speak good English' (Dixon 1980:69).

The 19th and Early 20th Century. Some of the earliest non-English speaking migrants to come to Australia, according to Clyne (1991:4) were 'the Old Lutherans from Eastern Germany fleeing from religious suppression to South Australia as from 1838; the refugees from the 1848 German and Italian revolutions'. However, non-English speakers did not arrive in the Australian colonies in substantial numbers until the goldrushes of the 1850s, which attracted people from all over the world. Many migrants left their countries either to be as far as possible from oppressive regimes or in anticipation of better life. Jupp (1988:61) states that 'Irish may have been the second most widely understood language in Australia in the mid-nineteenth century (although it had) been overtaken by German in the 1880's'. German appears to have been the major non-English language spoken in the Australian colonies. Clyne (1984:1-3) notes that there was a strong non-English language press, as well as regular church services in a range of European and Asian languages. He says, 'At the time of federation there were more than 100 bilingual day schools operating in Australia.'

The Two World Wars and Between. The two World Wars, by creating linguistic xenophobia among the Anglo-Celtic Australians, caused not only a decline in immigrant ethnic languages other than English but also the extinction of many Aboriginal languages. Despite small and steady increase in immigration from southern Europe, Germany and Eastern Europe during the 1920s and 1930s, the period from 1914 to 1946 saw the solidification of the English language in this continent.
From the time of the first world war, according to Smolicz (1992:20), 'German, and by implication all languages other than English, came to be viewed with suspicion so that their use was regarded as somehow "disloyal", or at least "un-Australian".

Clyne (1991:13), states that 'with the end of the war [World War I] came a period of aggressive monolingualism often encouraged by the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia'. The maintenance and use of other languages was regarded as untrustworthy by the mainstream Australians. World War II, practically 'finished the job in the rural settlements and reduced the community languages of newer refugee and migrant groups to private or even secret languages' (Clyne 1991:15). All non English languages in general, and German in particular, degenerated as a result of the two world wars. Between the first and second world wars 'a trend towards English monolingualism began and was actively promoted by Government intervention restricting and even suppressing the use of other languages' (Lo Bianco 1987:9).

Post World War II. The coming of migrants from non-English background countries, due to the new post world war II migration program, successfully reversed the increasing English monolingualism and contributed to linguistic diversity. East and Central Europeans were the major source of Australia's refugee settlers in that period; Clyne (1991:4) states that the main migrants between 1947-50 were 'Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Croats, Slovenians, Ukrainians, and others'. Over the next two decades an
even greater number of immigrants arrived from Southern Italy and Greece as economic migrants in search of a better standard of living for themselves and their children.

The Australian immigration experience is notable not only for its relative size, but also for the ethnic diversity of its post-war migrant intake although this was not the intention of the architects of the post-war immigration program (Collins 1991). This change in policy has brought about a linguistically diverse society of different cultural backgrounds.

The 60s. In the 1960s the common perception was that “migrants” were basically an addendum to the established model of Australian life and that the objective was to assimilate them to this pattern as quickly as possible. According to the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts (1984:8), 'Between 1947 and 1971, nearly 3 million people came to settle in Australia. About 60 per cent came from non-English-speaking countries notably, Italy, Greece, Cyprus, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Germany and the Netherlands'. This decade is characterised by the Australia's initiation of the teaching of Asian languages and cultures. It is worth mentioning that the year 1966 was special in that the Minister for Immigration stated that 'well qualified people from Asia would be admitted as immigrants provided they were assessed as able to integrate readily into Australian society and possessed qualifications readily useful to Australia' (DEET 1986:23). This was one of the first steps towards the abolition of the so-called White Australia Policy, which had effectively prevented the immigration of coloured peoples
from Asia and Africa since Federation in 1901 (Jupp 1988:83).

The 70s. During the 70s Australia moved a step forward to changing its self-perception 'as part of the world-wide 'ethnic revival' movement but also as a reflection of Australia's growing desire to be seen as a nation independent of Britain and the United States' (Clyne 1982:120). More over, according to Ozolins (1985:286), 'With the advent of the Federal Labor Government in 1972, ethnic issues gained in prominence through the notable activity of Al Grassby, Minister of Immigration 1972-74'. Therefore, it could be said that, it was only in the 1970s, after decades of neglect that 'Australia's gaze turned inwards to rediscover the ethnic, linguistic and other cultural complexities within its own shores' (Smolicz 1992:18). The significant event of the mid-1970's was the arrival of the large number of refugees from Indo-China, particularly from Vietnam, a significant proportion of whom were of Chinese ancestry. According to Thayer (1988:833) Australia welcomed Vietnamese refugees on the basis of humanitarian and international obligations. As a result, ' Australia became a major receiving country, accepting the greatest number of Vietnamese refugees per head of the host population of any country in the world.'

Since The 1980's. Since the beginning of the 80s it has been notable that 'apart from the 150 Aboriginal languages, more than one hundred languages other than English are in use in Australia today' (Clyne 1991:1). According to the South Australian Report of the Task Force (1984:9), 'while the United Kingdom and Eire were the most important sources of migrants, more than half of all immigrants came from non-
English speaking countries'. As a result, according to the policy statement on Multiculturalism and Education, 'in South Australian schools in 1980, 20 per cent of all children were first or second generation immigrants from non-English speaking nations' (1982:4). The 1991 data shows that '1.2% of South Australians were Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islanders, 312,694 or 22.7% of South Australians were born overseas, 41.7% of South Australians were born overseas or had at least one parent born overseas; 183,848 or 14.1% of South Australians claimed to use a language other than English at home (Smolicz 1994:xi).'

Lo Bianco (1988:37), argues that 'for the 1990s at least the language elements of multiculturalism are not at the periphery of concerns for only 'ethnics', but a more complex discourse is underway, locating language issues at the centre and for all, combining culture, economics and equality'.

It has been acknowledged by Dawkins (1991:iii), that Australia has reached a decisive point in its language history since 'We have become more aware of the importance of language and literacy issues over the last decade. Through a series of national reports during that time, the Federal Government has strengthened the underlying philosophy of a language and literacy policy.'
3.2 Australia's National Policy on Languages

The Background. Australia is a nation that has unique, complex and rich linguistic setting. Lo Bianco (1987:5), argues that the main objective of language planning in Australia is 'to ensure that Australia derives maximum benefit from its rich linguistic resources'. The Department of Education and Youth Affairs (1982:9) stresses that 'Australia's rich linguistic environment, coupled with its developed educational system and its geographical situation, places Australia in an advantageous position to take an initiative in developing language policy'.

Reactions to linguistic diversity in Australia up to 1945 could not be considered as constituting in any sense a formal or explicit 'language policy' although educational practices that were being followed were assimilationist in intent.

The teaching of English as a Second Language was not offered in the early post war period and community languages were marginalised in part-time ethnic schools which often carried an odium of disapproval in the general society. Hence the early post war educational climate can be viewed as distinctly unhealthy for community languages other than English. According to Clyne (1982:118) 'in the 1950s and 60s, Situational English, (taught to immigrants) took little account of the different native languages, educational background or needs of the pupils while the conscious allocation of students into linguistically mixed classes was based on a monolingual objective'. Policy issues related to minority language maintenance issues were not formally addressed in the 1960s.
However, it should be recognised that 'Many of developments (in this area) have occurred with almost astonishing rapidity in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and to the extent that policy makers now do take seriously issues of language' (Ozolins 1985:282). One of the first observable results at the national level of the mounting concern for language policy, was the formation of an inquiry by the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts (1984:x) and its report upon: 'the development and implementation of a co-ordinated language policy for Australia'.

The Senate Report led to the commissioning of Lo Bianco to develop a document that identified language issues of national importance to Australia. His 1987 Report, *National Policy on Languages* has been recognised internationally as one of the most comprehensive and far-sighted language policies. Starting from the recognition of Australia as a multilingual society, it developed a set of nationally agreed principles for making decisions about language issues. The four basic principles are:

1. competence in English for all Australians;
2. maintenance and development of languages other than English;
3. provision of services in languages other than English; and
4. opportunity for English speaking Australians to learn a second language.

The implementation of these principles would mean that Australians from both the majority and minority ethnic groups would have the opportunity to be bilingual. The publication of this report can be said to mark the onset of a distinctly more healthy climate for language contact situations.
involving community languages other than English, even though there has been some back sliding from the full implementation of these principles in more recent Language and Literacy Reports.

*Languages and Curriculum Development: Phases and Focuses.* The responses of mainstream Australian society to the existence and teaching of languages other than English in Australia have been viewed as phases and focuses by different authors in this field, such as Clyne (1991), Lo Bianco (1988) and Smolicz (1992).

Clyne’s view of responses to languages other than English looks back to pre-WWII Australian realities in identifying four such phases. The first phase includes the era up to mid-1870s which he labelled as 'Accepting but Laissez-faire'. According to Clyne (1991:24), the then Australian state governments 'did not either encourage or discourage the use of community languages'. There was no uniformly applied policy across the whole colonies since Australia was not a united entity at that stage. The second phase, 'Tolerant but Restrictive' (1870s-early 1900s), is marked by 'a growing identification of the emerging Australian nation with English monolingualism' (Clyne 1991:24). The third phase, 'Rejecting' (1914-1970), is characterised by 'English monolingualism as a marker of the nation...Australia and Australians were forced to forget their multilingual heritage' (Clyne 1991:24). The fourth phase, 'Accepting', relates to the time since 1970. In this era 'there is an increasingly utilitarian attitude to multilingualism based on trade considerations, which could lead to a rejection of 'less useful' languages' (Clyne 1991:25).
Smolicz, on the other hand, perceives three curriculum focuses with special reference to languages education after the second World War. The first one is the 'Classical Focus', which reflects the time immediately after the World War II. This focus attempted to recreate the image of English society by adopting the English schools' curriculum and the languages they taught. It focussed upon 'the syllabus of schools and universities followed traditional notions of English liberal education in concentrating on the knowledge of those societies that were considered to lie at the roots of modern Western civilisation - the ancient languages of Greece and Rome and their associated histories and cultures; and modern European languages such as French (and to a lesser extent German), together with aspects of their culture and history' (Smolicz 1981:1992:17). This approach is criticised for overlooking the actual realities of Australia's plurality as well as its neighbours in Asia and the Pacific.

The subsequent International Focus is distinguished by Australia's rising awareness of itself in the face of the world community. During the sixties, there were changes in perspectives; the focus being responsive to the needs of the Australian society of that period. As a result, this era is characterised by the introduction of language courses and the teaching of history and culture of Australia and its neighbours rather than England in its European setting. The International Focus helped 'in the establishment of departments of Asian Studies, involving the teaching of languages such as Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian/Malay' (Smolicz 1992:18).
The 'Multicultural Focus' is the third approach to language education identified by Smolicz. The positive contribution of the 'Multicultural Focus' created an awareness that 'children of non-English-speaking backgrounds do not come empty handed, but bearing cultural gifts, chief among them being their linguistic resources' (Smolicz 1992:18). The multicultural approach is marked by the introduction of community languages at the schools and, in this sense, can be viewed as providing a healthy language contact situation. Moreover, according to the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (1980:10), 'In the case of English as a second language some initiatives were undertaken by the tertiary system in the training of teachers to educate migrant children'.

*Multicultural Education:* The Senate Standing Committee Report (1984:2) also stressed that 'Multiculturalism provides one foundation for progressive development of a national language policy'. The concept of multiculturalism in education embodies three key policy elements. 'being concerned with: issues of equality of access and participation for minority groups; intercultural understanding; development of cultural identity' (South Australian MECC Training and Development Manual, 1993:9). These elements can be considered as the integral part of education in a multicultural society.

These three elements can be put into practice through a variety of educational programs. According to the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (1980:7), 'three relatively distinct strands which education in Australia should embrace[include] - the teaching of English
as a second language, the teaching of community languages, and studies of ethnic and cultural diversity in Australia'.

The Teaching of English as A Second Language. The teaching of English as a second language (ESL) is based on the assumption that different processes are engaged in the teaching and learning of first and second languages. Lo Bianco (1987:71) stresses that English is 'the common language of communication for Australians from different language backgrounds'. Obviously English is the language of Australians in the day to day economic, social, political, cultural and educational sectors of public life.

Who will be the beneficiaries of the teaching of English as a second language? They include newly arrived immigrants in Australia; students entering school with little or no English but who were born in Australia; students who come from homes where English is used only a little or not at all. In a nutshell, the clients of ESL programs are non English speaking immigrants or their children and some Aboriginal Australians. It has been clearly stated that the ESL program aims to 'develop students' English language competence; and facilitate students' participation in mainstream school education' (DEET 1990b:25).

The Commonwealth contributes a considerable amount of funds to English programs for children from non-English Speaking Backgrounds. The funding from the Commonwealth is 'provided under the ESL Program in two parts: the New Arrivals element and the General Support element' (DEET 1991a:12). Unquestionably, it is highly important to provide ESL for children and adults to respond to the needs of non-English speaking background Australians.
The 'New Arrivals' element is geared towards assisting children who are newly arrived in Australia, from non-English speaking background, through intensive ESL programs. This program assists both government and non-government education authorities who deal with children with little or no English language skills. On the other hand, the General Support element is designed to assist non-English speaking background students in regular class room lessons. This program is aimed at providing service to 'both children from overseas and Australian-born children, including those whose first language is an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language' (DEET 1991a:12). Until 1983, the General Support element has been distributed on the basis of number of students with ESL needs. Since 1983, however, 'the funding formula no longer reflects system share of enrolments of children of non-English speaking background' (DEET 1991b:50).

*The Teaching of Community Languages.* The term community languages' sometimes refers to all languages but English, used in Australia. However, Clyne (1982:2) states that 'The concept sometimes includes English, the official and majority language, but sometimes covers only 'aboriginal' and 'immigrant' languages'. There has been a tendency to make distinctions between community and international, geopolitical and trade languages in the Australian context. However, languages can be both community and international eg German and Chinese.

According to DEET's White Paper (1991a:14), 'The learning of languages other than English must be substantially expanded and improved to
enhance educational outcomes and communication within both the Australian and the international community. The advantages of learning of languages other than English are manifold. It is said that 'Educational benefits of language learning include developing new ways of seeing the world and of expressing ideas. People who have successfully learned another language may also be more flexible, tolerant and open to new ideas than those who are monolingual' (DEET 1990:21).

Rado (1984:18-19) summarises the views on the teaching of languages other than English into three categories namely the All-Exclusive View, the Partial Exclusive View and the All-Inclusive View. The All-Exclusive view holds that no-one in Australia needs to learn a language other than English. Learning other languages is of no particular use in Australia. It is a private luxury which should be available to those who want it for elitist or ethnic loyalty reasons. The Partial Exclusive View considers that learning languages is important for migrant students only. Learning the ethnic language is essential for the minority child for cognitive and social reasons while the All-Inclusive View believes that all students should learn languages. Learning languages other than English is a valid, essential experience for all children in Australia today.

*Ethnic School Program.* Despite their long history, the nature of these schools is still, at times, insufficiently understood as Smolicz (1990:16) explains 'ethnic schools are after-hours, voluntary, community run schools which teach an enormous range of languages and cultures, many of which are neglected by the other three systems of schools in Australia'. Although, Australia's linguistic pluralism embodies a number of
languages other than English such as: European, Asian, Pacific, African and other origins, the teaching of community languages can still sometimes be viewed with suspicion. There persists at times a misconception about the teaching of minority ethnic languages 'that these under-funded and modestly-run schools somehow wish to supplant the shared language of Australia, English, with a motley of other tongues' (Smolicz 1990:16). It is rather safe to say that ethnic schools have worked as catalysts of language education in Australia. There is an accumulation of research evidence that community language speakers view ethnic schools as a supplement but never as an alternative English and that they are agents that do not foster separatism but rather promote bilingualism (Marjoribanks, 1979, 1980).

The Ethnic School Program (ESP) was set up by the Commonwealth in 1981. It has been acknowledged by DEET (1990b:71) that, 'There are approximately 1,000 ethnic schools in Australia of which approximately half receive direct Commonwealth funding. In 1989 about 200,000 students were funded by the Commonwealth through over 600 organisations'. The ESP is believed to 'assist ethnic community groups and organisations to operate classes in the languages and cultures of their communities for the benefit of both non-English -speaking background students and other students' (DEET 1990b:41). The objectives of ethnic school program are to 'maintain the relevant languages and cultures of students of non-English -speaking background; and increase awareness and understanding of all students of the different community languages and cultures within Australian society' (DEET 1991b:64). The ESP has two basic components: after-hour classes and insertion classes. The former is
aimed at supporting native speaker to maintain their languages; while the latter one is conducted during normal hours in school. It has been observed that there is a change in focus in which 'About 69% of ESP funding now supports two thirds of the program's students in insertion classes in regular schools, with 67% of the total funding going to insertion classes in Italian' (DEET 1991b:65).

Australia's Current National Language And Literacy Policy. Most recently, the Department of Employment, Education and Training's, White Paper (1991a: 4), has re-affirmed four key goals of a national language and literacy policy. 'In summary form these are that:

1. all Australians should develop and maintain effective literacy in English to enable them to participate in Australian society;
2. the learning of languages other than English must be substantially expanded and improved;
3. those Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages which are still transmitted should be maintained and developed, and those that are not should be recorded where appropriate;
4. language services provided by interpreters and translators, the print and electronic media and libraries should be expanded and improved.'

The first three goals could be achieved provided that they are coordinated at different levels by different parties since they affect children's literacy, adult literacy, Aboriginal literacy and ESL. It is interesting to note that the Commonwealth Government has acknowledged the importance of the language and literacy services that are rendered by interpreters, translators the print, electronic media and libraries in the fourth goal.
However, given scarce financial and teaching resources, not all languages can be taught in Australia in mainstream schools. Based on this argument 'Education systems and institutions are invited to select up to eight languages appropriate for their local and regional needs and aspirations, from the following languages in accordance with their own priorities: Aboriginal languages, Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Modern Greek, Russian, Spanish, Thai and Vietnamese.' (DEET 1991b:76). This invitation was backed by a special financial inducement 'in the form of per capita grants for each student completing a Year 12 course in LOTE. That offer however, is limited to 25% of the school student population, since it had been assumed that no more than a quarter of those completing secondary school needed to acquire some degree of proficiency in LOTE' (Smolicz 1995:175). While deciding the languages which are to receive priority, 'systems should consider the benefits of ensuring that Australia has the linguistic capacity to deal effectively with changing relationship with Asia, Europe, the Middle East and the Pacific Rim' (1991b:76).

The White Paper (1991b:86) has stated that 'The Commonwealth will review the progress and impact of its National Strategy for Languages other than English in 1995 to ensure that its overall objective of maintaining an appropriate balance of provision within each State and Territory's nominated priority languages is being achieved'.
Despite the unwillingness to accept the study of a language other than English (LOTE) as a compulsory subject, 'some states have formulated a specific plan to increase language teaching, such as an undertaking to provide at least one LOTE for all primary school students by 1995' (Smolicz 1992:22).

In Western Australia there is a time table set for the year 1999 in which two out of the five objectives are 'All primary and secondary students will have access to LOTE instruction, either by discrete LOTE programs or by the part- immersion model; Aboriginal bilingual programs will be available in primary schools with a predominantly Aboriginal population' (DEET 1990b:87).

The time line for Queensland shows that 'by 1996 all schools should be offering at least one language in Years 6 to 8 using a cluster model to ensure sequential programs through years 6 to 8. By 1996 the study of a LOTE should be compulsory in years 6 to 8 in all schools and all secondary schools should be offering at least one language other than English through all years to year 12' (DEET 1990b:87).

According to the Queensland's policy and delivery strategies in literacy and languages other than English, 'By 2001 at least 25% of all year 12 students should be studying a language in high quality programs with at least a doubling of this figure in the following decade' (DEET 1990b:81). The Australian Language and Literacy Policy acknowledges that 'Governments have joined with educators, students, parents and business to rethink policies, programs and structures and to work towards national
goals which will benefit the nation and better serve the needs of individuals' (1991a:1).

The image which emerges from the latest policy initiatives across Australia is one that heralds a return to a more healthy language contact situation such as that which prevailed during the second half of the 19th century- but with the proviso that this situation now also applies to the Aboriginal languages in the hope that this change of climate has not come too late for their survival.
3.3 South Australia's State Policy on Languages

The beginning. The State of South Australia has been characterised by its linguistic pluralism due to the presence of a number of Aboriginal languages that used to be spoken regularly in the day to day life of the people. The state was also a focus of immigration from Germany where they established their own school system that was separate from the English language schools (Clyne 1985). South Australia remains a state with a great language and cultural diversity, 'with 24.8% of its population being born overseas. Of these, 27.1% were born in a non-English speaking country. Yet a 1983 survey showed that only 25.7% of students in S.A schools (all systems) from homes where a LOTE was spoken were studying their home language at school' (SAIL 1990:29).

Schools in South Australia have included the teaching of second languages, such as French and Latin, in their curriculum since their establishment. According to Report of SA Languages Policy Working Party (1983:20) the period from the second World War up to the seventies was characterised by 'a system which had three public examinations in three years ("intermediate", "leaving" and "leaving honours") language pre-requisites for Matriculation and language requirements for graduation in Law, Arts and Medicine'.

The Report of the Languages Policy Working Party acknowledges that there had been considerable policy changes in the Department of Education since the 70s including:
• 'the circulation by the Director General of Education of a memorandum to heads of Departmental schools, "Freedom and Authority in the Schools" (August 1970), which allowed schools greater freedom to meet the needs of significant proportion of the school community by introducing programs in the language spoken by these people and in general to introduce new language programs;
• special funding for community language programs' (1983:22-23).

Those actions that were particularly pertinent to the teaching of languages during the mid-70s include a rise in in-service programs, expansion of language advisory services and the formation of various language teachers' associations. The nature of education at the senior secondary level in SA has been changed to a greater extent over the last two decades. According to SSABSA (1993:6), year 12 education 'has moved from a system with a narrow function, designed primarily to prepare students in the sixteen-to-seventeen age range for university, to one that has great diversity, designed to meet the needs of a much wider cohort of students. These students differ in terms of age, socio-economic and cultural background, interests, and vocational and career aspirations.'

Although this has led to a large number of students studying at year 11 and 12 levels, it is important to note that the number of students studying languages did not increase as they continued to be regarded as subjects suitable only for students of high academic achievements. In contrast there has been a considerable number of languages available at year 12 as subjects recognised for university entrance.
The Teaching of Languages Other Than English (LOTE). South Australia has been one of the leading states in emphasising the teaching of community languages inside Education Department schools. To strengthen its support institutionally, according to Miller (1986:338), South Australia set up an Ethnic Education Advisory Council in 1978 to advise on multicultural education, but [this] was replaced within a year, on the suggestion of the Schools Commission, by a new body with wider powers- the Multicultural Education Co-ordinating Committee (MECC). This body still functions as a Ministerial Advisory Committee in South Australia and has made an important contribution to policy development and teaching practice in the area of languages education in S.A.

In South Australia, Italian was the first community language introduced in year 12 level in South Australia in 1967. A wide range of languages was introduced over the next fifteen years, some because of their international status, others because of their significance as community languages of SA: Dutch in 1969; Hebrew in 1973; Ukrainian and Lithuanian in 1975; Modern Greek in 1976; Latvian and Polish in 1977; Hungarian in 1978; and later still, Vietnamese by 1991 (Smolicz 1992a:18).

In the last five years, cooperation with other states, particularly NSW and Victoria, has enabled a further 20 community languages to be available to students in SA through syllabuses and examinations provided by these other states. In all cases the initiative in developing these languages as year 12 subjects have come from the communities involved. The recognition of such a wide range of community languages as university entrance subjects has been an important achievement in languages
education in SA. Some Vietnamese respondents in the primary school study (to be discussed in Chapter 4) were already well aware of the advantages they could gain by being able to study Vietnamese at year 12 level and maximise in this way the marks they could achieve for university entrance.

The most important initiative taken by the state of South Australia in relation to languages education foreshadowed the principles laid down in the Report of Lo Bianco (1987:237). The 1984 SA Task Force Report included in its recommendations 'the release of a policy affirming the teaching of LOTEs at all levels in government schools, together with a government policy commitment to expand language teaching at primary level through the use of earmarked salaries, to extend the range of languages available at secondary level through the creation of an after hours Secondary School of languages within the state Education Department, and to maintain and extend curriculum development and teacher advisory services in languages'. According to Smolicz (personal communication, 1995) the target of all South Australian primary school children having the opportunity to learn a language other than English by 1995 has seen achieved to the extent of 74% in government schools.

The South Australian Secondary School of Languages (SASSL) has been established specifically to teach the numerically smaller community languages. The student population in SASSL, 'has grown from 120 students studying three languages in 1986 to 760 students taking eleven languages in 1992' (Smolicz 1992:18).
According to Miller (1986:337), South Australia has been experimenting in bilingual education 'not simply in the form of a transitional form of instruction for non-English speakers which can be discontinued as soon as the learners become proficient in English, but education where teaching of all subjects actually takes place through the medium of two languages'. Historically bilingual primary and secondary schools were operating as early as 1863. Clyne (1988b:97) says, 'By 1872, there were no fewer than four private German-English bilingual schools operating in Adelaide and North Adelaide alone. In 1864, the first of the bilingual secondary schools in Adelaide was opened.' In recent times, bilingual programs in Italian have been developed in a number of primary schools with a concentration of Italian background students, and in Aboriginal languages in schools for Aboriginal children in the far North of the State.

There has been also an increasing awareness of the importance of Asian languages in South Australia in anticipating the country's role in the Asian Pacific market. On the basis of its ethnic composition and anticipated economic gains, 'the State's needs point to the following major languages: Aboriginal: Pitjanjara; Asian: Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian, Korean, Vietnamese and Thai; European: Spanish, Italian, Modern Greek, German and French; Middle Eastern: Arabic' (SAIL 1990:35). Language enrolments for 1994 indicate that there are over 110,000 language students in SA (SA MECC:1995). While the primary school enrolment has increased by about threefold the past four years, there has been a small but steady decline in high school language enrolment.
There are many positive features of South Australia's languages education policy. Smolicz in the South Australian MECC Report (1993:8), has pointed to three of these factors which include: 'the very impressive range of languages on offer: some one dozen taught in our mainstream schools - 33 languages examined as PES by SSABSA; recognition of PES languages for Higher Education Entrance Score (HEES) and developments in primary schools as a consequence of the Government's commitment in 1985 to have LOTE available to all by 1995'.

The MECC Report from a seminar on Juncture Points in Languages Education (1993:21) concludes that although the principals and language teachers attending were agreed that 'language learning should be an integral part of the learning continuum from early childhood to post compulsory education and beyond,' many expressed concern that compulsion was not the right way to go. Another concern is that in terms of retention, languages education in South Australia is not as good as its availability. It is apparent that LOTE enrolments at senior secondary level decline dramatically, so that in 1994 only 11% of year 12 students were studying a language (MECC 1995). Smolicz in his MECC Report has concluded that, 'Erosion in LOTE is very pronounced. Lack of anchorage at SACE is undoubtedly significant and detrimental to retention. This fall in number of students studying LOTE is WASTEFUL - for students, for the country and for teachers (for the latter this is particularly disheartening)' (MECC 1993:10).

*School Curriculum and Its Development.* A curriculum which is responsive to the needs and aspirations of all the learners of different cultural and
linguistic background contributes to the language skills development. The preparation of such a curriculum is a big issue to be addressed. It is strongly advised by the Report of the SA Languages Policy Working Party (1983:96) that 'Languages with their underlying purpose of communication, relate in the broadest possible way to the curriculum, both in particular subject areas and in terms of cross-cultural perspectives'. The bottom line of this argument is that language developers should consider languages as having a great number of connecting links with other subjects in their curriculum development.

One of the important issues for language teachers is the availability of language teaching material which best fits the Australian educational milieu. Since commercially available books are prepared to meet needs of particular students, books prepared overseas are often found to be either irrelevant to the Australian situation, or to difficult for the learners. As a result, it is essential for Australians themselves to become involved in the publication of books that will be appropriate to the Australian situation. According to the Report of the Language Policy Working Party (1983:90), 'The Federal Government responded to this case by channelling federal funds for the development of curriculum materials in languages through Schools Commission, Curriculum Development Centre and Multicultural Education Co-ordinating Committees. In South Australia, priority was given to the development of language curriculum materials at the primary level'. Over the last decade SA has worked with other states in projects such as Australian Language Levels (ALL) and NAFLaSSL to develop curriculum frameworks and syllabuses in a wide range of languages at both primary and secondary levels.
Ethnic Schools. Ethnic Schools have existed in the past without the support of the government by providing other services which other schools either could not or did not wish to provide. However, due to scarce teacher and financial resources, Ethnic Schools were seen as insufficiently professional. However, developments over the last two decades, have seen some funding being made available to ethnic schools both from the Federal and State governments. In addition, much has been done to train and register ethnic school teachers and up grade the quality of the language teaching provided and the status of the teachers. At present ethnic schools in South Australia are officially recognised by the government as 'complementary providers' of education along with the State Department of Education, the Catholic and other independent school sectors.

According to the Task Force Report (1984:25), 'Currently in South Australia there are 84 school authorities affiliated with the Ethnic schools Association, providing after hours tuition in 33 community languages to a total of 7644 students'. Two years later Lo Bianco (1987:233) reported that 'South Australian Ethnic Schools offered programs in 34 languages in 1986 taught by 88 community groups or schools. A total of 5 436 primary aged children and 1 883 secondary aged children were enrolled in these programs'.

The Issue of Class Size and Lesson Time. Optional class sizes for language teaching is considered as an area where more research needs to be done, specially in the learning of community languages. It is hard to tell how large is too large, since it often depends on the experience of the teachers.
Class sizes in the other parts of the world are not by any means to be compared with the size of the classes in this country. In large classes it is hard to give sufficient time to learners to practice their skills according to their pace. The Report of the Languages Policy Working Party proposes that 'the desirable maximum class size in a language is 20' (1983:117).

In a language class room situation turn taking and turn distribution affect the allocation of time to each student. Inversely, when the allocated class time is short, the turn distribution will be severely affected. Therefore, it is essential to allocate appropriate time for the teaching of languages. In addition language learning is best when there is frequent opportunity for practice and reinforcement. For these reasons, there has been an attempt to insist as a minimum of ninety minutes per week for language teaching in State Primary schools.

The current language contact situation in South Australia can be labelled as 'healthy' in so far as the National Policy and the State Policy on Languages support the teaching of community languages.
Chapter 4  Community Language Education: The School Exemplars

Explanatory Note

4.1 Vietnamese

4.1.1 Vietnamese as a Mother Tongue Development (MTD):
The Case of “School A”

4.1.2 Vietnamese as a Language Other Than English (LOTE):
The Case of “School B”

4.2 Italian

4.2.1 Italian as a Language Other Than English (LOTE):
The Case of School C

4.2.2 Italian and English in a Bilingual Program:
The Case of “School D”

4.3 Arabic

4.3.1 Arabic in a Christian Community: The Case of
“School E”

4.3.2 Arabic in a Muslim Community: The Case of
“School F”

4.4 Amharic Language Teaching: The Case of “School G”
Explanatory Note. In this chapter the effectiveness of the languages education policy is examined by studying some of the ways minority languages have been taught in the school systems in South Australia over the years 1992-1995. The policy recommended in the Smolicz Report (1984:13) was 'English plus one other language should be part of the education for all students during preschool and R-12 schooling.' To achieve this goal a variety of programs have been implemented for NESB students. In this chapter several of these school programs are examined with respect to four languages.

The schools and classes investigated have been carefully chosen to illustrate a range of languages, school systems and language learning approaches. This investigation enables readers to see how four languages Vietnamese, Italian, Arabic and Amharic are taught in various primary schools in South Australia.

Two State schools (which are labelled as School A and School B) are selected to observe how Vietnamese is taught as Mother Tongue Development (MTD) and as a second language, or LOTE, respectively. 'School A' is selected since it is one of the few schools that teach Vietnamese as a MTD. 'School B' teaches Vietnamese as a second language. Since the same person teaches Vietnamese in both these schools, The substantial effect which a teacher can bring about in class rooms is minimised.

'School C' and 'School D' are Catholic schools. School C is the only school in South Australia which currently teaches Italian in a bilingual program while School D is teaching Italian as a second language. These
schools provide different programs for which the researcher can gain helpful data for comparison and contrast.

The other schools selected teach on week ends only and are known as ethnic schools because they are organised by minority ethnic communities. These schools teach Arabic; they are ‘School E’ and ‘School F’. School E teaches Lebanese-Arabic and also teaches the Koran (which is the holy book of the Muslims) after the language lessons. School F, on the other hand, teaches Egyptian-Arabic and the Holy Bible after the language class. This pair of schools again provides a similarity and a contrast to investigate.

The last school has been chosen to serve as a bridge between the school-based investigation and the community-based study. This is the Amharic ethnic school which is run by the Ethiopian Community in South Australia which is labelled as School G (see Table 3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>School Type</th>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Migration years</th>
<th>Most Participants</th>
<th>Degree of Success</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>State</td>
<td>MTD</td>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>1970's</td>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>very high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>State</td>
<td>LOTE</td>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>1970's</td>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>very high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>LOTE</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>1950's</td>
<td>non-Italian</td>
<td>low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>Bilingual</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>1960's-1970's</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>Ethnic</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>1960's-1970's</td>
<td>Arabs</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Ethnic</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>1990's</td>
<td>Arabs</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Ethnic</td>
<td>Amharic</td>
<td>1990's</td>
<td>Ethiopians</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 'degree of success' is assessed by the observer. The discussion that follows represents a summary and interpretation of the various data gathered through observation, interview and talks with students at the seven schools. Appendix 4 contains an outline of the format used for the school observation and samples of observation data.
4.1 Vietnamese

4.1.1 Vietnamese as a Mother Tongue Development (MTD) - School A

There are two sources of funding for the teaching of Languages Other Than English (LOTE) in South Australia. One is a special Mother Tongue Development (MTD) fund which is limited to only 20 full time teachers' salaries, but covers more teachers on a practical basis. The other is a "mainstream source", of funding which provides classes for all students, whatever their own home language background. 'School A' had MTD classes only for Vietnamese and LOTE classes for Khmer and Chinese.

By 1991 the population of the Vietnamese community increased to 110,637 from 65,856 in 1986 (see Table 10, Smolicz 1994: 44). The population of the Vietnamese community in South Australia has also increased to a considerable extent in the past decade. According to the 1986 census, '... the Vietnamese born are by far are the largest [of the Asian-born groups] and are now the eighth largest overseas born group in South Australia' (Hugo 1986:14).

'School A' is situated in the Western suburbs of Adelaide and has been in existence since 1953. In 1992, when the research was conducted, the school had 330 students. A little more than half of them were composed of NESB students ie 170 of which 20 were Aborigines. The rest (160) were English Speaking Background (ESB) students. The school had 34 teachers.

In reference to the school staff composition, the principal confirms that they have quite a few bilingual staff at the school including herself. She says, 'Almost half, I think, have a second language. The principal has a second language. Our coordinator in ESL has a second language. Other ESL teachers have a second language plus all our language teachers have
a second language. Probably this is a unique school in that we have a number of people here that speak a second language.'

From reception to year 7 (ie five year olds to twelve year olds), there were 110 students of Vietnamese background, while about 50 pupils represented Khmer and Chinese origin. The school population is extremely diverse representing eleven different groups, the largest being the Indo-Chinese community. Out of the 110 Vietnamese background students, who learn Vietnamese as a Mother Tongue Development (MTD), a class room of 13 students has been selected for the study. The researcher talked with six students (the top three and the bottom three students based on the teacher's ranking). The students' ages range from 8 to 11.

The school has contacts with the parents and the local Indo-Chinese community through what they call the 'Indo-Chinese Sub-council'. They have a program of home visits for all newly arrived NESB families. All information that goes out to parents is translated into Vietnamese, Khmer and Chinese.

The school does not have any organised studies of ethnic and cultural diversity. However, they have just started teaching the culture of the Najenjerri speakers who are indigenous Australians.

*School Language Policy.* Referring to the language policy of the school, the principal of the school states,

*Our language policy is that every child will learn a second language. It is either English or Chinese, because our Khmer and Vietnamese students are doing Khmer and Vietnamese languages, and English is their second language. Our English speaking students do Chinese. Our policy is that every child in the school will do a second language. It [the policy] is positive. The teaching of a second*
language is not only to have the intellectual aspect of learning a second language but is also one way to combat racism.

Her comments are consistent with Cummins' (1988:149) conceptualisation of the change process in anti-racist education. He argues 'it is necessary to specify: first, the levels or constituencies involved in effecting change; second, the specific areas where change is required; and third, the practical strategies for implementing change'. In practice, at a primary school level, it is a significant strategy to introduce second languages as a means of combating racism.

Language Policy Evaluation by staff. It is important to underline that all the staff members interviewed strongly support the teaching of a second language in the school. The personal evaluation of the school language policy by the ESL Coordinator was also very positive. She says,

We have two types of LOTE. We have mother tongue maintenance ie Vietnamese and Cambodian students will have mother tongue maintenance (MTD) and they also have ESL support. Chinese students go to Chinese classes and study Mandarin Chinese. They go to Chinese classes with all the other students. These are LOTE classes which include not only Chinese language background students, but also those from other ethnic groups, as well as ESB students. I think it is important. I really believe that LOTE should be taught in schools. I really support the notion of mother tongue maintenance program.

This view has also been supported by the principal who believes that the teaching of languages is a positive step forward that must be exercised in schools. The ESL Coordinator believes that the LOTE program is working extremely well and is a sign of something positive in the school. The
teaching of LOTE has brought a change in attitudes among all parties involved in the teaching process.

Even though, there was no well established research conducted about students' achievements, the ESL Coordinator feels positive about the outcomes. She says,

*I guess, [there is a pressure for] achievement, depending on what background and depending on how long they have been here; predominantly what we find is all parents want children to succeed. [In the case of] some of our Chinese children, because they have been in refugee camps, there's a big emphasis ... and support from their parents and their families for them to succeed. The support predominantly our children are getting comes from within the school and within the home as well. What we certainly strive for [is for] all our children to succeed: both our NESB and ESB students. What we tend to find is our NESB students, once they pick up English, actually do better than some of our ESB students.*

This remark highlights the good progress of NESB students which is mainly due to family support and push for academic excellence. Students have also acknowledged the support which they obtain from their parents. The implication of parental support in reference to high and low ranking students is further discussed later in this chapter.

*Language Activation and Evaluation.* In this particular classroom, six students who were considered, by their teacher, as the "Highest" three and the "Lowest" three achievers were taken into account. Almost always, all the students, who are interviewed, prefer to activate Vietnamese language with their parents. This is in line with the Linguistic Human Rights Paradigm (see Section 2.4) which supports speakers of any language group in interacting in their preferred language and having the opportunity to learn it. A few of these respondents use Chinese, Khmer and English at home, in addition to Vietnamese. All use Vietnamese and
English to communicate with friends; while one of them uses Khmer, as well.

The Khmer background student, being from the "Lowest" three, has "negative" attitudes towards Vietnamese; the "Highest" two students have personal positive attitudes while the other three students have general positive attitude towards Vietnamese. As far as the evaluation of the Vietnamese language goes, the "Lowest" three find it "hard" while the "Highest" three consider it as "nice". Ethnolinguistic Vitality Paradigm (see Section 2.4) indicates that the more positive an ethno-linguistic group's relative position is on cultural capital, the more chance there is of preserving the ethnic language as cited here in the teaching of Vietnamese. Although the number of respondents is very small, it is interesting to note their evaluation of Vietnamese as against English.

Two students one "Highest" and one "Lowest" consider English more important than Vietnamese; while three students, two "Highest" and one "Lowest" achievers consider Vietnamese more important than English. One other "Lowest" achiever has not commented on this issue. Here again it is important to underline the effect of one's own language evaluation in the learning process. Those who give relatively more importance to Vietnamese are observed being successful in learning the language Those who identify themselves with their language and consider it as a central part of their distinguishing characteristics exhibit the core value paradigm (see Section 2.4). Those students who identify themselves with Vietnamese have the motivation to read supplementary materials to their own satisfaction as in case of one "Highest" achiever. Furthermore, they
activate Vietnamese at home with their parents and friends. Most less active students give more importance to English rather than Vietnamese.

Parental Support. Two of the students, one from the “Highest” and one “Lowest” group get “much” support, while three of them, two “Highest” and one from the “Lowest”, get “little” support from their parents. The only one who gets “no” support from parents is a “Lowest” achiever. Parental support can thus be seen to encourage students to keep on learning their home language. On the other hand, what this assessment indicates is that the total absence of family support has a negative effect on the learning of Vietnamese.

The students use their language extensively, when they meet relatives, friends and parents. Some of the children, also use Vietnamese among themselves at schools. Parents expect their children to understand, speak, read and write in Vietnamese. All students have the desire to continue learning Vietnamese.

Teaching Problems. Throughout his nine years of teaching experience, the teacher, who speaks Vietnamese and English, has found two basic problems in teaching Vietnamese, both in School ‘A’ and ‘B’. Firstly, the shortage of time and lack of resource materials, such as text books and reading materials, undermine the value of teaching a language. However, the teacher believes that three 45 minute lessons in place of the existing two lessons a week would be sufficient to teach Vietnamese. Secondly, the transience and lack of permanency of the teacher within the particular schools to which he travels could adversely affect the status of the language teachers, also undermining the value of language lessons. His comments highlight the need for policy makers to re-examine policies in
relation to the students and teachers of community languages in line with the essence of the "Empowering Minority Students Paradigm".

In reference to the qualification of the community language teachers, the principal says, 'Our second language teachers, have been trained overseas. They had quite a bit of in service. All three of them have been trained overseas. Some of them, actually, have had formal training'.

This indicates the importance of providing courses which enable overseas trained teachers to relate their previous education or experience to the Australian context, as well as continuous in service training to meet the demanding classroom situation.

*Follow up evaluation.* As has been discussed in the beginning of this chapter, no one is sure whether this program is successful or not. No research has been done to prove or disprove the effectiveness of the program. The principal says,

*We do not know how successful the MTD program has been. It is one of the things that I would like either the Government or the education department to review. I think we do not have enough statistical data. I have a big doubt about it and I am quite concerned about it. I have been saying [this] publicly. I am hoping that someone will take up the challenge and actually review it.*

The school established this program which has been funded for a number of years. Nothing is known about what differences it has made for the NESB children concerned. The staff who are part of the program would really like to know the results of this program. Therefore, the question of evaluating the teaching of community languages and ESL program is a significant question that has to be addressed by the Department of
Education or any other concerned group. There seems to be a strong desire to find out about the outcome of the programs.

The teachers' evaluation of LOTE program. When the teachers are asked what they feel about learning a language other than English (LOTE), all of them respond positively.

One of the teachers recounts,

My personal belief is that if you can pass on another language to your children, I feel that it (knowing another language) is extremely beneficial. The children learn so easily. All you have to do is talk to them when they are little. I feel very sad for people who don't pass [their language] on. My own children -they also go to ethnic school. They also go to school to read and write as well. At home I try to keep speaking in Ukrainian. That is pretty good considering my husband is not Ukrainian. I have managed to actually keep the language going even though we both are not Ukrainian. My husband actually is Polish, He is actually one who came from a family that didn't value that. His parents didn't encourage him to speak Polish and he feels disadvantaged by that. He is actually very happy for our children to learn Ukrainian [which is a similar language to Polish].

Such positive attitudes which emanate from the teacher's personal experience encourage children to learn LOTE. Based on the same ground, it is strongly asserted by the ESL Coordinator that the teaching of the mother tongue does not hinder the children from learning any other language. She says,

I believe students maintain their first language because it certainly helps their second language. What we tend to find is students who have really grasped their first language will find it very easy to learn their second language because they have also got all of those basic learning skills in learning their first language to transfer into their second language. So therefore I see it definitely as a help not a hindrance.
A similar view is suggested by the ESL teacher who believes that knowing another language is actually helpful. Some children, such as Vietnamese, who are not literate in their home language and English are not advised to do Chinese in order to keep up their mother tongue maintenance. The researcher's judgement, based on observation and interview is that the teaching of Vietnamese as a Mother Tongue Maintenance (MTD) is highly successful in School A due to both school and home support for the teaching of Vietnamese. The students prefer to activate Vietnamese which is consistent with the Human Rights Paradigm and consider it as cultural capital. The support from parents indicates its cultural vitality in line with the Ethno-linguistic Vitality Paradigm.
4.1.2 Vietnamese as a LOTE - School B

“School B” is located in the Western suburbs of Adelaide. When this research took place in 1993, there were 216 students in the school. Vietnamese is strongly represented in this school with 71 students, while there are 39 Khmer speakers and 27 Chinese speakers. According to the principal the remaining 79 students mainly speak English but some speak another European or Asian language as well.

The school has a 0.7 salary for Vietnamese, 0.7 for German, 0.2 for Chinese and .2 for Khmer. All of these are taught as second languages rather than as MTD programs as in the case of School A. This means not only that they are funded on a different basis but also that in theory the subject is available to students of all ethnic backgrounds (See 4.1.1).

In the case of the community languages, the school has access to translators that the Education Department pays for. When the school conducts interviews with parents about children’s assessment and reporting on children; the school calls in interpreters in the relevant languages. The school has regular newsletters to communicate with parents and translates them into major languages in the community. To do this, there are people allocated to the school for certain number of hours per week who are called Bilingual School Assistants or more recently Bilingual School Service Officers (BSSOs) and do the translations and interpreting work for the school. They work approximately for 3-4 hours per week. BSSOs are employed casually for some but not for all languages, depending on the number of students and sometimes on the availability of BSSOs.
In terms of the LOTE languages some have well developed curriculum and resources while others are still in the developmental and experimental stage. Chinese has just started to be documented, Vietnamese has recently been completed. The teachers have to rely on a lot of home-made and self-developed resources.

School Language Policy. In 1993, the school introduced Vietnamese as a LOTE in the curriculum. It was a breakthrough at that stage. This is as a result of the State Department of Education policy that by 1995 every primary school in the state has to give its students access to the learning of a LOTE. Currently the minimum requirement is two 45 minute periods. When they teach LOTE, the whole school is involved in this particular study, except for a small group of children who are very confident in their own language but still struggling in their English. The teachers try not to disadvantage children that are in ESL classes by properly arranging the time table so that ESL withdrawal classes coincide with the LOTE periods and do not clash with other classes.

German was chosen as the first LOTE for the school a number of years ago. A German teacher was available and the local high school introduced German in order to ensure continuity. That was how the language came to be established. Not all parents and teaching staff were satisfied with this choice, however, according to the principal,

Last year we questioned [having German as the sole language] because many parents gave us a very strong indication that they would like Vietnamese taught in the school. We hope to make it available to all students. This year it is available from Reception to year 5 and next year we hope to extend that to Year 6, running parallel with German as now. After next year we will ask the question again and may be we will get an indication from parents [whether it] should be changed or another language should be introduced as well.
The school would ask the whole parent community what they would prefer, then the school would work on that. Students are only able to choose one of the languages at this stage. The school allows parents to nominate which language they wish their children to study. The need to keep the numbers in the two language classes balanced is an internal problem in this particular school. School B can certainly be said to be fulfilling the requirements of the LOTE policy for its students.

*School Language Policy Evaluation by Staff*. The policy is under constant review. There is some concern even among the teachers about why German language is being included. Moreover, the nearest high school no longer teaches German. The ESL teacher states,

We could well perhaps be looking for Khmer, Chinese or other Asian languages. What is wrong with Malaysian or Indonesian? Let us look a bit more sensibly. It is for an historic reason; that German is taught. I think it will change.

In order to satisfy the wide range of languages represented by students and parents it is suggested that “clustering” of schools teaching different languages might possibly maximise the chance of learning a second language. One of the teachers suggests that ‘You could do clusters. It wouldn’t work for primary. It could work for high school - perhaps one afternoon a week to the local high school for their mother tongue’.

This suggestion may be worth trying. If every school cannot afford to teach a range of LOTE languages, they can organise joint programs with neighbouring schools for the benefit of a wide range of children. School clustering might be hard as suggested for primary school children, but it is worth practising for high school children.
Language Activation and Evaluation. All the student respondents at School B use Vietnamese with their parents while two of them use some English as well. Thirteen of the 15 respondents speak Vietnamese fluently, while two of them understand and speak little. Thirteen of them read and write in Vietnamese. Thirteen of them say they like to speak in Vietnamese and show a willingness to continue studying Vietnamese. Only two of them do not like Vietnamese. These two also have greater difficulty in mastering the language and have Anglo-Australian fathers. All of them have parental support. Students' choice and parent support for the teaching of minority languages demonstrate the significance of Human Rights Paradigm and Ethnolinguistic Vitality Paradigm (See Section 2.4).

Students with positive attitudes and evaluation of their own mother tongue have been the 'highest' achievers in this classroom. On the contrary, those who have negative attitudes to and evaluation of their mother tongue are the 'least' achievers in language skills. The "highest" students work hard and do extra reading like Vietnamese newspapers and books by themselves. Although they are 10 or 11 years of age, some of them already believe that it is an advantage to do Vietnamese in order to get to university. They are motivated by this possible outcome and show commitment to their work. The latent function of the teaching of LOTE in School B is that the students, in their own words, feel happy, help each other and become friendly with each other.

Parental Support. One of the ESL teachers believes that NESB students get more parental support than ESB students. She says,

In general, I find that the NESB students tend to get more support from the home. For example, we actually run a homework centre here to support homework and 90% of the children who go there are our Indo-Chinese students. They have
to have parental permission to go and so actually [it is] the parents who are encouraging them to go and get support.

A similar trend is observed among those Vietnamese parents who give support for their children in the Mother Tongue Development (MTD) program in School A as well as ESL. Debela (1994;72) in a similar research argues that 'the activation of Vietnamese at home, personal positive attitudes to Vietnamese language, parental support and positive evaluation of Vietnamese at school are important factors that help students to learn Vietnamese better'.

*Research Evaluation*. As far as evaluating the LOTE program in this school is concerned, the principal says, 'I try to respond to what the community wants. We are not telling the community what they should have. We are just letting them know the constraints we work under. We will not survey this year, but we will certainly survey next year, what languages they want us teach their children'.

Parents and the children choose the LOTE languages to be taught in this school, unless the child is still insecure in English. If they feel that it would be silly to go to German or Vietnamese class, they come to the principal and express their views that they do not want to be confused by a third language, while their English needs further development.

The teaching of Vietnamese as a LOTE for the Vietnamese background students is successful in this school in similar manner to those learning Vietnamese as MTD in School A since the learners themselves consider the language 'very important' and even part of themselves. The association of Vietnamese with their identity reveals the importance of core values paradigm in the teaching of minority language education.
More over, the students think that ultimately it will prove beneficial and fruitful so that they are determined to continue studying Vietnamese. On this basis and other data gathered, the researcher considers this program at school B to have a high degree of success.
4.2 Italian

4.2.1 Italian As a Language Other Than English (LOTE)-School C

'School C' is a Catholic school with 197 students, of which 125 are girls and 72 are boys. The school has quite a diverse group of students including those of Vietnamese, Cambodian, Polish, Greek, Russian and Italian origin. The largest group is the Vietnamese students who have the opportunity to learn and maintain their language and culture at school.

The school teaches two LOTE languages: Vietnamese and Italian. They had Polish a couple of years ago, but they have not been able to continue teaching it since they do not have sufficient number of children.

The school has 20 teachers, 3 male and 17 female, including part-time teachers. There are three (a male and two female) Italian language teachers. The school has seven main classrooms and two ESL classes. So, there are nine groups in the school. The principal has 10 years of experience as a principal and in 1993, it was her 4th year of experience in School C. The male and one of the female Italian teachers who have four and three years of teaching experience, respectively are from Italian background. The former has college education in the teaching of Italian.

There are parent-teacher interviews and a parents' assembly in the school once a year but the school also has a forum every month for parents and friends to meet other people. Due to the time element, the principal says that she can not do much parent-visiting.
In the Italian class observed, 18 of the students are girls while the other 14 are boys. Most of the respondents (17) were born abroad while the other 15 were born in Australia. The ethnic composition of the class is interesting. There are 10 Anglo-Australians, 10 Vietnamese, 2 Polish, 1 Rumanian, 1 Phillipino, 1 Greek, 1 Chinese, 1 Thai, 2 Portuguese and 2 Italian. Out of a total of 32 students, some 18 respondents speak, read and write a few words of Italian, four respondents read and write as much as they want while the remaining understand and speak a little Italian.

School Language Policy. The principles laid down by the South Australian Commission for Catholic Schools are in favour of the teaching of LOTE to all students.

The Catholic schools' policy is based on the following principles:

To ensure that each student attending a Catholic School be given the opportunity to study a Language other than English.
To allocate adequate finances and resources for the establishment and consolidation of LOTE programs.
To ensure that appropriate planning, allocation of time and resources will be devoted to LOTE programs.
To provide for teacher in service and support at the school and system level.
To encourage continuing liaison between Catholic Schools with other systems and overseas Governments.

The teaching of LOTE is thus strongly highlighted in the policy principles of Catholic schools. In line with these principles, School C offers Vietnamese and Italian as LOTE languages for the children.
The school language policy at the practical level is little different from LOTE teaching in other schools.

The school principal says, 'We have a similar process as the state schools but the trend is towards a communicative approach. It is not so much getting kids to write a range of stories about whatever in Italian. The emphasis is on communicating with each other in conversation type'.

The researcher has observed that the students are expected to do a little bit of reading, a little bit of listening and a little bit of talking in every lesson. No serious written language skills are taught, such as diary writing, or reporting or grammar. The students practise communication activities and do some conversation in the Italian language. They do exercises such as matching on a worksheet, colours, cross words, jumbled words and spelling. One of the male Italian language teachers says,

*My function is to try and get the children to be able to speak a minimal amount of the target language - the Italian language. Just enough for them to be able to say, if you ask them, a few questions with another person who is learning Italian or another person who knows how to speak Italian. You know, even if it is a short conversation, that is a target in this school.*

The school has very few students whose native language is Italian. So most of those studying the language are non-Italian speakers- basically children who are given the opportunity of speaking a third language (for those who speak a LOTE at home) or a second language as a LOTE
(if their home language is English). The school is basically giving them the opportunity to learn a LOTE and enable them to pursue it subsequently in high school.

Policy Implementation. In planning LOTE programs it is recommended by The South Australian Commission for Catholic Schools that the following factors be considered:

- The language background of the school population.
- Parental preferences and expectations
- The availability of specialist LOTE teachers.
- The continuity of the program within the school and across schools.
- The provision of adequate resources beyond the school context.

The major reason why Italian is chosen as a LOTE language in this school is on the ground that there are specialist LOTE teachers in the school. This is based on one of the factors which is considered for language selection.

Language Policy Evaluation. All children in the school, apart from reception, have the opportunity to learn another language. They do either Vietnamese or Italian. One of the Italian teachers says,

It is basically a very dynamic thing—we always have to change to suit the children. When I first arrived there was Vietnamese and Polish and Italian and I think that Vietnamese and Polish were mainly decided on because there was a high amount of Polish and Vietnamese children in the school. I think Italian has mainly been chosen because of the fact that the resources are within the school. Because we do have teachers who are capable of teaching Italian. So probably that is not the only reason but the reason why Italian is growing so big is one, because we
dropped Polish, and the other one is because we have the resources to do so.

Here the teacher has confirmed that it is availability of teachers which was the key factor in determining what language should be taught in this school, even though there are not many Italian speaking students. One of the female Italian teachers says,

Personally I would say it is going really quite well. The kids really like it. Normally students and parents have reported positive results being achieved by students in year 8 for example. Doing Italian obviously helps them [although] to what extent, I really cannot tell you. It is sad that Vietnamese is more of a language only for Vietnamese children. It is Vietnamese first and foremost. Vietnamese is generally a maintenance program and [the students are] simply helped to develop or to maintain an understanding of their culture and practices and customs.

The teachers have positive remarks about the teaching of Italian as a LOTE despite the fact that they are not sure to what extent it helps the students.

The students' perception of the reasons why they study Italian include 'the chance of using it if they visit Italy', 'communicate with Italian speaking parents', 'to get more knowledge by speaking more languages', 'to get a better high school' and 'for fun'.

If the students were given a chance to study another language they (21 respondents) would go for another language. This clearly indicates that most of the respondents are less interested in learning Italian or the
other option offered by the school- Vietnamese. They would have gone for another language if they had had the opportunity to do so. In the absence of any symbolic attachment to Italian among the students and the lack of support from parents make Italian difficult to be consumable. One of the alternative or preferred languages selected by some ten of the respondents is French. The reason mentioned by one of the respondents, is that 'French sounds romantic'.

All the respondents say that they like speaking English, while 15 of them say that they also like to speak Italian. Only three of them have brothers or sisters that speak Italian. Most students (28) realise that speaking two languages is better than one, although four think otherwise. Some 19 of them say both Italian and English are important, while 11 of them say English only and the remaining think Italian is better. As far as continuing the learning of Italian is concerned, 14 say 'yes', 3 say 'no' while the remaining are 'undecided'.

*Resources*. There are four Italian teachers and four ESL teachers and a Vietnamese teacher in the teaching of ESL and LOTE in the school. Some seven teachers speak a language other than English. Between all the ESL staff there is quite a bit of multicultural experience. Some of the teachers have the responsibility of teaching other subjects. One of the Italian teachers, for example, is a classroom teacher and teaches maths, English, music and other subjects. This is an advantage for the school in terms of human resources.

Material resources for the teaching of Italian include a series called 'Pana Fantasia' which has two kits and also another program called
'Avanti' which is actually more of a junior secondary type of a program. The Vietnamese students in contrast do not have any text. The teacher has the onus of preparing every teaching material which is necessary in the classroom. The students learn what the teachers prepare for them. In relation to financial resources, the principal says,

Next year we have to pay the Vietnamese teacher totally; up until two years ago we got funds through the program. But the first year we have to pay a quarter of the salary, last year a half, this year three quarters and next year it will be the full that is 0.3 of our staffing. It is not, you know, that we have to make commitment to teaching languages other than English but again it goes back to money.

The most common problem of LOTE programs is lack of funding. When schools pay more and more for staffing LOTE teachers, they fail to satisfy the needs of other language groups since they can't afford to pay teachers for all the language groups. Therefore, it is very crucial to determine which language to teach on what grounds. Should it be on a needs basis or just rely on the availability specialist teachers that schools choose what language to teach? The question to what extent this language is offered in surrounding high schools is also important in determining which language to teach at a primary level. One other difficulty of teaching a LOTE like Italian, for non-Italian speaking background students, who are often not very good even in their English, is that they may find it hard to learn two languages at the same time.

The size of the class is another problem which should be taken into account. A large class for language teaching has its own problems. In
cases of collective behaviour, students who are caught up in a crowded classroom may be swept along into doing things that are alien to their character. Waller (1932:173) adds:

*Disorder itself is epidemic in a school. Teachers know well that certain behaviour, once started, tends to go through the entire school, passing from one room to another with little loss of time.*

In reference to large class student interaction, Debela (1988:14) says that 'participants make prudent decisions using their rational judgement. The amount of return that they obtain determines the degree of involvement in the collective affair'. In light of this, students in a large class situation may be playing a mental game that enables them to get a satisfactory return from their peer group, be it peer leadership, attention, popularity or any other outcome.

In some of the LOTE classes there are over 30 students in a class. Students of NESB who have little knowledge of English might find it hard to keep up with the rest of the group. Under such circumstances students feel too insecure to speak out in front of such a big group. One of the male teachers says that what they normally do is to push the students but not threaten them. Some of the teachers put ethnic students in groups of three or four to let them practise their Italian. Some students use this opportunity properly, others just sit together or "muck around".

Interestingly enough, some LOTE teachers prefer to teach large class children. The problem is if these children were taught in small groups,
as one of teachers points out, he would only have one lesson a week with them. He says, 'I prefer having two lessons a week. Even though [the class] is bigger its still easier for me than having separate groups'.

The teacher feels that a fifty minute lesson a week for these upper primary children is not enough to prepare them to feel good about Italian. Such teachers feel more comfortable with a larger class size than with less class time.

**Major Successes and Failures of Teaching Italian.** All LOTE teachers say that they think that their teaching of Italian needs a lot of improvement. They can't quantify it since it is very hard to measure success and failure. They would like to see how their students compare with children in year eight from other schools. As far failures are concerned, one of the teachers says, 'At first I was trying to do too many difficult things which we can't cope with so that was a lot of failure that I can think of. Sometimes I am not sure where I am going'. Therefore, lack of clear direction of the teaching of Italian language and the inability to measure and evaluate the performances of the students are the major problems which these Italian teachers would like to improve.

The researcher's evaluation, based on observation and interview is that the teaching of Italian in School C, as a LOTE for non-native speakers who have either no interest in Italian or rather prefer to learn another language has low degree of success.
4.2.2 Italian in a Bilingual Program - School D

According to Rado (1974:25), 'bilingual education implies the use of two languages as the medium of instruction'. Claydon et al (1977:125) state that 'whether the term bilingual education should be applied to teaching of English and/or the mother tongue is debatable. There is a type of education, though, where the term is clearly applicable, namely where instruction is offered in both languages'. There could be different types of bilingual education. One form of bilingual education is concerned with the study of ethnic languages themselves as part of a permanent state of cultural pluralism in Australia.

'School D' is a Catholic school. There are 357 boys and 404 girls in the school. Basically the school does not keep any record of student backgrounds but about 60% of them are estimated to be of Italian origin. The school also has some Polish, Indian and Asian background students. There are 36 female teachers (of which 21 are Anglo-Australian, 11 Italian, 3 Indian and 1 Polish) and 7 male teachers (of which 2 are Anglo-Australian, 3 Italian, 1 Indian and 1 NewZealander). Thirteen of the teachers speak a language other than English.

Although Italian is the only language other than English taught, School D provides a special bilingual program for some of its students. At the same time, it gives LOTE classes in Italian for the rest of the students. In the bilingual program, Italian serves as a means of instruction in that some subjects are taught in Italian. The school runs three bilingual classes. At the moment it has students from year one, two and three in this program. Each year level has different subjects taught in Italian. For example, the year three students do health and
science in Italian language and Italian is taught as a language, as well. Year three has four one-hour lessons in Italian a week. Years one and two receive a little bit more time for the language. Most of the children are of Italian background.

The school also has a LOTE program which is quite separate. The LOTE is just simply teaching Italian as a subject, rather than teaching a different subject in Italian. That program is for everyone else in the school. Three half-hour lessons a week are allocated for each class. The time is divided so that each class has one lesson of half an hour involving the whole class. In the other two half hours slots, the class is divided in halves so that the teachers can work with smaller groups of children. This approach means that students can practise spoken Italian more often, because the whole class is quite large, around 30, which means that it is very difficult to give individual students sufficient attention. So they divide the class into two where the 15 or so children can do more talking in Italian.

The Bilingual Program was set up under a Commonwealth grant and is now funded by Catholic Education Office (CEO). Lack of funding has forced the school to limit the number of bilingual teaching hours to four for year 3 students. They might even have to stop the program in future years due to lack of money. The school has a parent and friends committee which looks at fund raising and social activities. If sufficient funds can be raised through their activities the program will be continued.

Because the school is so big and has 27 classes, they have four Italian teachers for the bilingual and LOTE programs. These teachers are not full time, but rather are employed 0.4, 0.6 and 0.8 of the time. Most of
the Italian parents speak a regional dialect, where as the school teaches standard Italian. On this ground, standard Italian is the obvious language to teach, as the one that is common to all the Italian groups.

*Resources.* The school has computers, but they have not bought any computer program in languages yet. The school has a lot of kits, books and personal resources in Italian. For the Bilingual Program the teachers use their normal resources, as in science, for example, but they prepare worksheets for the students to do in Italian. They have to make most of the teaching materials themselves. The school has such resources as 'Pane Fantasia', 'Arcabalino', 'Avanti' and 'Systema Elle'. Experts in bilingualism assert that 'if the bilingual is given access to learning materials in both his languages, he can use his total linguistic knowledge to process these materials' (Rado 1974:25). She argues that bilingual texts help students to improve their conceptual development in their ethnic language while at the same time have a greater proficiency in their English.

The year 3 classroom teacher in the bilingual program has a diploma of teaching. She studied Italian at Adelaide. Through the Italian Government she was given a scholarship to go and study in Italy. She did a one year and nine month course in a University in Italy.

*School Language Policy.* The bilingual program has only been going for few years, while the LOTE has been going for over 20 years in School D. The policy is to teach Italian from reception to year 7. Initially there are five reception classes. Then these students are divided into 4 year 1 classes, one of which is a bilingual classroom. The teacher says, 'Everyone wants their child to be in the bilingual program. Unfortunately, we only have one class that means only one class [of
students] is chosen to go ahead'.

There is no opposition to the bilingual program but instead many requests from parents that their children should be included in the program. Parents are very much aware of the benefits of bilingualism and many would like their children to be part of this Bilingual Program. But it is not certain that they will have the chance, with the current problem of funding. Strong parental support for languages teaching is one of the important factors in the Ethno-linguistic paradigm.

*School Language Policy Evaluation*. The school principal, the teachers and parents, as well as the children, are very happy about the Bilingual Program. Most of the children can really write well although they may be a bit shy with their speaking. But if they really want to, they can also speak. They use the language for various purposes. The year 3 female teacher interviewed says,

*I try to do maths.[in Italian] Just to get a bit of practice, in colour, counting of numbers. Some of the other things as well. In the meanwhile they learn Italian. They learn to think and translate into Italian quickly in their head. It is helping them with their logic and reason as well as the language achievement.*

The teacher thinks that the students are really good at Italian by the time they reach the end of year three. Learning Italian helps in developing learning skills generally. One of the successes, according to the teacher, is that the students can actually see the use of learning Italian. They have a mass, for example, in Italian where Italian priests
are invited to come to church and have tea later. They use Italian with Italian parishioners and they have concerts where parents come along and the students entertain the parents, using the Italian language. The children know that it is a success because they can actually use it. In line with the Ethno-linguistic vitality paradigm analysis this approach gives the students important Italian language contact which supports the maintenance of the language.

The teacher herself feels that it is very important to learn one's mother tongue in order not to lose one's identity. She says,

_We are not really Australian, we are not really Italian. Where do we fit in? What are we? Half and half. I think we have to be able to speak English of course, because we live in Australia. But we have to be able to keep up own cultural identity. If you know exactly what you are, then I think you have got confidence to do [things] and go on with life, take part in life instead of just sitting out._

This depicts the way language teaching is important for ethnic identification. It seems that peoples' identity is closely tied with their ability to speak their language which in a way underlines the basis of the Core Values Paradigm for maintenance of minority languages. It is worth noting that many of the students in school D were third generation Italians, the grandchildren of the original immigrants. Yet they still thought of themselves as Italians, and wanted to learn their ethnic language.

The researcher's judgement, based on observation of the class rooms and interviews conducted, is that Italian in School D has a high degree of success.
4.3 Arabic

4.3.1 Arabic Among a Christian Community - School E

Ethnic schools are very good examples of the will of minority ethnic communities in organising themselves to teach their languages to the younger generation. Znaniecki (1968: 273) says, 'If a social group contains an institution of ruling authority, it must contain a collective will'.

The Egyptian Coptic Community, use their Orthodox religion as an identifying core value that is symbolic of the group. These religious values are closely linked to the two languages which they also regard as central to the culture of their group. This is shown by the fact that it is the Egyptian Coptic Church which runs an ethnic school teaching both Arabic and Coptic. The lessons take one hour each and are held twice a month. There are five age groups. The language teaching program, for teaching Arabic and Coptic, is held on the first Saturday of the month. The Sunday class time is arranged for teaching religion.

The school has 38 girls and 31 boys. Almost all of their parents come from Egypt. They are first generation in Australia. Some also come from intermarriage mixed families and a couple of them from Sudan. The school has 12 teachers, of which 10 are females and 2 are males. All of the teachers are from Egypt.

*Resources.* The Egyptian Coptic churches in Australia use many types of teaching materials. Here in South Australia they use various other materials, based on overseas resources which are photocopied and made available for students.
Most of the curriculum that they follow is not readily available in the bookstores and they find it very hard to buy what they would like; so they have either to import it or get it from other states. They try their best by bringing what is available and by photocopying it to teachers and students. The schools' financial resources are limited.

The school has access to a video camera which is used to record almost every school function. The teachers use drama extensively for teaching language. This technique is helping the children because it involves play acting, that can help the students use their brain creatively. The students enjoy these teaching methods.

The school relies very heavily on the use of the program that has been adopted by all the Egyptian ethnic schools in Australia. In addition, they also get a fair bit of the Arabic curriculum that is used by the state schools in Egypt.

The principal has had about 10 years experience overseas and another 10 years in Australia, including seven years as a principal in ethnic schools. Although she is not a teacher by profession, she says,

*I am a qualified medical doctor but I am interested in teaching my ethnic languages which are mainly Arabic and Coptic. This is why I take this career on as well, in addition to my medical profession. I would like very much these young ones here in Australia, who come from my background to be as qualified as I am and be of the same standard of knowledge and achievement. I think it is never too hard or too late and this is why we work with perseverance.*
The school uses the parishioners of the church as human resources. For instance, if they have a special topic in which they know someone in the community has special skills or knowledge, such as something to do with history or culture or some good recipes, they ask these experts in the community to give a talk to the students. The teachers use a lot of posters that they get from Egypt, as visual aids for the particular lesson; and also make use of all sorts of handicrafts. They use these things in their language teaching in order to help the children have a good grounding in their culture. One of the teachers says, 'It gives me a tremendous sort of feeling when I hear the language being spoken and cherished by the students and parents'.

All the teachers are volunteers. Some are qualified and holders of B.A degree from Egypt. They are equipped for this kind of job. Others (the majority of them) have at least 5 or 6 years of training or have been in an actual teaching job. They also participate in the ethnic school programs that are offered to them by the Ethnic Schools Association and many of the teachers have already completed some of the professional development courses they offer.

Despite the financial difficulties, the Church makes great efforts to keep the school going. The principal of the school says,

*We see [the Australian] Government's support as very valuable in our situation. I would hate to see us lose our language. At this stage it is necessary to stand on our feet against all the odds.*

The children have been on the Arabic radio program, produced by the Egyptian community, several times presenting their ethnic songs, and giving festival greetings to the community at feast times. This program is usually for one hour with a variety of items including family interviews.
When there are special occasions or feasts these take up the whole radio time.

*Language Mastery.* Out of ten interviewed students nine of them speak English and Arabic with their parents, grandparents, brothers and sisters. It is noted that six out of ten respondents are fluent in Arabic while the remaining four can only understand and speak little. Three out of ten can read and write a few words while another three read and write as much as they want. Seven out of ten like to speak Arabic, while all of them like speaking in English. All feel that speaking two languages is better than one, while seven out of ten are determined to continue learning Arabic. Eight out of ten get language support from their parents. Four out of ten feel that English is easier to understand, while the remaining six feel that English and Arabic are both easy to understand, speak and write. Six out of ten respondents have a very good understanding and speaking skills in Arabic. The remaining four have less understanding and speaking skills since they are English Speaking Background students from exogamous marriages or broken families. Their major problems are reading and writing Arabic. The researcher's judgement is that School E has a high degree of success in the teaching of their mother tongue.

The major reasons which the students give for learning Arabic include 'Because it is my language' and 'I can understand my parents'. Here it is obvious that their reasons indicate that language is one of the markers by which they identify themselves. Arabic is considered as an identity marker, a fact which helps to ensure its survival among Arabic speakers. The existence of this phenomenon confirms the application of core values and ethno-specific paradigms. Their Coptic Religion is the other important identity marker for these group of respondents. But clearly their religious and linguistic values are very closely related.
4.3.2 Arabic in a Muslim Community - School F

'School F' is an ethnic school teaching Arabic which has been in existence since 1986. It is run by the mainly Lebanese Muslim community. It has two classes of Arabic students. It does not have its own premises but uses one of the State schools that is found in its suburb. The school has 62 students, 30 of which are boys and 32 are girls. There are also 8 adults of English background from the Anglo-Australian community who are learning Arabic. The school has four teachers: two male and two female.

*School Language Policy.* The emphasis in this school is on teaching Arabic and Quran to the students. There is a close link between their language and religion. Their religion is taught in Arabic, and conversely, their language is developed while they are learning religion and reading Quran.

The teachers are originally from Lebanon. One of the teachers says, *We teach Arabic only. We teach on Saturdays and Sundays. We teach spoken Arabic and grammar and also Islamic teachings. We don't teach other subjects. We are concerned about our language.*

*School Policy Evaluation.* Last year there were 130 students at the school. Because many Arabic schools have opened in different suburbs, the number of students is decreasing in this particular school. The general tendency of the Arabic speaking Muslims in regard to language teaching is that they prefer to open ethnic schools in their own suburbs.
Teachers and the principal are delighted by the fruit of their labour since their children are now able to communicate in Arabic with less difficulty.

**Resources.** The school gets funding from the State and Commonwealth Governments. They use the funds for buying some Arabic Text books, reading books and exercise books for the students. The school supplies the students with everything. The students pay nothing. Even the adults do not have to pay. The teachers give their service voluntarily and only receive petrol money. The principal was a high school teacher in Lebanon. Two of the teachers were trained in Lebanon. The principal's wife was a primary school teacher in Lebanon. The school maintains very good contacts with the parents of the children. They work like a family. There is sense of togetherness in the school, perhaps because the families are very close to each other. The students sometimes visit each other's homes; so do their parents.

**Learners' Problems.** The learners' major problems are reading and writing. However, the students seem to be determined to achieve their objective of learning Arabic. One of the students confirms, 'It [may] take me sometime but I'll never give up'. When a language plays a symbolic role in a community, its chance of survival is reasonably high. Arabic among Muslim Lebanese speakers represents a living example of how a small community group can maintain their language.

**Language and Home.** The respondents have a number of reasons why they learn Arabic. Most learn Arabic because they feel that it is their language. Future communication with their Arabic speaking relatives is the basic reason for learning the language. One of the students says,
'[I learn it] Because I enjoy it and because when I return to Lebanon I can understand what the people are saying'.

This reflects the general opinion of most students. They are highly motivated students who wish to go back to Lebanon and use Arabic for communication.

Most children use Arabic with their parents, grandfathers and mothers. Very few of them use English with their parents. However, most of them use Arabic and English with their siblings. Most of the respondents speak fluent Arabic while a few of them understand and speak a little. Most of them read and write a few words, while a few of them read and write as much as they want.

The students' attitude towards Arabic is highly positive. When a language is considered as a cultural capital among its speakers, it will be positively valued. Under such circumstance, Arabic as a community language could be maintained by the Arabic linguistic group in Australia in a way that exhibits the application of core values and ethno-linguistic vitality paradigms. All of them like to speak in Arabic. All their brothers and sisters like speaking in Arabic. Moreover, they think that it is better to speak two languages than one. All of them are also willing to continue learning Arabic. Most of the students feel that Arabic is more important than English while some of them think that both are equally important. Some of the students also get practical language learning support from their parents. According to the researcher's evaluation School F has a high degree of success in teaching Arabic.
4.4 The Ethiopian Community School of Ethiopian Languages - School G

The Ethiopian Community School of Ethiopian Languages. The school has five teachers and one principal. The teaching staff are not professional teachers. The principal and three of the other teachers are tertiary students while the other teacher has completed her year 12 education in Ethiopia. The school runs a two hour session every Saturday in St Brigid's Primary school in a central place for the children. There are two class rooms with 15 students all together. The school is run by a school committee. The school is formed under the umbrella of the ECASA.

Resources. The first classroom is for eight children who are all below 5 years. The classroom has 15 small chairs and five tables. The students mostly speak in Arabic, since most of them were born in Sudan. The teacher uses predominantly Amharic and sometimes English and Arabic as media of instruction. The teacher uses an Amharic teaching text to teach them Amharic words while the students sit around and listen to what he says.

The second classroom is for the 8-10 age group who are seven in number. Students sit around three big tables. There are four girls and two boys in the classroom. The class has a chalkboard, some ten chairs and three tables. This class uses mostly or almost always Amharic.
Most of the resources, both financial and human, come from parents and the ECASA. There have been raffles sold during the Ethiopian celebrations to raise funds for the school.

The school has several charts of the Amharic Alphabet. The school has a plan to install computers for teaching Amharic. Teachers and students have access to all teaching materials available in the school.

Language Skills. Most of these children were born and bred outside Ethiopia so they have been in a context where Amharic is one of the dominant languages.

<table>
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<th>Figure 2 Teacher's Assessment of Amharic Language Skills</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Rating</strong></td>
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<td>S1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>S2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>S3.</td>
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<td>S4.</td>
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<td>S5.</td>
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The teacher's evaluation of students' level of understanding indicates that (see Appendix 15) one student (S5) gets two points, another student (S3) gets three, a third student gets (S4) five while two other students (S1 & S2) get four in a 5 point scale. What this shows is that their level of understanding Amharic is above average. The one who gets two is the youngest of all students.

Most of them have little problem of understanding, speaking and reading Amharic. Their major problem is writing in Amharic which
needs more time to get used to all the Amharic Alphabet and vowel markers. Since Amharic is a phonetic and syllabic language it needs sometime to remember all the consonants and vowel markers, when they are put together to bring about the change.

S4 is top of the class. There are two factors that attribute to her good results. The first is that she speaks predominantly Amharic and sometimes Arabic with her mother. Her mother specially prefers to use Amharic with her daughter although she is fluent in Arabic as well. More over, S4 had prior schooling in Amharic before she came to Australia.

There are distinct characteristics of good bilingual learners which include positive strategies such as willingness to practise and certain personalities traits (Rado 1991).

S1 is considered as the most active student in the class, despite her lower grade than S4. S1 doesn't use Amharic very often. She speaks Arabic and Tigregna fluently. Her English is also very good. She has no prior education either in Amharic or in any other languages. She was illiterate when she came here in 1993. Now she is bi-literate in Amharic and English.

S3 is a good student who takes time to grasp concepts but is determined to stabilise the new concepts in her mind. She had no prior education but now she is a bi-literate in Amharic and English.

S5 is promoted from the lower grade just a week ago. He is diligent and mostly tends to ask and wants approval for all he does. He has shown
tremendous improvement both in the regular classes and in the Saturday classes. He speaks Tigregna and Arabic fluently.

S2 has a good command of spoken Amharic since she uses Amharic with her mother in most cases. S2's written work is not as good as her spoken Amharic. She has no one to help her at home. This has been worrying her and her mother for quite a long time. She is fluent in Arabic.

*School Language Policy.* At the present the school is teaching Amharic. In the long term they are planning to teach other Ethiopian languages, such as Tigregna and Oromiffa, when the need arises. As the name of the school indicates, the intention in setting up the school was to teach Ethiopian languages. However, at the present there is no need to teach these languages and the human resources is to teach them are also limited.

*School language policy evaluation.* Most of the teachers are very happy about the opening of Ethiopian Languages School. One of them says,

> We have the responsibility to teach our children the Amharic alphabet. It is important to retain our language and pass it to these young children who do not have access to the language. I am determined to teach them Amharic since I believe that it is my responsibility to do so.

There are a few of the Amharic speaking parents, for whom the teaching of the home language has some similarity with that of Polish.
"The Polish language had lost its role as a means of communication and, for the majority of the second generation, its role and value is a sentimental and symbolic one" (Pakulski 1985:177).

Most parents, however, strongly support the use of Amharic at home and the role of the school in reinforcing Amharic language students. Nevertheless, the full significance of this still recently established school, can easily be seen when it is understood in the context of the whole Ethiopian community in South Australia. The researcher's evaluation, based on his close observation of the school, is that the school has medium degree of success in achieving its goal. The researcher believes that in a short time the school would be able to show better results overall.

The next part of the thesis is a community based study which focuses on Ethiopian- Australians and their adaptation to the new society.
PART III

THE COMMUNITY BASED STUDY:
THE CASE OF ETHIOPIAN-AUSTRA LIANS
Chapter 5: An Investigation of Ethiopians in South Australia

5.1 Brief History of Ethiopians in Australia: Migration and Settlement
   5.1.1 Ethiopians in Their Old Homeland
   5.1.2 The New Home: Ethiopian Migration into Australia
   5.1.3 Ethiopians' Settlement as a Community
      • The Ethiopian Community Association in South Australia (ECASA)

5.2 Integration with the Australian Society
   • Integration: Cultural and Behavioural
   • Adjustment to Australian Conditions
   • Government Assistance and Its Impact
   • New Values and Discarded Values

5.3 Classifying Respondents into Value Clusters
5.1 Brief History of Ethiopians Migration and Settlement in Australia

5.1.1 Ethiopians in Their Old Homeland

Ethiopia is a very ancient plural society which currently includes more than eighty ethnic groups. Historians warn of the difficulties of trying to assess the basic characteristics of what has been described by Doresse (1959:222) as 'a museum of peoples, languages, and faiths.' He explains it is necessary to take an account 'not only of the peoples of Tigre and Amhara who inherited the Aksumite traditions (Plate 1), but of their kinsmen the Gurage also, and the Agaw, and more particularly the Galla, breeders of huge-horned cattle, with their curious social structure based on age-groups, which still survives among certain tribes. One would need to describe the Moslems of the great-walled city of Harar, the Somali groups, the Adali, and those of Danakil...'

Ethiopia and Ethiopians are formerly known as Abyssinia and Abyssinians. For many Westerners Ethiopia was little known since it was less accessible than most parts of Africa. In his analysis of the origin of the word 'Ethiopia' Ullendorf (1960:2) states that Ethiopia probably means 'burnt faces' which referred to peoples with dark skins, from the country south of Egypt, Nubia, to India (See also Map 2). He has also quoted Herodotus who said that 'Ethiopians inhabit the country immediately above Elephanine, and one half of the island; the other half is inhabited by Egyptians;...finally you will arrive at a large city called Meroe: this city is said to be the capital of all Ethiopia' (Ullendorf 1960:2). Ethiopia is one of the few countries in Africa which has its name in old history or religious books, such as the Bible and Koran.
Plate 1 One of the Giant Stelae in Aksum
Map 2: Roman Africa and Ethiopia
Having seen Christian pilgrims who were believed to have come from an inaccessible mountainous region [beyond the ocean] which no man had crossed, to visit the Holy Land; Europeans were convinced that Abyssinians should belong to the fabled land of Prester John. No one is certain about the kingdom of Prester John since it had no geographical boundaries; but it was strongly believed that 'There was no King on Earth like Prester John. His robes were washed in fire and woven by the salamander. He lived in an enchanted palace in the mountains, and in front of it a magic mirror stood where he could see his vast dominions at a glance...Besides, this mighty potentate was perfect, therefore humble. So he was known as Presbyter or Prester John' (Sanceau 1943:7). This was a typical view of Ethiopia by Europeans in the 14th century. On this account of such stories European travellers have attempted to visit Ethiopia at different times in history.

Ethiopia was and still is associated with the romantic Biblical names of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Furthermore, many Western writers, having visited the hidden Ethiopian empire, gave the impression that [the name] Ethiopia was synonymous with beauty, danger, solitude and mystery. Ethiopians became isolated from the rest of the World right after the rise of Islam. It has often been said that the Ethiopians slept for nearly a thousand years, encircled by the enemies of their religion, forgetful of the World by whom they were forgotten. Apparently, it looks that when Ethiopia finally awoke it was too late to reach the rest of the World.
However, travellers who visited Ethiopia found the Ethiopians of the twelfth century much more awake than they are now, since according to Murphy (1968:3), 'they produced their finest paintings and illuminated manuscripts, many extraordinarily beautiful rock churches, of which Lalibela's eleven examples (Plate 2) are the most famous, and the best of what little original literature they possess'.

This sort of isolation is not a strange phenomenon for old nations for a number of reasons. The Chinese, for instance, had contempt for the rest of the world, because in their eyes all foreigners who did not live in the Chinese way were perceived as barbarians. As a result, they tried to keep these 'barbarians' at a distance. Lee (1988:24) says 'The Great Wall of China was apt symbolism for their desire to contain their civilisation within their boundary and within themselves'. Unlike the self-imposed isolation of the Chinese, the isolation of Ethiopia was caused by external forces that blocked its way to the outside world.

Ethiopia has long history of independence. At the time of the European scramble for Africa, Italy tried to get control of Ethiopia through the Treaty of Ucciali in 1896. Ethiopia was attacked by Italy, after the Ethiopian emperor Menelik denounced the Treaty of Ucciali, when he discovered Italy's abuse of Article 17. In the Italian version in Article 17, according to Baer (1967:2), 'Menelik agreed (consente) to conduct all his foreign affairs through the medium of the Italian Government'. This meant that Ethiopia became a protectorate of Italy. However, the Amharic version of Article 17 did not have this meaning. This caused a conflict between Ethiopia and Italy, which sparked the battle at Adwa.
The eleven beautiful rock-hewn churches are named after King Lalibela who was the notable representative of the Zagwe Dynasty in the 12th century.
Adwa represented the greatest military defeat incurred by any European nation at the hands of Africans in the nineteenth century.

During the time of Emperor Haile Selassie I (1930-74), Ethiopia was judged worthy of recognition and was formally admitted as a full member of the League of Nations by the unanimous vote of the assembly on 28 September 1923. The stability of her imperial government gave its people a better chance to live permanently in their country. In those days, not many people had any thought of living outside their own country.

Although Ethiopians are similar to the rest of sub-Saharan Africans in many ways, there are some important differences. Clapham (1989:220) says 'Where Ethiopia differs sharply from other sub-Saharan African states is in the indigenous origin of the state itself, and the control of its incorporation into the global economy and the structure of international alliances...' Writers who have studied Ethiopians, or lived among them, know that their society is different from that of other African countries. 'In fact it has been said with some justice that Abyssinia is in Africa, but not of it. Also, it may be said that it exists in the present but belongs rather to the past. Ever since Westerners began to travel there they have felt transported, on their journeys, to other times and places- usually to biblical lands and to Old Testament times' (Buxton 1970:31-32). Nevertheless, there is some opposition to the view that Ethiopia doesn't belong to Africa since this sort of analysis by European scholars can be seen as intended to divide Africa's unity.
In the history of modern Ethiopia, the culture of the Amharic speakers has remained the base for the survival of the Ethiopian nation. The Amharic language and Orthodox Tewahido Christianity can be regarded as the core values of the Amhara nation. Amharic was and still is the language of the Ethiopian Government. Clapham (1989:24) comments on 'the plasticity of Amhara - and hence, in a sense, of Ethiopian- identity, in order to correct the very misleading impression that can be given by associating it with the descent-based ethnic identities characteristic of many other African societies. Being Amhara is much more a matter of how one behaves than of who one's parents were ...' This signifies loyalty to the Amhara culture positively affects one's position in the mainstream Ethiopian identity. Ethnic background is not important for getting a Government position, provided that individuals respect the overarching values of the Ethiopian nation which include recognising the unity of Ethiopia.

According to the 1984 population and housing census of Ethiopia (1991:43) 'Oromo is the largest ethnic group comprising twenty nine (29.1) percent of the total population of the country. The second position was occupied by Amara ethnic group accounting for twenty eight (28.3) percent. This was followed by Tigrawai (9.7), Gurage (4.4%), Somali (3.8%), Sidama (3.0%), and Welaita (2.6%). No other ethnic group accounted for more than a million persons or 2.5% of the total population.' [The internal ethnic differentiation in this study of the respondents is shown on Appendix 16.]
5.1.2 The New Home: Ethiopians Migration into South Australia

It was during the time of the imperial government that the first two respondents in this investigation (R11,R21) left Ethiopia for Italy and England, respectively. Both of them were the children of mixed marriages. One of them was born of Ethiopian mother and Italian father, while the other was born of Ethiopian mother and a Greek father. They immigrated twenty five and eighteen years ago, respectively. These migrants arrived in Australia via Europe. The former one migrated via Italy as skilled migrant, while the second one met his former wife in London and decided to live with her here in Adelaide. They could both be categorised as 'isolated migrants'.

When the revolution took place in Ethiopia in 1974, it marked the end of the imperial government and the emergence of a dictatorial military government. This Marxist oriented regime massacred tens of thousands of people and arrested thousands who were labelled as 'counter revolutionaries'. This resulted in the exodus of hundreds of thousands of Ethiopians, first to neighbouring countries, and then gradually, to various parts of the Western World including Australia. A large number of refugees fled to USA, Canada and Western Europe while a small number of refugees migrated to Australia, fleeing the 'red terror' waged by the military government against its opponents.

The continuous civil war and the 1984-85 famine, which added to the 'red terror' campaign, increased the number of refugees fleeing the country. The existing ethnic conflicts, that are perpetuated by the
present Tigrean-led government, otherwise known as the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE), has created a new wave of refugees fleeing from Ethiopia. As one anonymous writer pointed out in *New Africa*, September issue (1992:6), 'The TPLF [Tigrean Peoples Liberation Front], which is disguised by the name of EPRDF [Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front], is a narrow nationalist organisation which used to preach for an independent republic of Tigre until recently. And its leaders are dyed-in-wool Stalinists trying to disguise their real features with paint of fake democracy. Their crazy idea of ethnic federalism is causing trouble by sparking ethnic conflict'. Moreover, *Africa Confidential* (1992:6) reports in its 17th July edition reports that 'The failure of the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) to implement its regionalisation policy (Map 3) effectively has provoked growing disenchantment with the government in Addis Abeba'.

As ethnic politics take hold in Ethiopia, to the disadvantage of all ethnic groups but the Tigreans, more and more people are leaving their birthplaces for big cities, neighbouring countries and other parts of the world lest they be arrested, tortured or killed. Many people fear that the dawn of democracy is being darkened by ethnic divisions which are intentionally perpetuated by the Transitional Government of Ethiopia which is dominated by the EPRDF.
Map 3: Ethiopia's Regionalisation on Ethnic Lines
Reports indicate that Ethiopia is more insecure now than during the war. It is argued that at the time of the civil war, there was at least a front line, so that you knew exactly where you were in terms of safe areas. Biles states on Africa Report, in the March-April 1993 issue, that 'Sporadic insecurity has been reported recently in many areas of the West, South and East of Ethiopia. Furthermore, the government has consistently failed to admit that a serious problem exists'.

The instability of Ethiopia has had an impact on the number of refugees coming into Australia over the past four years, at least in South Australia. The majority of refugees that have arrived in Australia left their country due to these factors. As reported by Batrouney (1991:16), for the World Refugee survey of 1989, there were 16,500, Ethiopian refugees (Eritreans included) in Djibouti, 700, in Egypt, 2800 in Kenya and 663,200 in Sudan.
5.1.3 Ethiopians' Settlement as a Community: The Ethiopian Community Association in South Australia (ECASA)

One of the institutions that helps newly arrived Ethiopians to acclimatise to the Australian environment is ECASA. It organises meetings for its members and by so doing facilitates an environment for celebrating cultural events such as: the Ethiopian New Year, Ethiopian Christmas, Easter and other holidays.

For Amharic speaking Ethiopians of different ethnic background (See also Appendix 16) the main place where they meet in relatively large numbers is at the general meetings of ECASA.

ECASA was founded on the 16th of February 1992. It currently has 114 members. The members are 61 (54%) male and 53 (46%) female (see Appendix 17). The recent exodus from Ethiopia has brought about a remarkable difference in the sex composition of the refugees. During the Marxist era, it was the politically oriented young, educated male Ethiopians who were fleeing from their country. But now due to the escalating ethnic conflicts in different parts of the country people from both sex and all age groups are fleeing from Ethiopia. The pattern is similar to that of the earliest migrants from East Africa into Victoria which has been described as 'an immigrant group which is predominantly young (in the age group of 20-24 years) and which lacks
the security afforded by contact with parents, uncles, aunts, grandparents' (Batrouney 1991:27).

The 114 members of ECASA can possibly be divided into two broad age categories see (Appendix 18) namely adults and children. In the mid 80s there was an overwhelming preponderance of males migrating to Australia, while in the 90s the gender imbalance has been redressed. This is attributed not only to a more gender-balanced intake but also to an increase in the number of female refugees who fled the ethnic conflict.

Some 80 of them (70%) are adults while 34 of them (30%) are children. It is observed that of the total 80 adults, 49 of them (61%) are married (Appendix 19). Out of 31 unmarried Ethiopians, 8 are widowed single mothers, who migrated under the 'Women at Risk' program, 1 is divorced, while 22 have never been married.

It is also possible to classify the members into three groups in terms of their migration (Appendix 20). The first and the largest group consists of refugees who fled from their country lest they face arrest, death or conscription into the national military service during the military regime in the late 70's and 80's. The recent migrants who fled from their country in the 90's in fear of ethnic harassment and ethnic cleansing by the present Tigrean Government are also included as part of the first group. This group of refugees left in big waves. As a result this group could be categorised as 'wave migrants' (The concept of 'wave' and 'chain' migrants has been discussed by Price 1963, Harris 1976). It is important to remember that during the 80's some 771
Ethiopian refugees have migrated into Australia. As a result 'from 1983-84 Ethiopia usually ranked just below the four major African source countries identified' (Batrouney 1991:20) in terms of immigrant entry to Australia.

The second group consists of those migrants who came to join their spouses and relatives. Due to family closeness and also on spouse basis a few migrants have arrived to reunite with their families. These group could be labelled as 'chain migrants'. The third group embodies those migrants who arrived to Australia in isolation. Those who belong to this group came to Australia in order to marry Australian citizens. This group of migrants are labelled as 'isolated migrants'. What is remarkable about isolated migrants is that they came very much earlier than the 'wave' and 'chain' migrants and formed families with Anglo-Australians.

Most of the ECASA members (70%) are 'wave migrants' who left their country on political grounds. Some of them (15%) are 'chain migrants' who migrated to join their spouses who had arrived earlier as 'wave migrants', while another 15% are 'isolated migrants'.

According to its constitution (1992), the objects of ECASA shall be:
• To create healthy and brotherly relationship, both formally and informally, with Australians and help the community members to assimilate without difficulty;
• To accept and organise Ethiopians irrespective of religion, race, gender and political interests;
• To introduce the culture, dresses, music, food, literature and history of Ethiopia to Australians;
• To assist new Ethiopian arrivals by rendering any service required from ECASA such as: settlement assistance and community support;
To render social and/or monetary assistance to members of ECASA in case of emergency such as: accidents, health problems, funerals etc
- To sponsor and support other Ethiopian refugees to come to Australia
- To participate in the formation and operation of The Ethiopian Federation in Australia.

ECASA has five committees that undertake different functions. They are: Finance, Social, Sports, Women's and the Amharic Language School Committee. The membership fee for families is fifteen dollars while single individuals pay ten dollars quarterly. ECASA's financial position is not strong enough to support its members in many ways. As a result, the association cannot meet the needs of its members. The social committee's main function is to help new migrants get acquainted with the new environment. Despite financial difficulties ECASA tries to offer some transport facilities to new migrants. The sports' committee runs the sole African soccer team in Adelaide. This can be considered as the second meeting place for sport loving fans. The members socialise with other members and have the opportunity to maintain their physical fitness by organising weekly soccer matches with other soccer teams. The Women's Committee helps the women organise themselves to solve problems which are pertinent to women and other activities which can be done in cooperation with other members. This committee creates a suitable environment for the Ethiopian women to get together for the purpose of meeting the special needs of the women.

The total student population of ECASA is sixty one. The student population can be classified into seven groups ( Appendix 21). The first
group consists of language students. There are 14 language students (23%) most of whom are widowed migrants who came under 'Women at Risk' program. Like many other non-English speaking migrants, but in contrast to a number of Ethiopians, most of the women in this group have little or no knowledge of English. The Ethiopian Community Association in South Australia is assisting and giving more attention to this group (women who came under "Women at Risk" program) to redress the imbalance. The second group has 20 primary level students (33%). The third group consists of 7 secondary level students (11%). The fourth group has 9 TAFE college students (15%). The fifth group consists of 6 undergraduate university students (10%). The sixth group has 3 postgraduate students (5%) who are doing a masters degree. The seventh group consists of 2 postgraduate students (3%) who are doing a PhD. (See Appendix 1 for Concrete Profiles of the Respondents.)

In its aims and functions ECASA is a comparable to organisations established by other minority ethnic communities in Australia. Commenting on the Hispanic immigrant community (largely refugees from South America), Grassby (1983:80) states that 'Since Hispanic community life has begun from a small base only in the last twenty years, resources for providing professional welfare services have been slim. Nevertheless, Spanish speaking community organisations are playing a vital role in providing emotional, moral, social and in many cases material support for compatriots'.
5.2 Integration With the Australian Society

The discussion that follows draws for the first time, the data collected as oral memoirs from members of the South Australian Ethiopian community. Where appropriate, their comments have been quoted, sometimes extensively, and referral is made to the code number of the respondents.

Integration: cultural and behavioural. In the course of the research interviews, respondents are asked to explain what they feel about integration with Australian society in cultural and behavioural terms. Of the total respondents (50), as many as 46 feel that they are partly integrated into Australian society in cultural and behavioural terms. The other four respondents feel that they are completely integrated into the Australian society. Many respondents believe that they are only partly integrated because they still need to learn the English language properly, which they consider as the key to communication with the rest of the Australian community. English bridges the gap that exists between some of the non-literate respondents and the community, at large. Some respondents also believe that their English is not good enough to understand how Australian society works. They entertain high hopes of mastering the English language as soon as possible in order to hasten the speed of integration with mainstream society. Learning English in schools and participating in different cultural celebrations, both Ethiopian and mainstream Australian, are signs of integrating with the society. In this sense their perception of
integration is culturally additive, rather than subtractive, since they wish to maintain their Ethiopian language and culture including the traditional celebrations, as well as acquiring those of the mainstream society.

There is a perception among few of the respondents that some of the government and welfare affairs who are assigned to help the new migrants treat their clients inadequately. This sort of negative experience adversely affects the integration process. One of the respondents (R13) further notes that,

_Those people who are actually assigned to work with us consider as monkeys, while they consider themselves as monkey trainers. It is difficult to integrate completely with those kind of people who still need to change their backward mentality about us (dark skinned people)._ 

This respondent has explained his negative experience in the strongest possible terms. Social workers and other employees who deal with refugees need to understand the cultural background of their clients in order to create a healthy relationship with them. Otherwise, they damage their own reputation and inhibit new migrants from seeking help lest they will be mistreated. New migrants who come to Australia from a different society with different culture, need particular attention until they get used to the local environment.

A similar view has been expressed by another female respondent who is critical about some individuals working for an organisation which is
formed for helping refugees coming into this country. She (R26) comments,

*I think everything is OK except the racist attack which I experienced in the previous place that I stayed. I did not get any help from ... The social workers concerned considered it as a joke. They did not take it seriously. They were even arguing that it could not have happened since it was only me. But now another lady from Africa is facing the same problem. Her flat window is broken and some of her things are stolen.'

Migrants who have come from culturally different countries from that of Australia need to be understood. There ought to be a trust between the clients and the employees of organisations working with refugees. It would also very helpful to employ a permanent social-worker for these small ethnic groups that migrated from Africa since the social worker would come to understand their culture very well. The researcher's recent personal observation, however, indicates that the social workers seem to have understood the cultural differences and are generally getting on well with the Ethiopian community. Their participation in Ethiopian celebrations such as the Ethiopian New Year and the fact that the community is given an office with its facilities by the Refugee Association can be cited as a clear evidence of mutual understanding and cooperation between the two sides.

Other respondents feel that there is no distinctively Australian culture. Some of the respondents perceive Australia as a nation composed of
people from English, Greek, Italian and many other ethnic groups from all over the world. One of them (R42) says,

*I can't say that I feel completely integrated here in Australia. I like to go out and talk with people. When I get Greek origin girls, who were born and bred here, and ask them where they are from, despite the fact that they have never been to Greece, they tell you that they are Greeks. That is why I can't tell you that I know all the Australian culture, since Australians have different cultures.*

On the other hand, those younger respondents who were born and bred here, from mixed marriage families feel that they are part of the Australian culture. One of these respondents (R12) says, 'I spent all my life here. I feel like one of them (the Anglo-Celtic Australians) and not different from anybody at all.'

Such comments make clear that by virtue of being born and bred in Australia, these children feel that they are integrated into the mainstream society, with no problems in identifying themselves and behaving in the same way as other Australians.

*Adjustment to Australian Conditions.* In the eyes of the respondents, adjustment to Australian conditions varies from person to person (see Table 4). When asked about their own adjustment, their answers ranged from easy to very difficult. Those who were born and bred here in Australia and those who have a good command of the English language (36 respondents) found the integration process as 'easy' or fairly easy. On the other hand, those who have little knowledge of
English (14 respondents) generally found the integration process as 'difficult' or 'very difficult'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experience of Integration</th>
<th>No of Respondents</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Easy</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly Easy</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Difficult</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
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</table>

One of the respondents who found it easy to adjust himself into the general community believes that the economic situation is not very different from the place he used to be. There is nothing special about Australia. He (R1) says,

There is not much difference between my previous and present life. It was not such a big deal. Many Australians think that there is a tremendous difference between Ethiopia and Australia. I do not blame them because they have not been to Ethiopia. Some of them think that we came from the jungle. They consider us as though we only saw technology once we came here. I still believe that there are lots of ways in which we are better off than them.

The above respondent's view of adjustment is in terms of the technological differences that exist between this country and Ethiopia. He believes that there is little difference as far as the hi-tech products are concerned. He seems to be concerned about the negative evaluation of his country by Australians.
Nevertheless, for other respondents adjustment is much more difficult. There are a number of factors why adjustment is not easy in Australia. One of the respondents (R11) recounts,

> Here, people are trying to form some sort of friendship based on their ethnic, religious or linguistic background. The only place where you mix is at the work place. When you are off work, there is a tendency to look for someone with the same ethnic or linguistic background. Actually it is still quite obvious to see that happening now. Italians prefer to go with Italians, Greeks go with Greeks, Polish go with Polish and so on. The common language is English. But everybody tries to keep his or her language and culture as well. Because that is what makes them feel happier.

To make new friends in such a new environment has been hard for many of the respondents. Several of them have experienced cultural shock due to such cultural differences. Diverse Australian cultural experiences sometimes have unexpected effects on the newcomers. One of the respondents (R35) says,

> We Ethiopians are shy people. We do not mix quite easily. We do many things privately. We do not do it in public. Naturally we Ethiopians are suspicious. We suspect everything. As we can learn from our history our ancestors were exactly like us. Australians are saying things openly; in our case we try to be reserved. We keep things for ourselves. As I am an Ethiopian I have similar characteristic traits which I learnt
from my parents, relatives and other Ethiopians. Before we take an action, say mixing with others, we first try to wait and see. As a result everything takes time. Children are eager to know everything and as a result, mix easily. But that is not the case with older ones.

Children have very little problem in mixing up with the society. Adults, however, find it hard to understand and be understood by the English speaking Australians. Those respondents who are less educated, encounter more difficulties in adjusting to the new environment. They find the Australian social environment highly perplexing. One of the respondents (R23) explains,

When I first came here, I was totally confused. Everything was new to me. I disliked everything at the beginning. But now I am getting used to it. I know some of the places. I can go anywhere on my own. Language was the basic problem. I had difficulty in communicating in English.

Many of the things, both material and cultural, look different for those older migrants who have no educational background and have no city life experience. As in the above case, the adjustment process takes a little longer than for the respondents' own children. These sorts of immigrants require continuous assistance until they are able to have full control of their lives. Failure to adjust in the new home would mean frustration and remaining in despair.

Government Assistance and its Impact. A large number of respondents (46) are grateful for the Australian Government's humanitarian assistance. In comparison with other countries that gave safe havens
for Ethiopians, Australia is considered as one of the best. There are other reasons, however, why the respondents decided to come to Australia. One of the respondents (R14) says that,

*When I was in Kenya as a refugee, I was seeing off friends and relatives going to Canada and America. Those people who went to those countries had to earn their living after being helped for a few months by the respective Governments. Here in Australia they give us shelter, and unemployment benefits to live on. Above all we are advantaged to do further studies. The only problem to a person like myself, who has worked for a long time having long work experience, is to sit idle. This is my concern.*

It has been repeatedly mentioned by all the respondents that the Government has done several things for them. They are indebted to the Australian Government for bringing them and their family here from refugee camps and letting them lead a relatively decent life. It can be said that life in refugee campus is deplorable. There is a great difference between life in Africa and in Australia. As refugees they get literally nothing. Their day to day life is miserable. But here the Australian Government is assisting them in getting the basic necessities including free schooling for their children which was a day dream for them while they were in Sudan.

Four respondents, while being thankful for what the Australian Government has done for them, think that some more things could have been done. They acknowledge that the Government has helped
them learn the English language and given them basic necessities such as: shelter and food. Apart from that, all the rest depends on the individual's own performance. One of the respondents believes that the Australian Government could do quite a lot more in helping new migrants adjust to the new environment less painfully. He (R14) comments,

*The Australian Government should also consider the fact that it is not enough to bring people here from all parts of the world and give them money to survive, but that it is also necessary to assist these refugees in adjusting themselves. Since refugees come from different cultures they might face cultural shock, unless they are treated well when they come here. They could be bewildered. Emphasis should be given to help the people adjust to the new home. This is particularly evident with refugees who came under 'women at risk' program.. There is no organisation to help them adjust with the environment.*

It has been reiterated that the main problem of adjustment is seen among the migrants who come under "Women at Risk Program". These women speak hardly any English. A few of them are not literate in their own language, either. As a result, there is a huge problem which needs to be addressed by the Australian Government in order to alleviate the problem of these helpless mothers who have the responsibility of looking after their children in what appears to them as a completely alien country. There are special needs of the 'at risk' group of refugees that ought to be fulfilled.
New Values vis-a-vis Discarded Values. It could be said that the Anglo-Australian values encountered by the Ethiopian immigrants have been perceived and classified into three categories namely adopted, modified and rejected values.

Adopted Values. The Amharic speaking Ethiopians feel that there are a number of new values that should be adopted as helpful in their lives in Australia. Respondents have never been physically exposed to free and democratic values before coming to Australia. The democratic rights and freedom of speech that exist in Australia are considered as the leading values that they want to use in this country. These values could be termed as 'supra-ethnic values to which all the ethnic groups within the pluralist state subscribe and which distinguishes them from members of other groups and states' (Smolicz 1979:2). These fundamental supra-ethnic values are shared by all the mainstream and ethnic groups and are considered as overarching values.

Respect for every kind of job should be learnt as a valuable concept to be adopted by the next generation. Back home many Ethiopians give high status for professional work and lower status for blue collar jobs. Those who are professional are unwilling to do manual work for their community or even for their own purposes, not only because there exists cheap labour, but also due to the disrespect shown to manual job. This does not encourage people to do manual work since the society undermines its significance. But here most of them not only appreciate blue collar jobs but also are prepared to take them in order to earn their living.
A number of the respondents admire and treasure aspects of the behaviour and culture of the Australian society in regard to time. Some believe that things like a time concept ie proper use of time, at the work place and in a day to day life is a new value which they appreciate and attempt to put into practice. This has been perceived as a positive concept which has to be internalised by the new migrants.

The other important Anglo-Australians value is showing good manners and considerations for people. It is so common to see people saying "Sorry" if they do wrong or if they feel that their act could cause some sort of inconvenience to others. One of the respondents (R19) says, 'Australians are not aggressive and offensive. They reply politely. I think these are great values to which I give due respect'.

Despite politeness being a virtue in Ethiopian society, it is very rare to hear people using terms like 'sorry', 'thank you' or 'excuse me' as often as Anglo-Australians use them. So this sounds to be a new cultural value which Ethiopians are happy to use more often.

*Modified Values.* Most adult respondents realise that their upbringing is not exactly the same as that of their children, who are raised here, due to differences in the social and cultural environments in Ethiopia and Australia. Therefore, parents are obliged to compromise with their children, despite the fact that their children's behaviour, requests and acts are sometimes conflicting with their home culture.

The Ethiopian children believe that their counterparts in mainstream Australian society have more freedom than themselves. The children
of Anglo-Australian background whom they meet at school express their ideas freely without fear of punishment or rebuke. The Ethiopian children are restricting in expressing their views because their home culture is in favour of more listening and less talking. Children specially are not encouraged to express their views in front of adults. However, there is a feeling that the Australian youth are generally spoilt since they abuse government property and deface it with graffiti and by so doing weaken the country's economy.

The general feeling is that there are some aspects of Anglo-Australian culture which are antagonistic to Ethiopian culture but are important to be adopted. Under such circumstances the respondents try to reconcile their predicament by gradually adopting it, without totally dropping their own culture. One of the respondents (R9) says,

I have the feeling that some aspects of our culture which discourage children from speaking in front of older ones have affected our own lives since we came here. We prefer not to speak instead of expressing our own ideas clearly and eloquently. It is impolite to speak loudly in front of parents. A child is always discouraged from speaking out openly.

It has been stated that this Ethiopian outlook deters new arrivals from expressing their ideas openly. This attitude is related to what is regarded as an ideal pattern of behaviour in Ethiopian society- the quiet, silent type, which is considered as a model for children to follow. It is also mentioned that there is no need to emphasise this model for their
children in Australia. As a result some of the adult respondents say that they are determined to respect their children's rights to express their views and to appreciate their creativity.

*Rejected Values.* Ethiopian-Australians find it hard to accept and internalise all the cultural values. Parents get puzzled when their children come up with ideas particularly in relation to family life, that are strange by Ethiopian standards. Under such circumstances, parents try to draw the distinction between the home and the mainstream culture. One of the respondents (R18) says,

*I teach my child the difference between our culture and Australian culture. Ethiopians have a culture which has restrictions Their culture is unrestricted. Say, for instance, advising the kids to leave their homes if they quarrel with their parents does not sound healthy advice to us. We do not support this.*

The way the government and social workers deal with children looks specially odd to the new immigrants. The idea of child molesting seems to be totally strange for the respondents. They are not willing to let third parties meddle in their family affairs. They feel that they are more responsible for their children than social workers who do the job just for the sake of earning their living. They rather prefer the 'elders' or 'wise men' to mediate between members of a family as would happen in Ethiopian society. There are other values which Ethiopian migrants are not happy about, such as the way old people are treated. Chapter 8 - *Social System* considers this issue in greater detail.
In general, Ethiopian-Australians have adopted a number of Anglo-Australian values one of which is the acceptance of the democratic rights and freedom of speech that exist in Australia. They have also adopted the idea of respect for every kind of jobs, proper use of time and tolerance. One of the modified values is encouraging children to speak in front of adults. This modifies the strong ideal pattern of behaviour in Ethiopian society- the quiet, silent type, which is considered as a model for children. Some respondents do not like to let third parties like social workers to meddle in their affairs. In this way, Ethiopians like to retain some of their culture, adopt and modify some new values while discarding other values which they think are unnecessary in the Australian context.
5.3 Classifying Respondents into Value Cluster

One of the outcomes of this investigation into the adaptation of Ethiopians in South Australia has been the elaboration of a typology of Ethiopian-Australians according to their activation of cultural values, both Ethiopian and Anglo-Australian, on ideological, religious, social and linguistic dimensions.

In Section 1.2 the basic value clusters that were likely to be found among the Ethiopian respondents, were postulated as Ethiopian Monocultural, Bicultural and the Anglo-Assimilate. Each respondent's activation of Ethiopian and Australian cultural values was recorded under four cultural systems: ideological (ID), religious (RE), social (SO) and linguistic (LI). The activation of these values by individuals within each system was evaluated as being either 'High' (H), 'Medium' (M) or 'Low' (L) level (see Appendices 29 and 30).

The four cultural values in relation to Ethiopianness have been outlined in Section 1.2. On the Anglo-Australian side the *ideological* values in relation to Australian identity are exemplified by feeling of attachments to Australia, sentiments about Australia as a democratic and secure society that provides equal rights for all its citizens and educational opportunities for children. This also involves the appreciation of the value of English language as the lingua franca and a commitment to reside in Australia. The Anglo-Australian *linguistic* values incorporate factors including language used at home with adults,
children, parents of other children; and understanding, reading, writing and speaking ability and activation of English. The *religious* values combine factors such as importance of celebrating Anglo-Australian religious ceremonies such as Christmas. These also include respect for and participation in the religion observances of other Christian denominations. The *social* values comprise factors such as interaction with the Australian community and friendship with Australians. Appendix 30 depicts how respondents' activation of Ethiopian and Australian value systems are put together in order to determine each respondent's activation and categorise them overall into value clusters.

For example, R1 has 'High' activation of Ethiopian Ideological, Social and Linguistic value systems while he has 'Medium' activation of Ethiopian Religious system. On the other hand, this respondent has 'Medium' activation in the Social and Religious values of the Australian society, while he has 'High' activation of the Australian 'Linguistic' system and 'Low' activation of its Ideological system.

In Appendix 30, each respondent's evaluation of Ethiopian and Australian values is distributed in the value clusters. For example, respondent 12 (R12) has 'Low' activation for all four Ethiopian value systems while at the same time he is 'High' in activation for the four Anglo-Australian values. Hence, this respondent is classified as Anglo-Assimilate (AA). On the other end, respondent 23 (R23) has 'High' activation for all four Ethiopian Value systems and 'Low' activation for all the Australian values, thus this respondent is classified as Ethiopian Monocultural (EM).
Between these two extremes there are respondents such as R1 who has three 'High' and one 'Medium' activation scores in relation to Ethiopian values, on the one hand, and one 'High,' one 'Medium' and two 'Low' activations of Anglo-Australian values, on the other. Consequently, this respondent is classified as Extended Bicultural. Another respondent R2 who has three 'High' and one 'Medium activation scores for Ethiopian values, together with three 'Medium' and one 'Low' score in the activation of Anglo-Australian values, is labelled as Restricted Bicultural.

Based on each individual's level of activation of both Ethiopian and Australian cultural values, the respondents have been allocated into one of these three basic value clusters, Ethiopian Monocultural (EM), Bicultural (BI) and Anglo-Assimilate (AA), with the Bicultural category further sub-divided into Restricted Bicultural and Extended Bicultural. The fine line between the Restricted Bicultural and Extended Bicultural is based on the individual being assessed as High in the activation of at least one of the Australian cultural value systems. Those with one 'High' in any one of the Australian values are classified as Extended Bicultural.

In the four chapters that follow, the attitudes and activation of the respondents from these main value clusters are analysed in detail in relation to the four key cultural systems on which the investigation is focussed- ideological, linguistic, social and religious values. Chapter 10 adopts a more holistic approach in presenting a discussion of individuals who typify each of the main types identified, and the pattern of their attitudes and activation across all four cultural systems.
Chapter 6 The Ethiopian Ideological System

6.1 The Question of Identity

- Sense of Identity
- Age, Attitude and Self-Identity
- Family and Self-Identity
- Home and Self-Identity
- Sports and Self-Identity
- Ethiopians' Perception of How Australians' See Them and How They See Australians

6.2 Ideational and Realistic Attitudes to Amharic

- Ideational Attitude
- Realistic Attitude
- Components of Language Attitude

6.3 Language Tendencies as Revealed in Maintenance, Loss, Erosion and Revitalization

- Language Maintenance
- Language Loss
- Language Erosion
- Language Reactivation

6.4 Ethiopians' Heritage and Tradition

6.5 The Issue of Visibility

- The Significance of Visibility

6.6 Future Intended Residence

6.7 Attitudes Towards Other Aspects of Culture

- Group Communication and Links with Ethiopia
6.1 The Question of Identity

For Marxists 'The sum total of political, legal, moral, artistic and other views and ideas of a definite class comprise its ideology' (Afanasyev 1965:324). The word 'ideology' is not applied here as it is perceived by Marxist politicians. But it is rather based on the view of humanistic sociology which considers it as the basis of a group's evaluation of norms and acts (see Section 1.1).

The ideological system of the Ethiopians is moulded out of their long history, language and religious beliefs. These peculiar markers have enabled Ethiopians to form the basis for the creation of distinct feature of the Ethiopian society. Almost all of the respondents stress the importance of maintaining the Amharic language with its distinct script and preserving the culture in order to pass it on to the younger generation.

This emphasis on the antiquity of Ethiopian culture and Ethiopians' attitude to their language and religion demonstrate the significance of these values as identity markers. Such markers or core values are of long standing significance for the formation of the Ethiopian society. During the course of history, the values have been continually reformulated and sharpened (especially during the period of foreign aggression).

Sense of Identity. Despite Ethiopia's present image of poverty, famine and war , most of the respondents never hide their identity. Many of the respondents think that most Australians are ignorant of African history. As a result, a number of them use every opportunity to talk about Ethiopia whenever they are asked since they believe that Australians have several misconceptions about Africa and Ethiopia in particular. They
attempt to give answers to questions raised by interested individuals who want to know about Ethiopia. By so doing, they try to change the picture of Ethiopia in the minds of those Australians who have wrong perceptions about the country. In all instances they tell everyone that they are Ethiopians and never refrain from explaining about Ethiopia. Their goal is to provide maximum possible information about their country.

All the Ethiopian Monocultural type respondents consider themselves as fully Ethiopian. Out of 38 Bicultural respondents 31 of them consider themselves as fully-Ethiopian while the remaining seven respondents consider themselves as Ethiopian-Australian. Two out of four Anglo-Assimilate respondents consider themselves as Australians while one other respondent who tends to move from Anglo-Assimilate to Extended Bicultural considers himself as Ethiopian-Australian and another respondent who is determined to move towards Ethiopian Monocultural from Anglo-Assimilate value cluster (see Section 10.3) considers himself as Ethiopian.

This particular respondent (R11) who is on the move from the Anglo-Assimilate towards the Ethiopian Monocultural value cluster recounts,

Now I am Australian citizen. In my mind that is just a piece of paper. Deep in my heart I feel that I am first of all Ethiopian and then Italian. I chose to be a citizen because one day if they want to attack you they might simply say that you are not a citizen so go home. Looking at my language, colour and culture, it is evident that I am fully Ethiopian. If I say that I am an Australian everybody will laugh at me.

Similar views have been expressed in different words by other respondents. This respondent, however, expresses his despair in uncompromising language. His long stay in Australia for over twenty years, has made him believe that there is no hope for people like himself
to be accepted in this part of the world. His despair has forced him to think of going back home (see Section 10.2).

Children of mixed marriages view themselves as Australian since they were born and raised in Australia. However, they realise that they have got African background. Some people ask them about their identity by their colour complexion since some of them are not totally dark or white. One of these respondents describes himself as Australians of some African descent.

One of the respondents assesses his ethnic identity in line with the ongoing political situation back home. As pointed out earlier, the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) which is now in power is a Tigrean-based minority government which is backed by less than 10% of the total population. The Amaras and Oromos, which constitute well over 57% of the total population of Ethiopia (see section 5.4) are left out and subject to mass arrest and killing. The ethnic politics which exists in Ethiopia is reflected in diaspora. As a result this particular respondent (R19) has this to say 'I do not think there is a country called Ethiopia now. Ethiopia is destroyed by its enemies. Therefore, I consider myself as an Amara-Australian'.

This response leads us to see the internal ethnic differentiation (see Appendix 16) of the respondents. As far as the internal ethnic differentiation of the respondents is concerned, seven of the eight Monocultural Ethiopian respondents are Amaras while the remaining one is Tigrean. Some 31 respondents of Bicultural type are Amaras while seven are Tigrean and one is Gurage. In the Anglo-Assimilate value cluster there are two Amaras, while the other two consider themselves as Australians.
Age, Attitude and Self-Identity. When asked the question 'Did your attitude towards your ethnic origin change with age?', many respondents give similar responses. Their attitudes remain positive towards Ethiopia. One of the respondents (R6) who herself identifies strongly as Ethiopian explains how surprised she was to meet a young girl of Ethiopian origin who does not identify herself as Ethiopian.

Many Ethiopians think of themselves like myself. There are some who were born here. When I went to Sydney I met one Ethiopian who was born in Sydney. She said she is not an Ethiopian and she does not like Ethiopia. But most of them think exactly like myself. She is an Ethiopian by origin, but she does not identify herself as an Ethiopian since she was born in Sydney. I told her to think the other way.

Children born and bred in Ethiopia and in other refugee camps, outside Ethiopia, undoubtedly have strong positive feelings for their country and people. This particular young girl who looks apparently indifferent to her ethnic group appears quite unusual to other Ethiopian-Australians, especially in view of her endogamous family background.

Family and Self-Identity. The Ethiopian children have their own self-image, in that they recognise that there are many aspects of family life that make them look quite different from the Australian children. One of the young respondents (R3) states that, 'Australian children are quite different from us. The children do not do home duties. They are not well organised. They are a bit careless. Ethiopian children do home duties and show respect for their parents'.

This comment suggests that the Ethiopian children feel that they do more home duties and participate more in their family life. Respondents also
consider that they show more respect for their parents. One other respondent (R20) says, 'As a parent I have the responsibility to look after my child. The family is the cornerstone of our society. We show love to our children. And children ought to respect the family values in which we all are governed'.

This highlights the importance given to family life in the cultural upbringing of Ethiopians. Parents more than any body else show love and respect for their children. Children are the biggest and the most precious asset in the family. Parents are happy to sacrifice all that they have to their children. Their children come first in their lives. Parents expect their children to succeed in life and perform better than their parents. For these respondents their family is the corner stone for keeping their Ethiopian identity.

Likewise, showing respect to parents is one of the important family values for Ethiopians. Disrespect for parents and elders is regarded as breaking the pillars on which the whole family rests on. Family is the basis of the Ethiopian social fabric. Parents, children and extended families all make up the family structure and play significant part in constructing and activating family rules.

*Home and Self-Identity.* When asked the question, 'Are you interested in the current events in Ethiopia?' one of the respondents (R24) says,

*Our father was always telling us that where ever you are as a refugee it is all the same. There is nothing as wonderful as being home. While in exile in Sudan, he was advising us to go back home and serve our beautiful country. My father was against living abroad. Many years ago when we got sponsorship from our cousin who was living in America, it was my father who rejected the offer because he believed in staying close to Ethiopia and then returning home whenever things
improved. He is a strong patriot. He did not like living abroad, specially in remote countries. But later on, when he realised that his dream of going back home could not come true, he changed his mind to accept an offer so as his children, at least, could live a better life, somewhere far away from his homeland. Though he succeeded in getting sponsors from the American Embassy, he was blocked by anti-democratic forces in the Sudan from processing his case. As a result of this agony he became sick and lost his life.

This commentary suggests that this respondent's family belongs to what has been conceptualised as a Monocultural Ethiopian category (see Section 5.2 and 10.1). Furthermore, it shows how the deceased father had been repeatedly showing the degree of ethnicity that was expressed in their family.

The children respondents hope to see a peaceful and beautiful Ethiopia. One of the respondents (R15) says, 'I do not like to see Ethiopia being in a state of war. I do not want to hear about war. I want to see Ethiopia and Eritrea living together. I hate war. I know Ethiopia is a beautiful country. What Ethiopia does not have is peace. I wish peace for Ethiopia'.

This points to the fact that this respondent is aware of the political turmoil which causes continuous war in Ethiopia. Her ethnic identity is expressed in her longing for her country to have peace.

For the question, 'Have you ever had a desire to have parents of non-Ethiopian origin, eg. Anglo-Saxon origin?', many of the child respondents replied negatively. They are happy with their parents. Some of them expressed their gratitude for their parents since they believe that their parents are caring and loving. One of the respondents (R24) says, 'I prefer to have Ethiopian parents to Australian parents. Ethiopian parents are more
caring and look after their children more than Australian parents. They are devoted to their children and family'.

In the eyes of the children from Ethiopian Monocultural respondents, their parents have been so good to them that they have no desire to have any other sort of parent. The children are happy with what they have. This again reflects the ethnic tendency of the Ethiopian children to accept and activate Ethiopian family values.

*Sports and Self-Identity*. It is interesting to note that the Ethiopians, being the first African migrant group, have already formed the 'Ethiopian Soccer Team' in South Australia for strengthening their socialisation. (Sports as a means of socialisation is discussed in Section 8.6). The respondents' ethnicity is also reflected in their response to the question *'If an Ethiopian sporting team came to play with an Australian one, who would you support?'* One of the respondents (R26) says, 'If an Ethiopian sporting team came to play with an Australian one, I would support the Ethiopian team. The reason is that Ethiopia is my country. I want Ethiopia to win against Australia'.

From this comment it is clear that the respondent regards Ethiopia as her country. This sense of belonging to a certain ethnic group is reflected in the support for the team of the country from which one comes. This is a distinctive marker of the Ethiopian Monocultural type respondents. Another respondent expresses similar sentiments. He (R30) says, 'I would support the Ethiopian team. Because your country is your country. For sure this is my new home. But I feel that I would support the Ethiopian team'.

These comments depict the ethnicity of Ethiopian Monocultural respondents in Australia. They also suggest that the respondents support
the Ethiopian team, despite the fact that Australia is their new home. For first generation migrants, their homeland comes first under such circumstances. Interestingly enough even the children from mixed marriages who speak no Amharic show the same feeling as the other children in regard to the support for the Ethiopian team, if played with Australia.

*Ethiopians' Perception of How Australians See Them and How They see Australians.* For the question, *If your call a person "Australian", do you mean Anglo-Australian"? If yes, please explain why,* many of the newly arrived respondents consider Anglo-Australians as Australians. They consider it as ‘normal’ because they have been socialised to think that way after coming to Australia. They refer to others by their ethnic names.

Most Ethiopians think that they are misrepresented by the Australian media. They believe that the sort of information people get in this country presents the worst aspects of Ethiopia. They do not deny that there have been natural catastrophes and its effects like hunger and famine, in Ethiopia. However, many of the respondents believe that there are several other untold stories which can be broadcast on radio or screened on television. Many of them get upset at the disproportionately negative media coverage of their country. One of the respondents (R48) says,

* Australians think that Ethiopians are very poor. They think we have nothing back home. I have been asked many times if I had this or that. When I say yes, then they get surprised. What they think about Ethiopia is what is shown on television. What they watch on TV is about war and drought in Ethiopia. They do not show good things about Ethiopia. Therefore, they always ask if we have this or that in our house back home. This makes me sick.*
This illustrates the general feeling among respondents that the knowledge of many Australians about Ethiopia is limited to what they watch on television. Therefore, they always reach a hasty generalisation on things like weather and standard of living of the Ethiopian people. Most Ethiopians feel uncomfortable with such questions. It has been said that many Australians are so naive about the history and geography of the ‘third world’ that they ask ridiculous questions, like whether there are houses in Ethiopia or not. One of the respondents (R47) was asked by his University classmate whether he was living in a house or in a bush while he was in Ethiopia. He replied by saying, ‘We sleep on tree branches, while foreign citizens live on bigger trees’. His class mate was so amazed that he told the whole story to his father who had some knowledge about Ethiopia. The father explained the situation to his son and asked his son to apologise for his ignorance. Then R47 also apologised for his “plain answer” and settled the misunderstanding.
6.2 "Ideational" and "Realistic" Attitudes

The attitudes of Ethiopians to the Amharic language can be dichotomised as "ideational" and "realistic". (Here the word "realistic" is used to mean "practical" as opposed to "ideational"). These two terms are borrowed and adapted from Znaniecki (1969:40) who states that, "Ideas may be, indeed, instruments of real adaptation of the living being to its environment, but only if used not as realities but as ideas referring to reality..." Some parents are fully committed to teaching Amharic to their children, while quite a few show sympathy but no real commitment to pass on the language to the next generation.

Ideational Attitude. Two Amharic speaking parents (R21 and R11), both in mixed marriages, strongly support the teaching and learning of the Amharic language in Australia without showing any realistic attitude (more on realistic attitudes will follow soon) in regard to actually teaching it to their children. One of the respondents (R21) who has been here in Australia for more than eighteen years, confirms, 'In principle I believe that my children should learn Amharic. I even tried to teach them another language [Japanese] but unfortunately, they did not follow that either. I feel extremely sorry for the fact that my children do not speak Amharic'.

Here the respondent shows his full support to the teaching of Amharic, in ideal terms, but not in actions. The respondent’s help in terms of letting his child learn a second language shows his positive attitude towards bilingualism. There could be a number of factors that have hindered ‘isolated migrants’ from teaching Amharic to their children. Another respondent believes that in the past the situation was not conducive for promoting ethnic languages. He (R11) says, 'It should be
remembered that it was very difficult to teach or speak a language other than English in the olden days'.

This view has been shared by Jupp (1983:149) who notes that 'There are still many 'old Australians' who rankle at the sound of foreign languages, although not nearly as many as in the 1950's when some unfortunates were physically attacked for failing to speak English in public places.' Under such unhealthy linguistic environment (see Section 2.1), linguistic contact will have a negative effect on most minority languages, ranging from language shift to language death. At the attitudinal level, a linguistically unhealthy context is likely to make minority ethnic individuals shift from a realistic to an ideational attitude to their ethnic tongue.

Some parents emphasise the importance of maintaining the home language, but find it difficult to counteract the impact of the environment in which their children are brought up in relation to learning a home language. Parents who have ideational attitudes to the teaching of Amharic have firm reasons for having such attitudes. According to R21, the age of his children is the prime factor that stops him from teaching them Amharic. He says, 'Now they are already grown up and I do not think that they would be happy to learn any language at this age. It is now too late to teach them Amharic'. He believes that it is hard to change the attitudes of his children and teach them Amharic in the late teenage stage of their life. There was no chance for the children to acquire the language at home since only one of the parents speaks the language. Age of the children has already been mentioned as a factor which affects language maintenance.
Children of mixed marriages perceive the causes for the difficulty in maintaining their language differently. One of the respondents (R22) from mixed marriage recounts,

'I guess I would love to learn Amharic if I were younger. But it will be difficult at this age. My father did not teach me Greek or Amharic. I would like to learn Amharic but I do not put the effort in...like to go to classes or anything like that. It might be a good idea for my brother to learn Amharic but I do not know if he wants to'.

This view is shared by another respondent from a mixed marriage (R12). Such comments from the children of mixed marriage suggest two courses of action that need to be followed if they are to maintain their language. The first is the proper coaching of the parents at home. Parents should pay due attention to their children in terms of teaching them Amharic, if they are serious about it. Unless the parents do their best to teach them patiently, it is hard to expect any significant initiative from children. The onus of passing the language to the children lies more on the parents. The other important thing is the age of the children. It is highly important to attempt teaching a home language at the earliest time of their childhood, before it is too late.

This is not to deny that there are cases where adults reactivate their language on their own initiative (see the profile of R11). Children of mixed marriage have shown an interest in learning Amharic but they place the blame on their parents for not having the patience and determination to teach them. Children from such families show positive ideational attitudes to Amharic but fail to activate them in day to day practice for fear that they may be rejected by the mainstream group.
Therefore, for such children, it is easier to incorporate Ethiopian group values as ideational attitudes and avoid them in real terms.

Realistic Attitude. When attitudes are put into practice then they are no longer ideational; but "realistic". Most Amharic speakers show a desire to maintain Amharic by activating an ideational attitude into action, hence revealing a realistic attitude to their ethnic language preservation and maintenance of their culture. One of the respondents (R13) states,

After all we are Amharic speakers. I would be extremely worried if my children did not speak Amharic. They have the obligation to follow their line of descent and speak their language. They must learn the language of their parents. There is no compromise on this. It is a must to speak Amharic. So I have started teaching them Amharic at home. I am not only teaching them how to speak but also how to write using Amharic script. Beyond that I also teach them religion. There is no question about the language. They are definitely obliged to speak the language fluently. I believe that these days it is really important to know one's language. If you look at what is happening in the United States you can observe that the question of identity is at everybody's agenda. Everybody wants to know his or her identity. I reckon that my children will not have the chance to go back to their country, therefore, I do not want my children's language and ethnic identity to be eroded in two or three generations.

This view is expressed by all but four respondents. This makes it clear that Amharic speakers are determined to retain their language and culture. In many instances they are prepared to pay any price for maintaining their language. It is also emphasised that language is an expression of identity. Another respondent believes that it would be hard for Ethiopians to be accepted as Australian even if they did give up their language. He (R19) says,

I believe that it is important to teach Amharic to our children. Learning Amharic does not mean learning the language only but also learning the culture.
Therefore, by teaching Amharic language we can be able to help them maintain their culture and enable them retain their identity. The reason is that our children can't be absolutely Australian. They are Ethiopians even though they live in Australia. The rest of the population regards them as Ethiopians. They have to make themselves Ethiopians. One of the things which makes them Ethiopian is the language. Language has a great influence for maintaining one's culture. I would love to see all other Ethiopian children having the chance to learn Amharic. The reason is that we Ethiopians identify ourselves with other Ethiopians and not with others.

The bottom line of this argument is that unless Australian society considers Ethiopians as Australians it is of no use to lose the Amharic language which serves as an identity marker. This indicates that the identity of individuals is determined not only by their own perceptions but also by the views of the wider community. Under the present situation, it is impossible for Ethiopians to identify themselves as Australians, if the community seems not to be ready to identify them as Australians.

All but two of the Amharic speakers explicitly associate their identity with the maintenance of their language. They perceive themselves as a distinct linguistic group in Australia. The Amharic speakers also feel that, in their new home, it is still too early to be recognised as Australians. The absence of recognition as Australians leads them to identify themselves as Ethiopians and keep their language and other identity markers. One of the respondents (R43) states that, 'As long as they (his children) keep their language and culture, they will have their own identity marker and will remain proud of their distinct identity'.

The Amharic speakers fear that if they lose their language they will belong to no linguistic group ie they believe that Australians do not accept them as Australians and that their own linguistic group (the
Ethiopians) will also reject them since they will then have no linguistic tag that identifies them with the native Amharic speakers.

In generic terms, the Amharic speaking parents of the mixed marriage children, for example, R11 and R21, are at the intersection between the ideational and realistic dimensions (Figure 2) since they activate their language but do not pass their language to their children (R12 and R22).

![Figure 3. The Relationship Between Ideational and Realistic Attitudes Towards Minority Language Maintenance Among Ethiopians in South Australia](image)

Their children occupy only the ideational dimension. All the other interviewed parents and children who activate their languages by translating their ideational attitude into practice occupy the realistic dimension in the language maintenance continuum.
Components of Language Attitude. Researchers like Baker (1992:33) identify two different components of language attitude that reflect different orientations. These components are instrumental attitude and integrative attitude. Instrumental attitude is mostly self-initiated and attached to the need for achievement. This sort of attitude, in terms of learning a second language or maintaining one's first language, might be for personal success or survival.

One of the respondents (R24) states, 'My children will learn English since it is the key to success in this part of the world. They are also learning Amharic for it is their mother tongue'. The learning of English is clearly seen here as significant for getting better jobs or gaining access to the mainstream facilities.

On the other hand, according to Baker (1992:32) 'an integrative attitude to a particular language may concern attachment to, or identification with a language group and their cultural activities. Wanting to be identified with a defined group of 'other' language speakers, or wanting friendship within that group indicates an integrative orientation.'

An integrative attitude to the learning of ethnic language is chiefly for social and interpersonal reasons. Studying a second language for the sake of conversing with other people is an integrative attitude. Some respondents believe that the main reason for learning Amharic is for social purpose or for more integration with Amharic language speakers. One of the respondents (R7) believes that his daughter should learn Amharic for these reasons.

'In case if she goes back to Ethiopia, she will be able to speak in this language and moreover, she will not be regarded as a foreigner in her own country. I am sure
that she will one day go back to her homeland. At that time she might like to know her origin. If she goes back home she is expected to speak in Amharic in order to communicate with the people. Therefore, the knowledge of Amharic will be a big advantage to her.

This can be cited as an integrative attitude. The reason why this girl is taught Amharic is for the purpose of being able to communicate with the people at home. Lack of contact with the homeland and the family in the homeland creates fear among the refugees. Thus this girl is encouraged by her parents to increase her ties with her relatives back home by maintaining and activating her language. (Other examples of integrative attitudes are provided in (Sections 4.1 - 4.4) in reference to the teaching of community languages).
6.3 Language "Tendencies" as Revealed in Maintenance, Loss, Erosion and Revitalization

The degree of importance which is expressed by the Ethiopians in relation to effective communication in Amharic does not necessarily depict the exact "tendencies" of the respondents in everyday language usage. In Humanistic Sociology, according to Znaniecki (1969:155), 'a cultural tendency can manifest itself empirically not only in the course of its realisation as activity, but also at other times as an attitude.' All Ethiopian respondents agree on the significance of Amharic for Ethiopians. But the tendencies are somewhat different.

Language Maintenance. In this particular study, all the respondents, whether they can be classified as having ideational or realistic attitudes, give high degree of importance to the teaching of the Amharic language. For most of the respondents language maintenance is a very important issue. One of the respondents (R14) affirms, 'In the first place I want to maintain my country's language. Amharic is the language that I can explain myself in the way I want. On any topic, under any circumstances, I can explain myself clearly in Amharic. Above all it is a language that has survived for ages in recorded history. Our language is our identity label.'

Here it is underlined that the language in which they express themselves clearly needs to be preserved. Parents also want to maintain their language for practical and social reasons. Their language is the best medium to express their innermost feelings and wishes to their spouses and children. Like wise, a second language would not be good enough to explain and pass on deep rooted cultural facts intact. Speaking Amharic helps to link Ethiopians their own generation, but also with past and
future generations, as well. To one of the respondents, learning one’s own language is essential for maintaining relationships. He (R18) says,

*We are not living here in isolation. Our blood ties with our country are still strong. Our cultural roots are still there in Ethiopia. Say for example, if my mother comes here, she will find it very difficult to communicate with my daughter unless my daughter speaks Amharic. What would my mother feel under such circumstances? Ethiopian children, including my daughter, may one day visit their home land. Imagine what sort of thing they will face unless they speak Amharic.*

New migrants need to link the future Ethiopian-Australians with their ancestors both linguistically and culturally. The teaching of Amharic is perceived as an essential family and community bond among Ethiopians-irrespective of whether they reside in their home country or in Australia.

*Language Loss.* Language loss is the obvious outcome of ideational attitudes as is observed in two cases among the Amharic speaking respondents. One of the respondents (R21) from a mixed marriage has an ideational attitude to the teaching of Amharic, but has the following to say:

*I do worry about the fact that my children do not speak Amharic. But unfortunately I could not help it. They had no chance to talk with anyone. I was the only one who speaks Amharic, so I did not force them to learn Amharic, since I realised that there was no opportunity for them to talk with Amharic speakers. If I had the chance to teach them I would be happy to teach them Amharic.*
This comment illustrates that attitudes may remain ideational not because of negative sentiments to home tongue, but because of the lack of other people who speak the language.

Language Erosion. The Amharic language usage of some of the youngest children is gradually being eroded. Despite the initial high levels of Amharic language maintenance at home, the researcher's over three years of close observation of the youngest children in the families who migrated via Sudan indicates that some prefer to use Arabic and even English to Amharic because they are more competent in English due to the wide opportunities to use it that this country provides. Their long period of residence (in fact mostly birth) as refugees outside Ethiopia (see Appendix 1- Concrete Profiles of respondents) has a big impact in their lack of knowledge of Amharic.

Their parents wish to teach Amharic to their children. They would be glad if their children spoke Amharic. However, one of the respondents (R4) admits that

In the Australian setting the likelihood to use Amharic out of home is very rare. My children should learn Amharic. Because I suspect that my children might ask about the culture of their mother and father when they get older and recognise their identity. I believe that their language can serve as a better means of explaining the culture and customs of their ancestors. Even though we are not able to show them all the Ethiopian culture to our children living far away from our home land, at least, it would be of help for the kids to know about their culture and history through their own language. That is why we try to teach them even though we are not, as such, successful as much as we want.

This comment illustrates many parents' belief in Amharic language as the foremost carrier of their culture. It is for this reason that they find the erosion of their tongue among the younger generation so painful, since
they recognise that the loss of their linguistic core is in most instances a prelude to the attenuation of the whole Ethiopian cultural system and possibly its ultimate disintegration.

Language Reactivation. Individuals whose languages are eroded can reactive their language provided that they have the will and access to the target language to do so. This has been experienced by the following respondent. He (R11) says,

*I want to maintain my Amharic. Because I have a bitter experience. I was brought up in an Amara culture and studied at church schools. When I went to Italy I was young. The physical distance from home land and the non-existence of contact with the Amharic language speakers gradually eroded my Amharic. I had not spoken a single word of Amharic for 19 years... Ethiopia was out of my mind. Having stayed in Italy and Australia for so long, I started to look back and search for my mother and relatives. I did not know how to get in touch with them because it was quite a long time since my relationship was cut off.*

*When I went to Ethiopia, there was no one to welcome me because it was a surprise visit. I called home from Bole airport in Addis Ababa. I was not able to answer in Amharic when a young girl replied in Amharic. I got confused and looked around. I saw a young man in the airport and asked him to help me in interpreting. I talked to him in English and asked him to do me a favour by interpreting into Amharic. I asked the young man to tell her to look for some body who could give me a ride. When I met my mother she spoke to me in Amharic shedding her tears. I understood what she said but I was totally tongue-tied.*

*To the surprise of all, after two weeks, I was able to communicate in an articulate manner. From that day on I swear to God that I will continue maintaining my mother tongue. Furthermore, I asked all my friends and relatives to write to me in Amharic. Now it is my 13th year since I came back from Ethiopia. Here, I talk with Amharic speakers in order to refresh my language and practise my culture by celebrating Ethiopian holidays with other Ethiopians.*
This constitutes an illustration of the way an ideational attitude can be changed into a "tendency" or activation once the barrier of isolation has been removed. It also shows that an individual with a well established linguistic system can apparently lose his or her ability to activate the language in a situation where there is "un-healthy" language contact. However, this in the language facility can be regained in a milieu that is supportive of it.
6.4 Ethiopia's Heritage and Tradition

Heritage is that part of culture which has been developed by a group in the past and is available to the next generations. 'In systematic terms, heritage constitutes that part of culture which comes down to us from the past' (Smolicz 1979:35).

In this research it is observed that most parents are doing their best to preserve and transmit their culture to their children. For many Ethiopian respondents it is important to retain other aspects of their cultural heritage, as well. One of the respondents (R8) says, 'I like to retain all of my culture. Our food tradition, culture, custom and language. All of them are important and should be retained. You see it is only those things which are harmful that should be avoided. We should keep everything and pass it to the next generation'.

This implies that many respondents want to keep all aspects of culture except those which are believed to be physically harmful. This is a representative view of most of the respondents. This can further be confirmed by another respondent. He, (R25), says, 'There is nothing which I do not like of Ethiopia. So far I made effort to retain my language and culture. Many of the Ethiopian youth are gathering together to talk and have good time. That is a great fun for me. The other day we celebrated the Ethiopian New Year with all Ethiopians. I made contributions to the best I could'. What this view demonstrates is that these respondents are strongly linked to their cultural roots and seem to be determined to maintain their own culture.

Tradition, however, is interpreted as each generation's evaluation of the cultural heritage transmitted to them. Smolicz (1979:35) says, 'That
portion of the heritage which is subject to such active evaluation constitutes the living tradition of the group.' It is obvious that every aspect of group's heritage will not be activated by the next generation but rather be sieved and those that are relevant and useful become part of the generation's tradition. Like any other ethnic group Ethiopians have their own distinct cultural values which can be seen as 'objective in the sense that their common meaning in the group's life can always be tested by observing the way they are used by the participant members' (Smolicz 1979: 54). However, the objectivity of cultural values does not imply that group values are totally independent of individual attitudes and tendencies. It is possible for values to be changed or modified if members choose to do so, particularly in the context of living in a new environment.

The idea of tradition is important for understanding the way the Amhara culture is being evaluated in Australia. One of the respondents, (R 7), is critical about some parts of the Amhara culture. He says, 'What we do not like about Ethiopian culture is hurting one's self during mourning rites and going out of work for weeks, using this as excuse. I believe that these things have to be stopped'. What this depicts is that not every part of a cultural heritage can be retained in an environment where it is not possible to activate a particular cultural tradition in its entirety or it is even at odds with the mainstream culture. This can be either because the minority individuals themselves wish to modify or altogether change an aspect of their ethnic heritage or because the majority group makes it difficult for that element to be maintained. However, this respondent's almost total rejection of an item of culture is unusual, since most of the respondents wish to retain as much a culture as possible, although often with some degree of modification.
6.5 The Issue of Visibility

For most Ethiopians, discrimination in Australia is not a big issue. They think that discrimination, here in Australia, is not as severe or as prevalent as they heard, when they were in different countries as refugees. One of the respondents (R1), confirms, ‘I personally do not feel that there is discrimination in Australia. I do not call it discrimination. I think they (Australians) are not used to other cultures and colour. It is hard to consider it as discrimination but lack of experiencing different cultures. It is quite a new experience for them. They look at you curiously. They do not want to discriminate against you; but want to know about you’. Many of the respondents share this opinion. Another respondent (R44), has rather a different view with regard to discrimination. He says, ‘In my view, if I am not accepted by a certain employer, I do not think the employer rejects me because I have a darker skin. Whatever decision a white employer makes, I do not consider it as though it is taken on colour basis. I strongly believe that there is no problem in relation to my colour’.

However, the same respondent shows his sensitivity to the issue by asserting his personal dignity and readiness to play down any possible discrimination as reflecting badly on those who might offend him. He (R44) says, ‘My colour has no less quality than any other colour. I love my colour. If other people hate my colour and discriminate against, I consider them as sick’.

While the respondent (R44) foreshadows the possibility of discrimination, others have had bad experiences of discrimination. They consider that they have been discriminated against because of their colour, especially in the labour market. One of the respondents (R13) says,
Since there is a law against discrimination, you can not see anyone practising it openly. However, you see its reflection indirectly. I can give you an example. For a couple of times, I went to apply for a job. I had adequate qualifications to meet the employers' demands in all cases. But what surprises me is that I have almost never been asked in the interview about my qualifications and the work I applied for but rather they lectured me about recession and unemployment. They told me that even 'Australians' themselves could not get jobs. In the business world, specially, there is little chance for people like myself. I do believe that it is simply a discrimination against colour.

This respondent is concerned at the lack of, or at least insufficient opportunities for, secondary structural assimilation on the grounds of colour. From this point of view there is a desire on the parts of "mainstream Australians" to assimilate new arrivals culturally, but a denial of equal chances in social mobility and hence the lack of secondary structural assimilation. Zubrzycki (1968:8) views structural assimilation as 'the process by which the immigrants and their descendants have become distributed in the social and occupational structure and have entered the political, social and cultural organisations of the receiving society'.

Smolicz (1979: 205) says, 'The retention of ethnic culture, including ethnic identity, and the acceptance of this state of affairs by both minority and majority is quite compatible with secondary structural assimilation at this level'. Ethnic origin is irrelevant, should a nation applies secondary structural assimilation. For some of the respondents it is rather a serious issue which requires special attention.

One of the respondents (R35) has reported some rather frustrating experiences. He says, 'In my short stay here in Australia, I believe that the only thing that should be abolished is discrimination. In some places that
I have been to, like some stores and supermarkets that I went for shopping and work places, where I went to look for a job, I have clearly seen how discrimination works subtly'.

There is, however, one respondent who perceives the situation in a very different light. He alleges that colour difference might be considered as of benefit in a white-dominated society. According to this respondent who was born and brought up here in Australia, a darker skin colour has a different meaning. He (R22) says, 'Having colour is like an advantage here. Not discriminated at all. It is like an advantage. More people like you, you know. They see movies like 'white men can't jump' and things like that. So I think that is an advantage. I guess there could be a discrimination but you can't always pick it up'.

This respondent is pretty happy and feels confident about his colour. For him, having a darker skin colour means to look different and attractive. This same respondent some how contradicts his own views. It seems that he has mixed feelings and understanding about his discrimination. He says, 'At least in Australia I guess it is a disadvantage in some ways but you cannot always tell that it is racism or something. There must be some racists around but it never occurred to me.' His initial remarks is followed by a grain of distrust displaying a certain lack of assurance in relation to his proclaimed belief in the absence of discrimination and even of the possible advantage of being 'coloured'. Nonetheless he signals his intention to look on the issue positively rather than negatively; the possibility of racism is something that has "never occurred" to him.

*The significance of Visibility.* The respondents believe that there are a number of things which make them different from the rest of the population. Many of the respondents have become aware of the
significance of differences in colour since their arrival in Australia. Ethiopia is a country of people with relatively homogenous skin colour and hair texture. In such a country colour can't be considered as an identity marker to differentiate the numerous ethnic groups.

As the only people unconquered and uncolonized in the African continent, Ethiopians have not experienced the effects of colonisation or colour discrimination, as has been the case with other African countries. Many of the respondents have only become colour conscious since they arrived in Australia.

One of the respondents (R40) says, 'I realised colour discrimination when I came to Australia. I had no idea of colour differences when I was back home. Once I came here it became clear that colour also matters for self identification to a greater extent.' This colour awareness is a new phenomenon for Ethiopians who have never experienced its negative effects. Some believe that their colour has become one of the identity markers for Ethiopians who live in Australia.
6.6 Future Intended Residence

Some of the respondents say that they do not want to live here for the rest of their life (see Table 5). Most of them are home sick. Like many of their Greek and Italian counterparts at the time of their arrival in Australia, they think that they will go back home one day for good.

<table>
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<th>Value Clusters</th>
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<td>12,21,22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anglo-Assimilate</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>8</td>
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*Note: The numbers in the value clusters indicate the code numbers of the respondents.

One of the respondents, who has been here for a long time, is pessimistic about his future life in Australia. He (R11) says, 'I am fed up with Australia. People here do not want you to show progress. In fact, they let you get the dole. If you are happy with that then this is the best place to
live. But if you try to go beyond that, having a bigger dream, then you will be in trouble.’ Those who are desperate and see no bright future for themselves in Australia would prefer to live the rest of their life back home in Ethiopia. Furthermore, even those who think that they have bright future here either for their offspring or for themselves would prefer to live in Ethiopia, provided that they have sufficient money to live on in their old age.

For the single-mothers who migrated recently life in Australia may appear as full of contradictions, hence there is ambivalence to this country and their future intentions. One of these respondents (R23) says,

_I want my children to be educated in Australia; because I have the responsibility to do so. Otherwise, I want to go back home. I like to live in my own country. It is in the interest of my children that I stay here. For me Ethiopia is my home. Australia is far better than Sudan. The situation is incomparable. Australia is just like my country. However, I would still like to live in Ethiopia. Despite many difficulties and hardships, I feel more comfortable in Ethiopia than in Australia. The one major problem that I can’t stand in Ethiopia is the war._

Most of the respondents feel that Australia is the best place to live. They believe that there is no rosy prospect for them back home. For quite of a few of them, there is no point of going home since many of their relatives have already left the country. They have the feeling that they will be seen or feel like as strangers if they go back home. However, those who want to reside in Australia permanently do not mind going to visit Ethiopia just for a short time.

The other major reason for not permanently residing in Ethiopia is the deteriorating political situation there. Many of the political refugees
foresee no political stability for Ethiopia. Some of them even doubt the existence of a country called 'Ethiopia'. There is an ongoing desperation and exasperation among the migrants who came here on political grounds regarding the political situation in Ethiopia.

A number of these respondents state that Australia provides many more opportunities for its residents and citizens than Ethiopia. As a place to live, Ethiopia holds few attractions for these respondents. One of the respondents (R42) says, 'I want to pass the rest of my life here in Australia. For sure, I want to visit my country. But I do not think that I can live in Ethiopia. Life is hard back at home. Life is easier here. This is what I feel. I do not think that I can fit in that society any more. I want to live all my life here in Australia.'

In general, political and economic conditions are the main factors for deciding where to reside, as in case of these Amharic speakers. Better economic conditions and a safer political situation are the main criteria in judging the ultimate place of residence for the Amharic speakers.
6.7 Attitudes towards Various Aspects of Culture

For the purpose of self-identification, respondents were asked to rate the degree of importance they would give to different aspects of culture. When asked about the cultural bases of their self-identification, the greater number of respondents selected language as the most important or core item to be preserved and perpetuated and this was followed by religion. Other aspects of culture mentioned included care for the aged, while food and folklore, such as dance, were also judged as important. These, however, were given much a lower rating than language, religion and family structure.

Amharas have high regard for their culture. It has been stated by one of the respondents (R1) that

*Our culture is not some thing which was created a few years ago. It has a long history. It is a refined culture that has survived for thousands of years. Whether it is good or bad, I love my culture, including those things which are considered as bad. What is considered as bad, if at all it is bad, is the fact that we Ethiopians are extremely proud of ourselves even without having material wealth. This is evidently seen in every one of us. If that is a culture, ie to feel too proud of one's culture even without having a coin, many of us still practise it with pleasure. I don't also want to feel too proud without doing any thing. That seems to be a bit of a problem.*

Similar views have been stated by R14, R13, R23, R25; R29 and R42. (For further information about the respondents, please refer to Appendix 1 - concrete fact profiles.)

Ethiopians never leave unmentioned their long history and tradition whenever they are asked about their ethnicity and group identity. They
feel so much pride in their long history. This well established historical background of the Ethiopians, in general, and the Amharic speaking Ethiopians in particular, forms the basis for the formation of a distinct feature of the Ethiopian identity. In this regard historicity is a shared value among Ethiopians of all ethnicities.

The Amharic speaking Ethiopians way of living has been in existence, unadulterated by foreign influences, for ages up until the recent invasion by fascist Italy. Those who have lived with Amharas feel that 'The hardy Amaras, who make their living from the wind swept plateau, from rather cosier recesses of the gorges, ... take immense pride in their long history, their superior culture, and their martial prowess...Yet I have found the Abyssinians -Amharas and Tigreans alike- a most endearing people, whose national pride, whose staunch conservatism and Christian piety, cannot but impress the stranger in their midst' (Buxton 1970:58). Many people agree that Ethiopians are very proud people. Since Ethiopians are strongly affected by Christian tradition. The influence of the church on its citizens is so strong that almost all the kings gave their crowns to the church (Plate 3). It is the communal life that is most apparent in the day to day life of the people.

*Group Communication and Links with Ethiopia.* The researcher has observed that video decks are the first high-tech equipment which are bought in Ethiopian families. Almost all married families and some single individuals possess video decks. Exchanging video-cassettes among Ethiopians is very common. There are video-cassette exchanges on interstate level, as well. Whenever there is a newly released cassette, it becomes
Plate 3 Ethiopian Orthodox Priests Displaying old Royal Crowns

Source: Lye, K 1986, Let's Go to ETHIOPIA, P11
talk of the whole community. The news spreads to all deck owners so quickly that every owner wants to watch it.

Many of the respondents believe that it is crucial to seek at information regarding Ethiopia. It is common among Ethiopians to watch Ethiopian video-cassettes repeatedly whenever friends and relatives (mainly Ethiopians) come to visit the family. Those who have less knowledge of English show these videos to their English speaking guests so as to use the videos to help them explain things which they would otherwise find difficult. One other vital means of communication with parents and relatives back home is the telephone. Ethiopians make long calls and some pay a lot of money for long distance calls to families back home. According to the researcher's personal communication with Ethiopian friends living in Canada, Ethiopians are known for their long distance calls. For most Ethiopians living in South Australia, their telephone bills account to roughly 30-40% of their total income. Many of them pay huge bills; but can not avoid the habit of making distant calls to satisfy themselves by hearing the voices of their beloved relatives and friends. There have been cases where some of the respondents have been forced to disconnect their telephone lines as a result of not paying the huge bill in time. Even then some of them make registered calls through operators but still the bill is not much less than what they normally pay. This indicates how some of the respondents try to keep their link with their families in Ethiopia and the diaspora.

To summarise, the ideological system of Ethiopians comprises of the Amharic language and their religious beliefs. Historicity is also a shared value among Ethiopians of all ethnic groups. After their arrival in Australia, skin colour is surfacing as one of the distinctive markers of their identity.
Chapter 7. The Ethiopian Religious System

7.1 The Ethiopian System of Religious Values

7.2 The Functions of Religion in Ethiopian Society

7.3 Religious Composition of Ethiopians in South Australia
   • Interreligious Marriages

7.4 The Ethiopian Orthodox Church in South Australia

7.5 Religion, Identity and Maintenance of Ethiopian Tradition
7.1 The Ethiopian System of Religious Values

Religion, like all other cultural values ‘consists of a system of symbols. The symbols of religion are principally myths and rituals but they may include objects, natural phenomena, clothing, smell and so forth' (Crotty 1992:6). This has been the case for thousands of years in one of the oldest countries of the world; Ethiopia, where the oldest walking human ancestor namely Australopithecus afarensis or more popularly known as "Lucy" is found.

Ethiopian Christianity is set within a country and civilisation considered as one of the oldest in the world. Its inhabitants were invariably viewed at the same level as the citizens of the leading empires of the ancient world (see also Map 2). It is reported that ' A year before his death in 337 AD, the Roman emperor Constantine stated that the citizens of Aksum (the ancient capital of Ethiopia) deserved treatment equal to that accorded to citizens of Rome. But by the sixth century, Aksum had passed its zenith' (Greenfield 1965:23). There was every reason for Ethiopians to deserve such respect in those days. Ethiopia has maintained a continuous political organisation for centuries 'with its own coinage and impressive monuments'(Clapham 1988:20).

Knowledge about faith in God is believed to have reached Ethiopia very early, following its dissemination throughout the Middle East. There are several Biblical references to Ethiopians and their interest in religion. In the first book of Kings 1, it is mentioned that, 'And when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon concerning the
name of the LORD, she came to prove him with hard questions. 'This can be supported by a similar description which appears on II Chronicles, IX, 1-12.

In Acts 8:26-27, it is stated that 'And the angel of the Lord spoke unto Philip, saying, Arise and go toward the south unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza, which is desert. And he arose and went: and, behold a man of Ethiopia, an eunuch of great Candace queen of the Ethiopians, who had the charge of all her treasure, and had come to Jerusalem to worship...'.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church (EOC) has its myths and rituals; it has its own distinct clothing and objects. Moreover, Ethiopia has a long tradition of religious paintings and a distinctive architectural tradition (Plate 4). Extensive use of incense and candles depict the typical features of the Ethiopian, as well as other Orthodox Churches. In Ethiopia, 'No less than 200 days in a year are fast days, and upon many of them no food may be taken before noon and then meat, milk and eggs are prohibited. Lent extends to eight weeks and ends with a complete fast of forty eight hours' (Perham 1947:117). Ethiopians also observe the Sabbath as well as Sunday. These distinct markers clearly identify the EOC from other Christian churches, particularly Western European Catholicism and Protestantism.

Religious values are perceived as having content and meaning. In the Ethiopian Orthodox religious values, for instance, the content is represented by the church, the "Tabot" (the symbol and representation of the Ark of Covenant), the priests and deacons, the icons, the
A painting of a medieval saint hangs in the church of Debre Berhan Selassie in Gonder.
religious music and dances and the rituals that are associated with it. The "Tabot" is the most revered religious symbol for Ethiopian Orthodox Christians, as the 'world famous 'Black Madonna' of Czestochowa is Poland's most revered icon' (Kaluski 1985:108). The meaning is embedded deeply in their beliefs and understanding of the Holy Bible and its interpretation according to Ethiopian Orthodox tradition. For most Ethiopian Christians the content and meaning of their religious values have been maintained virtually unchanged for thousands of years. A few Ethiopian Christians, who consider themselves as Protestant, however, have modified a part of its content and meaning, even though their base is still the Bible. For instance, those who modified the content and meaning of their religious values still adhere to some of the typical Ethiopian Orthodox values such as the celebration of the Ethiopian Christmas, Ethiopian Easter, Ethiopian Epiphany or Timket (see Plate 5) , 'Meskel'(This is the commemoration of the finding of the True Cross by Saint Helena) , and the Ethiopian New Year.

Ethiopia has been a country of Christian churches since the fourth and fifth centuries AD when King Ezana reigned Aksum in the fourth century was converted to Christianity. Greenfield (1965:27) recounts that 'In the fifth-century reign of the Aksumite king, Alameda, several monks from the Byzantine empire visited Ethiopia, and many monasteries founded shortly afterwards survive to this day'. The Ethiopian Church is part of the Monophysite branch of Christianity. Abebe (1988:43-44), elaborates that, ' The Monophysites split from the main body of Christianity in the 6th Century A.D over the question of
Plate 5 The Arks of the Covenant During the Epiphany
whether Jesus was human and divine in one nature or in two separate natures. The Ethiopians supported the single nature theory. Such theological arguments, however, are left for the clergy and not for the followers who mainly focus on rituals, fasting and ceremonies.

From the middle of the seventh century Aksum began to decline. Furthermore, 'The rise of Islam and the subsequent disruption of the Red Sea trade sapped Aksum's source of life' (Zewde 1991:8). In those years 'Muslims gained control of Arabia, the Red Sea and Northern Africa. This event ended the long cultural contact between Christian countries and Ethiopia...' (Abebe :1988:23). In this way Orthodox Ethiopia came to be separated from the rest of the Christian world and remained as the only Christian island in Africa that resisted for over a millennium the incursion of Islam.

The beginning of the 16th century saw some contact between the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and missionaries from the Western Catholic Church. This encounter did not prove fruitful and broke down in the end because of European attempts to impose their version of Christianity. The ancient country of Ethiopia had always welcomed people from all over the world with a genuine and sincere interest in their country. As a result, 'An important Portuguese mission visited the country in 1520, and established the basis for future cooperation' (Zewde 1991:9).
However, not all visitors were welcomed by Ethiopians; those Europeans who desired to "purify" Ethiopian Christianity according to the Roman model were not welcome guests. In the eyes of some Europeans, specially the French, in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, Ethiopians were seen as wholehearted partisans whichever side they took. It was clear, several people said that the Abyssinians did not like the Portuguese. Send preachers of some other nationality who would handle them with greater tact, and Ethiopia would be converted[Sic !]. Six French Capuchins started for Abyssinia on the strength of this assumption. Two died on the way, and two turned back. The last two entered Abyssinia and were stoned to death' (Sanceau 1943:137).

This indicates that Ethiopians' commitment to their own religious tradition and the extent to which they would go to protect their religious beliefs and practices. Lest they be invaded by other religious groups during last centuries, Ethiopians isolated themselves from the rest of the world on top of the Ethiopian plateaus. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church has been the most uniting factor and source of shared values for the different ethnic groups in Ethiopia for centuries.

Despite differences in languages, their Orthodox religion has been one of the factors that brought the numerous linguistic groups together to resist foreign aggression. For example, prior to the World War II, when Fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia, the invading army massacred thousands of priests and deacons, since it was known that they were the ones who could organise the people to stand against any foreign invasion. Abune Petros, a high ranking priest, who was killed by the Fascists is a national
martyr, who has a monument in the heart of Addis Abeba, the capital of Ethiopia, in remembrance of his and other martyrs' struggle against Fascism.

Today Ethiopia's Orthodox religion can be considered as one of the main identity markers of Ethiopian society. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church has been deeply involved in most spheres of life. It has also 'helped to create and maintain a distinctive insular Ethiopian sense of political and religious identity' (Clapham 1988:20). The Ethiopian Orthodox Church has continued to play a great part in Ethiopian society. Some argue that it is possible to make a parallel between a market which provides a focus for secular life, and the churches which serve essential purposes in the day to day spiritual and social life of highland, rural and most urban Christians in Ethiopia. It has been reported that in 'the region best known to me, it was found that an area of 284 sq.km contained no less than nineteen churches' (Buxton 1970:62). In big cities there are many churches in every suburb. In some small but old cities like Gondar, there are more than 40 churches. Gondar is a city north of Lake Tana, the source of the Blue Nile, which was founded by Emperor Fasilidas in 1636. It has the ruins of many palaces and castles (Plate 6).

Ethiopia's long history of Christianity has established a strong link between the life of its people and the Old Testament. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church makes much use of the Old Testament as a source of doctrine, religious ritual and codes of conduct which it has developed in its own distinct way. This has been observed by many researchers
Plate 6 The Palace and Baths of Fasilides
including Buxton who states that, 'There is no doubt, therefore, of the far reaching influence of the Old Testament on various aspects of Abyssinian life, and no doubt that a biblical atmosphere can really be breathed there' (1970:32).

The contribution of Christianity in the daily life of Ethiopians living in Ethiopia is so massive that it is hard to make distinction between religious and social values. Ethiopia has been in the hands of the clergy and most of the elites are the products of the Ethiopian Orthodox teachings. Perham (1947:117) argues that 'Another important power in the hands of the priests is that of sanctuary, Which in the past enabled them to mediate between the people and the rigours of the law. The importance of the clergy is brought out by the many festivals which are publicly celebrated by all Ethiopians'.
7.2 The Functions of Religion in Ethiopian Society

Despite the centrality of Orthodox Christianity in Ethiopian life, the current population of Ethiopia is not exclusively Christian. According to the 1984 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia (1991: 56-61), '61% of the total population of the country were Christians, 33% Muslims while traditional religious groups accounted for 5.8% of the total population(...)in rural areas the Christians accounted for 57.4 percent, and the Muslims accounted for 35.1 percent. In urban areas the proportion of Christians and Muslims were 81.4 and 17.7 percent, respectively.' The majority of the Ethiopian population live in rural areas. Most of the Christians live in the central and northern highlands of Ethiopia while the Muslims occupy the lowlands in the east and north east part of the country.

Merton's distinction between functions and dysfunctions is useful in understanding the role of religion in Ethiopian society. According to Merton (1967:105), 'Functions are those observed consequences which make for the adaptation or adjustment of a given system; and dysfunctions, those observed consequences which lessen the adaptation or adjustment of the system.' Merton 1967:90) comments that even if complete integration of a society can hardly be achieved, 'this is an empirical question of fact in which we should be prepared to find a range of degrees of integration'. In case of Ethiopia, the Orthodox church is a symbol of unity among virtually all Christians.

Although, Ethiopia is a multi-religious country, the dysfunctions of religion in terms of disputes and conflicts between people of different religious beliefs have not been in evidence, in its most recent history. Religion can even be seen to have an integrative function in
contemporary Ethiopian society. Muslims and Christians live together and feel absolutely Ethiopian irrespective of their religion. Jesman (1963:22) claims that 'There is little or no hidden religious acrimony and resentment amongst them or against them'.

At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the history of Ethiopia has been marked by religious dysfunctions in the form of a series of religious wars in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian king, Claudius, fought one of the most terrible wars in the history of the country against Gran, who was the leader of the Muslims in the year 1542 at the time of the Portuguese contacts with the Ethiopians. As the historian Doresse (1959:147) recounts, 'By October Claudius had managed to combine with his own forces what was left of the Portuguese, while Gran, thinking victory was already his, had dismissed his Turkish allies and settled down once more near Lake Tana. His men were taken by surprise at Waina Daga and decimated and he himself was killed by a musket ball'.

Such conflicts between Christians and Muslims have not occurred very often in Ethiopia. In fact, in the early days, as at the present time, 'The expansion of Islam did not constitute a threat to Ethiopia for many decades, it is sometimes supposed because of Ethiopian Church's hospitality to the [Muslim] faithful' (Greenfield 1965:28). For example, according to Greenfield (1965:28), 'a wife of the Prophet is said to have had Ethiopian friends and in 615 some of his followers were given asylum from persecution at the court of Aksum'. It is a hopeful sign for the future of the country that members of the world's two major religions are once again able to coexist in harmony in Ethiopia.
7.3 Religious Composition of Ethiopians South Australia

There are two religions represented among the Ethiopian population living in South Australia. They are Christianity and Islam. According to the researcher's investigation, some 103 of the total Ethiopians and their offspring in South Australia are Christians, 7 are Muslim, while 4 claim to be non-religious. The non-religious group is represented by the people of mixed marriages mostly teenage children. Table 6 shows respondents' religious affiliation.

Table 6 Classification of Respondents by Their Religious Affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>value cluster</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EM</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BI</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: EO=Ethiopian Monocultural, BI=Bicultural, AA=Anglo-Assimilate, M=Muslim, O=Orthodox, P=Protestant, C=Catholic, N=No religion
Of the total of 50 respondents in the study, 45 respondents are Christians, two are Muslims while three of them claim no religious affiliation. Among the Christian group, 36 respondents belong to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church while eight respondents are members of Protestant denominations while one respondent is a Catholic.

Seven of the eight Ethiopian Monocultural respondents belong to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church while the remaining one respondent is a Muslim. From the Bicultural value cluster 28 out of 38 respondents are affiliated to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, seven of them are Protestants, one respondent is a Muslim, one other respondent is a Catholic, while another respondent has no affiliation to any religious group. Two of the Anglo-Assimilates have no religious affiliation while one respondent is Orthodox and one other respondent is affiliated to the Protestant denomination (See also Appendix 22).

*Inter-religious Marriages.* It is not a common experience to observe inter-religious marriages in most parts of Ethiopia. However, as Clapham (1988:216) has pointed out, 'to find people in Wollo with a Christian name and Moslem patronymic, and vice versa' is not uncommon. Wollo is the only province in Ethiopia where religious differences are not acute. In that province inter-religious and inter-ethnic marriages are more common since it occupies a buffer zone between the highland Christians and the lowland Muslims.

Out of 50 respondents in this study, a total of 19 are married. Seven of these are inter-religious marriages. Three respondents intermarried within the Christian denominations. Three other respondents are
married to Muslim women, while one other Muslim respondent is married to a Christian woman. There is no clear evidence to support the contention that inter-religious marriages have a negative effect on the extent of Ethiopian language activation. However, inter-religious marriages do have an effect on the religion of the family, since they tend to decrease religious observance of the offspring. No religious group claims to be more Ethiopian than other groups, despite the long history of Orthodox Christianity in Ethiopia. There is an understanding and mutual respect between followers of the two major religious groups in Ethiopia. That has been reflected here, as well. Ethiopian Muslims and Christians get together and celebrate Ethiopian religious national holidays. The tradition of celebrating both Orthodox and Muslim religious festivals together has continued in South Australia.
7.4 The Ethiopian Orthodox Church in South Australia

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church (EOC) in Melbourne is collecting money from its followers to buy a church in Melbourne. All the Ethiopian Orthodox Christians in Melbourne and other parts of Australia, including those who live in South Australia, are contributing money to help them buy a church. This signifies the importance of religion for Ethiopians where ever they are.

Here in South Australia moves to establish the Ethiopian Orthodox Church were began in 1994. Despite the fact that Ethiopians in Adelaide do not have the financial means to build or buy a church, they have managed to worship God and to conduct masses in a borrowed church that belongs to The Egyptian Coptic Church. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church in South Australia provides integration for those who believe in the same Orthodox religious values.

However, almost all the EOC rituals can only be performed with, at least, one priest and one deacon present. They are the only ones who can perform the religious chanting (Plate 7), where they use drums, sistras and sticks, readings and the rituals of Eucharist. The lay people are not able to perform these sacred rituals. Since 'It is precisely the myth and ritual system that attempts to recreate for devotees the founding experience' (Crotty 1992: 15), Ethiopians in South Australia are now making every effort to get an Ethiopian priest and a deacon resident in Adelaide. So far, they have been blessed by a priest and a deacon who visit them from Melbourne, at most, twice a year.
Plate 7: Chanters While Performing Sacred Dance in Addis Abeba
According to the chairperson, R33, of the ad hoc committee for establishing Ethiopian Orthodox Church in South Australia, 'Ethiopianness and its Orthodox religion can't be separated. Our church is our symbol of unification. We want to thank God in our language. The Church will help us to solve social problems which could be hard to be solved otherwise. A nation that respects its religion would do good to its people'.

With this in mind the coordinating committee for the formation of an Ethiopian Orthodox Church endeavours to achieve its goal of getting a priest and a deacon for the Adelaide church. Attempts have been made to get Ethiopian priest and a deacon from refugee camps in Kenya with the support of the Department of Immigration.
7.5 Religion, Identity and Maintenance of Ethnic Tradition

Ethiopian Christmas, Easter, 'Meskel' (which is celebrated to commemorate the founding of half of the True Cross) and New Year, which is partly a religious celebration, are the important celebrations for Ethiopian Christians living in Australia. 'Meskel' is a celebration unique to Ethiopian Christians. An interesting aspect of these celebrations is that both in Australia and Ethiopia they are observed not only by Orthodox Christians but also by other Christians and those of other religions. Members of the Ethiopian Community Association in South Australia (ECASA) celebrate these festivals with great group participation. The members are involved in cooking national food, such as Injerra and wet, Ketfo, Dabo (Ethiopian bread) and by organising musical folk dances, wearing the Ethiopian Shemma (fine white cotton cloth). The celebrations are usually picturesque and attract many Australians from other ethnic backgrounds. For instance, the guest speaker at the 1987 Ethiopian New Year celebration (which took place on the 16th of September 1994) was Mr Lynn Arnold, leader of the Opposition, in the Parliament of South Australia, himself a devout Christian.

For most Ethiopians, religion is the foundation for their culture and tradition. There is no compromise on this issue because it is the source of their guiding principles. As one of the respondents (R24) states, 'Unless I maintain my religion, I am good for nothing. I become a useless fellow'. However, a few of the respondents from mixed religious backgrounds believe that their identity is expressed in terms
of multi-dimensional factors, with religion being only one of them or even of minor significance. For example, one of this type of respondents (R4) is of the opinion that, 'The blend of all these factors: colour, language, culture and food shows the real Ethiopianness. Chronologically speaking colour, language and culture could be cited as identity markers that differentiate us from others. Religion is not a special factor that can be used for self-identification'. This respondent is a Muslim married to a Christian wife and may put less emphasis on religion in order to show that religion should not be the ground for making differentiations between Ethiopians.

One of the respondents' mentioned earlier ' (R44) , who has ancestors from inter-religious marriages, disputes the importance of all identifying factors, such as colour, race, religion or culture. 'I have the feeling that these factors do not mean anything to me. Whoever, he or she is, what is important to me is not his or her color, race, religion or culture but his or her character and the way they react to me'.

Despite his attempts to adopt this "all Australians are the same" approach that is favoured by many Anglo-Australians, he has not always been consistent in his belief in the absence of colour consciousness and discrimination in Australia. In fact, in many other informal discussions with the researcher, he has mentioned culture, language and race as important markers of self-identification.

However, the majority of those who maintain their Ethiopian Orthodox background regard their religion, language and culture as inseparable. One of the Ethiopian Monocultural respondents' (R30)
states categorically that, 'Religion is religion. There is no question and compromise about it. I want to maintain my religion and language because they help me to maintain my culture'.

This view is typical view of Monocultural Ethiopians who maintain their Ethiopian Orthodox background. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the Amharic language and the culture of the Amharas are based on their Ethiopian Orthodox religion. It is observed that in Monocultural Ethiopian group there is a clear stand on the centrality of their language and religion. One of the respondents (R25) says, 'I want to maintain my language and religion which I inherited from my parents'.

This evaluation is shared by almost all Amharic-speaking Orthodox Christians. The significance of the religion is not just for its spiritual and moral values, but also for the associated social and cultural contributions such as ceremonies, songs, clothing, food, literature and other aspects of culture which are expressed in their day to day life.
Chapter 8 The Ethiopian Social System

8.1 Systems of Social Values
  - Classification of Ethiopians' Social Systems

8.2 Marital Status and the Attraction of Ethiopian Family Life
  - The Attraction of Family Life
  - Respect for the Aged

8.3 Marriage Intentions and Types of Marriages
  - Neighbourhood and Isolation in a Crowd
  - Type of Marriage Among the Respondents

8.4 Neighbourhood
  - Neighbourhood and Coffee Ceremony
  - Neighbour and Isolation in a Crowd

8.5 Related Aspects of Culture
  - Food
  - Folklore

8.6 Other Social Organisations
  - Ikub (Money Club)
  - Anbessa (Lion) Sports Club as a Means of Socialisation
8.1 Systems of Social Values

The various networks of groups and relationships where individuals are involved with one another can be perceived as social systems in which the members constitute social values for one another. Therefore, group systems serve as social reservoirs which can be used by individuals in the construction of personal social systems.

Social systems are brought into existence with the cooperation of all members of the group. In this regard social systems may be seen as the creation of individuals who themselves become part of, and are influenced by, the system they have created.

In the Ethiopian case, the pattern of their relationships is mainly based on Christian faith and values. Since people revere the Old Testament as much as the New Testament, they have incorporated its precepts into their social system. Their social system is mainly based on Christian faith and values. This provides an excellent illustration of the way ideological system of the country has been permeated by its religious values which in turn have shaped the social relationships between Christian Ethiopians.

Classification of Social Systems. It is helpful to use Smolicz's classification of social systems based on primary and secondary relations for analysing the Amharic speaking group Ethiopian in South Australia. Primary relationships include those contacts which are personal, informal and usually face to face, and involving the
entire human personality. Furthermore, 'Primary groups are primary in the sense that they give the individual his earliest and completest experience of social unity, and also in the sense that they do not change in the same degree as more elaborate relations, but form a comparatively permanent source out of which the latter are ever springing' (Cooley 1909:26-27). The Secondary relationships are more impersonal, formal and restricted in scope. An individual can have two sorts of social systems, namely, a primary personal system, which is made up of the people with whom the individual has primary relationships; and secondary personal system which consists of relationships that are secondary to the individual. These relationships are not mutually exclusive since certain relationships, in some cases, can be part of an individuals primary and secondary group at the same time.

Smolicz (1979:149) argues that 'group social systems can in some sense be regarded as potential reserves for recruitment to personal systems. Once an introduction takes place, the social values concerned may become incorporated into each other's personal systems'. This is of particular significance for ethnic minorities in plural societies where the immigration process has disrupted extended families and where the group places high valuation on an extended system of primary social relations. For this small Ethiopian community in Adelaide with its own distinct culture and tradition, and especially for newly arrived immigrants, the members become virtual substitutes for the extended family in the Ethiopian context.
The Ethiopians in South Australia therefore can be regarded as members of each other’s primary group system (PG) by the mere fact that they have similar culture and language as an island community in a foreign sea. It is noted that Ethiopians Arriving in South Australia join ECASA as soon as they come here so as to strengthen their primary group system. Many of them expand their primary personal system by becoming acquainted with each other and becoming close friends with other Ethiopians.

The migration process ruptures Ethiopian families and newly arrived immigrants in Australia. They have to some extent make up for this lack of family relation by extending their minority network to incorporate virtually the whole Ethiopian-Australian community as a source of primary personal values as close friends. ECASA contributes a lot in the building up of the primary personal system of the Ethiopians by forming a social committee which helps the new arrivals to get acquainted with fellow Ethiopians who have been here for longer time. More details are provided about ECASA in Section 5.3.3.

It has been observed that almost all of the respondents have developed primary personal relationships from this Ethiopian primary group system. Five out of eight Ethiopian Monocultural respondents have all their friends from their own Ethnic group. The remaining three respondents have formed their friendships mostly with Ethiopians and with some other ethnic groups from Africa who speak similar languages. All the Bicultural type respondents have a diverse group of
close friends, predominantly from their own ethnic background, but including those from other ethnic groups and Anglo-Australians. Two young Anglo-Assimilate respondents have some Anglo-Australian friends, few other ethnic background friends but no Ethiopian friends. The two Adult Anglo-Assimilate respondents have some Ethiopian and few ethnic background friends. One of them has some Anglo-Australian friends, while the other one has only a few Anglo-Australian friends. Table 7 summarises the respondents' friendship patterns and preferred celebrations.

All Ethiopian Monocultural respondents observe all Ethiopian celebrations (see Table 7). Two of them observe a few Australian festivities. The Bicultural type respondents observe mostly Ethiopian festivities and a few Australian celebrations. Some four Bicultural type respondents observe mostly Ethiopian and some Australian festivities. Two of the young respondents from the Assimilate type cluster participate only in All Australian celebrations. The two Assimilate parents celebrate mostly Ethiopian and some Australian festivities.
### Table 7: Respondents' Friendship Patterns and Preferred Celebrations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Friendship Pattern</th>
<th>Celebrations</th>
<th>Ethiopia</th>
<th>Anglo-Australian</th>
<th>Other Ethnic</th>
<th>Ethiopia</th>
<th>Australian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R23</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R24</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R25</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R26</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R28</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R30</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R31</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R32</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R4</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R5</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>R6</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>R7</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>R8</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R9</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R10</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R13</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R14</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R15</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R16</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R17</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R18</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R19</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R20</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R27</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>R33</td>
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<td>R34</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
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<td>R35</td>
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<td>M</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>R36</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
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</tr>
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<td>R37</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R38</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R39</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R40</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R41</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R42</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R43</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R44</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R45</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R46</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R47</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R48</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R49</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R50</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R11</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R12</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R21</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R22</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: A=All  N=None  F=Few  M=Mostly  S=Some
8.2 Marital Status and the Attraction of Ethiopian Family Life

As far the marital status of the respondents is concerned (Table 8), six of the eight Ethiopian Monocultural respondents are widowed while the remaining two are single individuals. In the Bicultural group there are 27 endogamous marriages, nine single individuals, one widowed and another divorced. In the Anglo-Assimilate group, there are two single individuals, one exogamy marriage and one separated. It is worth noting that the Bicultural type respondents all have endogamous marriages as opposed to the Anglo-Assimilates, who have exogamous marriages.

It is not uncommon to have a three, or in rare cases, even a four generation extended family living under one roof in Ethiopia. Moreover, a typical Ethiopian family almost always accommodates close relatives including cousins, nephews and nieces. This is exemplified by three cases of children in their late teens and mid twenties who live together with their parents here in South Australia.

*The Attraction of Ethiopian Family Life*  Most parents show their love to their children in different ways. One way of expressing their love is giving them presents or gifts. The gifts could be any thing. It could be as much as a car or a house, depending on the wealth of the family. This seems quite a strange idea for children of mixed marriages who have been largely Anglo-Assimilated and have little experience of Ethiopian culture. Knowing the intention of his Ethiopian father to
buy him a car and a house, the son of a mixed marriage (R22) expresses his admiration for the Ethiopian culture by saying,

I do not expect my father to buy me a house or a car since he does not have enough money. All my life I got it that (Anglo-Australian) way so I do not even know the (Ethiopian ) way existed, really. I would be so surprised basically because I see him as pretty much Australian style, so I will be so surprised but I like it. I really like it.

I do not know why, but my mum and dad split up. He took the house. My mum does not understand this. She thinks he wants to take the house for himself and that (giving it to the children) is an excuse. That is a conflict of culture. I would be surprised if I got that. All my Anglo friends will be jealous or something because you do not get such expensive thing like a house. It is pretty expensive. I think the Ethiopian values are much better in this case because it is an advantage for the child.

Family interdependency and mutual assistance are some of the important values of the Ethiopian culture. Giving such gifts is not really regarded as unusual by Ethiopian standards. Goods and properties are secondary to human relationships. It is the emotional and social ties which are more valuable than 'goods'. In this particular family, according to the researcher's close observation, since the interview took place the father has actually bought a car for his son and is keeping his promise to buy a house for him, provided the boy continues his education as his father would like.
Table 8: Classification of Respondents by Their Marital Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAMILY STATUS</th>
<th>ENDOGAMY</th>
<th>EXOGAMY</th>
<th>SINGLE</th>
<th>SEPARATED</th>
<th>WIDOWED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopian-</td>
<td></td>
<td>R24,R25</td>
<td>R23,R26,R28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monocultural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R30,R31,R32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo-Assimilate</td>
<td>R11,R21*</td>
<td>R12,R22</td>
<td></td>
<td>R29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicultural</td>
<td>R1,R2,R4,R5,R7</td>
<td>R3,R6,R44,R45</td>
<td>R29</td>
<td>R27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R8,R9,R10,R13</td>
<td>R46,R47,R48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R14,R15,R16,R17</td>
<td>R49,R50</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R18,R19,R20,R33</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R34,R35,R36,R37</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R38,R39,R40,R41</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R42,R43</td>
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</table>
This shows that parents are ready to sacrifice what they have for the sake of their children. The children help their parents in their old age, as a matter of course. This sort of family relationship is shared by other cultural groups like the Greeks in Australia. According to research done on Greek-Australians in relation to family relationship, 'It simply means that the nature of reciprocity is different and that it can be delayed into the future, so that the child is expected to repay his parents in a variety of informal but very significant ways, such as care during their old age' (Smolicz: 1985:22).

Respect for the Aged. For most respondents the idea of keeping old people together in an 'old people's home' sounds strange, and even frightening. It is considered as devaluing human dignity. In Ethiopia the old are respected and looked after by the community in general and their offspring in particular. After all they are the ones who are considered as the 'wise persons' (awakwwoche or shimagelewoch) by the society in which they play an important part. They do the job of social workers and psychologists in the Anglo-Australian society. They settle social problems like domestic violence, divorce and disagreements between parents and children or even neighbours and friends. They are considered as source of knowledge and also peace makers. The society gives them high regard at all times.

With this in mind, segregating the aged in the nursing homes is considered just like throwing them out, as if they were old furniture.
This is viewed as frightful. Middle aged Ethiopians in Australia are horrified at the idea of nursing or old peoples' homes. Respondents commented that the youth in this country show less respect for the aged than would be found in Ethiopia. They are also blamed for belittling senior citizens. Some Ethiopians really pity those old people. Australian old people are said to be not properly treated. It is said what is missing in this country is young people's respect for the aged.

On the other hand, almost all the respondents believe that respect for the aged is an Ethiopian virtue. One of the respondents (R7) says, 'We were all brought up in a culture which expects all of us to respect the elderly. This is an important cultural marker that should be maintained'.

In fact, since many of the respondents are newly arrived migrants there is no problem as such between the old and the new generation. Those who have been here longer have the feeling that there is no respect for the senior citizens. One of the respondents (R11) is critical about the youth and says,

*There is one thing which I do not like in Australia. If somebody gets older, he or she loses value, not vice versa. I do not support that. The youth in this country have less experience. If they see an old fellow they label him as 'a fat old goose.' They belittle you. They never think that they too would also get old. In my opinion, they are rude. I really pity those old people. The old people are not properly treated. The older you are the better you analyse. It is not a question of physical strength*
but also mental ability to analyse things. The Youth should stop demeaning the old.

This respondent seems to be unhappy by the actions of the Australian youth and the way the old are treated in this country. Having stayed here for more than twenty years, he has negative evaluation of the youth in relation to the old.

Old age is a most serious issue for a few adult children whose parents have come from Ethiopia. Even the child respondents in this study, however, rejected the idea of nursing homes for their parents. One of the respondents (R24) says, 'I have a desire to assist my mother in her old age. I won't develop any hatred towards older people. I would rather become their care taker. I am indebted to my mother, therefore, I want to take care of my mum when she gets old'. Another respondent (R3) says, 'I want to take care of my parents. Because I want them live longer. I do not want them die. I am always thinking about how I can help them from now on'.

This suggests that Ethiopian children feel indebted to their parents and are determined to help and support them in their old age. The concern for the aged in general and their own parents in particular on the part of young Ethiopians in Australia shows the continuity of Ethiopian family values and cultural traditions of support and respect for the aged.
8.3 Types of Marriages and Marriage intentions

Marriage may take several different forms in Ethiopia. In the countryside, there has been a traditional type of marriage which is arranged by parents. Under such circumstances, parents act as intermediaries and the main issue is 'the marriage gift or 'bride price' (Buxton 1970:70). In some parts of Ethiopia, it is not uncommon to arrange marriages for toddlers, even foetuses. The main reason for such marriages is to strengthen the bond between neighbouring families.

It is no wonder that some Ethiopians brought up in this kind of cultural milieu still respect arranged marriages even though they have had a Western Education. This phenomenon has been labelled as 'mail order marriage' by some critics in the USA, in the case of marriages arranged between Ethiopians in America and those in Ethiopia. The other popular traditional marriage among the city dwellers, is to have a civil ceremony, usually preceded by a religious oath in the presence of a priest (see Plate 8). The other less common type of marriage is intended for those who wish to have a permanent bond blessed by the priest in the Ethiopian Church. Such strict religious marriages can not be cancelled under any circumstances. In the latter case, priests give extensive advise to the couples before they decide to be joined in such a permanent union.

Of the six adult respondents who are still single, four of them would prefer to have a partner of Ethiopian background. The remaining two
Plate 8 A Civil Marriage Ceremony and Religious Blessings
respondents would not mind having a partner from any ethnic background irrespective of race, colour or religion.

Of the seven child respondents, three express the intention of having Ethiopian partners, two say they prefer to have Anglo-Australian partners, while two are undecided. Those preferring Anglo-Australian partners are themselves, children of mixed marriages.

One of the respondents who is married to a non-Ethiopian regrets doing so. He (R11) says,' I am of the opinion that there will not be many problems if you have an Ethiopian spouse. My children and I have big differences. They think they are Australians and never consider me as part of them. They call me 'dad' simply because they cannot call me by any other name. Otherwise, they would have called me as somebody else'. This respondent would have preferred to marry an Ethiopian, if he had had a chance to do so. Further information on this respondent is available on section 10.3.

In many societies, the choice of partners does not depend on the decision of parents. The partners select each other voluntarily, on their own initiation, without the direct involvement of the parents. In this study some parents express their intention in choosing partners for their children. This is mainly to avoid language loss as a result of mixed marriage. Hence the tradition of a parent-supported marriage is still appreciated and practised by at least three of the Ethiopian families in Australia.
Type of Marriage Among the Respondents. Of the seventeen married families, fifteen are between Ethiopian partners (endogamous marriages) while two involve marriage with Anglo-Australians (exogamous marriages).

The question of marriage was commented on less than issues of care of the aged and language or language maintenance partly because of the age structure of the respondents and partly because the respondents were either already married or too young to think about marriage. In this study it is observed that some parents express their intention in choosing of partners for their children. This is mainly to avoid language loss as a result of mixed marriage. Hence the tradition of a parent-supported marriage is still appreciated and practised by at least three of the Ethiopian families in Australia.

It has also been noted that in the exogamous marriages, all the four children have European names. This is a common trend among Ethiopians in South Australia. Although the researcher has observed that there are exogamous marriages in which the children have Ethiopian first names in the Ethiopian community but not included in the study. On the other hand, in the endogamous marriages, all first names are of Ethiopian origin.
8.4 Neighbourhood

The frequency with which the respondents meet their relatives and friends reflects strong primary social bonds among the Ethiopians. In a typical response to the question, 'How often do you visit your Ethiopian relatives and friends?', one of the respondents (R15) has this to say, 'I see friends of my parents, relatives and friends almost everyday. This is because we live in the same neighbourhood'.

The close attachment among Ethiopian immigrants in South Australia is illustrated by the tendency among most of them to live close to each other in order to maintain the neighbourhood tradition as practised in their homeland. This has been observed since the beginning of their settlement in South Australia.

Most Ethiopians in South Australia now live in Mile End and West Hindmarsh. Some 25 people live very close to each other in Mile End suburb. More and more new immigrants go to live in those part of the city. Spatial nearness has created a special atmosphere and the opportunity for the migrants to activate some of their culture more readily, including the long standing Ethiopian coffee ceremony.

*Neighbourhood and Coffee Ceremony* ('Yebuna Bahil'). Ethiopia is the homeland of coffee. The envelopes of most letters coming out of Ethiopia carry the picture of their "green gold" or coffee which is Ethiopia's main cash crop (Plate 9). The main area of coffee production has been 'in the Southern Western region of Kaffa, from which the crop is said to take its name...' (Clapham 1988:29). Arab traders are believed to have taken
Plate 9  Coffee - The 'Green Gold' of Ethiopia
the coffee from Ethiopia and grown it in Yemen. The Ottomans unsuccessfully tried to grow it in Europe, while the Spanish and Portuguese managed to establish it as a cash crop in Latin America.

Drinking coffee together has become a family and neighbourhood ritual for Ethiopians. Every household makes coffee to be shared with all the family and the nearby neighbours. Each neighbour, in turn, makes coffee for all the others. In the course of these gatherings, many issues are raised for discussion- from political to social, from financial, to religious, as well as rumours and gossip. Every neighbourhood meets three or four times a day on a round basis to drink coffee at one another's homes. This ceremony takes more than half an hour each time. Those who have time, join the party and drink coffee together at all the various places. Those who do not have the time may join one or two of the rounds. Each time they meet, the neighbours drink four cups of coffee of varying degrees of strength. Almost always the first cup is the strongest while the last one is the mildest. In Ethiopia the coffee ceremony is not just a meeting place for neighbours, but is also used as a place where people do unfinished tasks, while they are talking and drinking. Tasks like baby sitting, spinning, hair plaiting or other home duties can be done while drinking the coffee. This social gathering which is a deeply rooted tradition among the Ethiopians has no exact counterpart in other societies.

The Ethiopian ‘yebuna bahil’ (coffee ceremony) has contributed to the formation of an informal structure where by people meet regularly and
drink coffee. The important latent function of the coffee drinking ritual is thus to strengthen social cohesion among neighbours and facilitates a wide range of social and economic activities and exchanges. Merton (1967:122) explains, 'It is precisely the latent functions of a practice or belief which are not common knowledge, for these are unintended and generally unrecognised social and psychological consequences'.

The Coffee ceremony (Plate 10) is a centuries old tradition that has been developed among Ethiopian neighbourhood groups. This informal social structure has a great part to play for the newly arrived immigrants. They use it to express their ideas, problems and experiences. In Australia this phenomenon takes place almost every weekend. In fact, the Ethiopians in the same neighbourhood see each other almost everyday since many of them are new arrivals, widows, and unemployed. Many of them are unable to express themselves in English. Therefore, the coffee ceremony assists them in making social contacts among themselves and enabling them to help one another solve problems and difficulties. In this way, it plays the role of what in the Anglo-Australian society is usually fulfilled by a social worker or a psychiatrist.
Plate 10  Coffee Ceremonies in Ethiopian Homes and Public Meetings
Neighbourhood and Isolation in A Crowd. Some respondents have the impression that Australians' more independent style of living is quite different from the one they were used to and still continue to practise in Australia. Back home, or in countries where they stayed as refugees, they were used to being constantly visited by their neighbours. This helped them to feel at home and made the integration process easier.

The situation in Australia is quite different. As one of the respondents (R48) points out,

Here you do not know your neighbours. Your neighbours do not know you. The culture of living together is totally non-existent in Australia. I find it hard to lose that culture which allows me to greet and make close contact with neighbours. It is also hard to know the society in depth, like what food they eat, what they like and what they dislike.

In most respondents' experience, adjustment to the independent Australian life style is not an easy matter. It requires some considerable time to understand this aspect of the Australian society. This is because many individuals, mainly Anglo-Australians, tend to live on their own and there is only limited contact between people living close to one other. The respondents have also experienced the fact that it is not the accepted practice for neighbours to greet each other whenever they meet. Moreover, there is no tradition of eating together with neighbours as a matter of course. There is seems to be no culture of regularly drinking tea or coffee together with neighbours. This is a really frustrating way of living for the Ethiopians.
To cite an example, (R35) says 'I do not know who my neighbour is. I do not know whether he is black or white. But back home let alone your immediate neighbours, you also know all others who live in your neighbourhood and beyond. There we commit ourselves to the community, but here everyone is for himself'. Many of the respondents emphasised that this neighbourhood tradition in the Ethiopian culture is worth keeping in Australia, since it encourages them to fulfil their responsibilities, to assist parents, extended family members, friends and neighbours all of whom they consider to be their close friends. This is the most important part of their culture which they wish to maintain in this country, partly because they find the mainstream Australian tradition of independent isolation so alien. These close neighbourhood relationships can be considered as an example of a primary group which is based on solidarity of all members, a trust and empathy, which provides an ideological base for the maintenance of close social relationships.
8.5 Related Ethiopian Aspects of Culture

Food. Ethiopians are strongly attached to their food. Distinctive Ethiopian dishes are Injerra (Bread) with Wette (stew), while Ketfo is a raw beef speciality.

Injerra is made from a cereal grain that is unique to Ethiopia known as Teff. Teff is a member of the grass genus Eragrostis or lovegrass. Teff is believed to be a miracle nutritional food. It is believed to contain two to three times the iron found in wheat or barley. Calcium, potassium and other essential minerals are also many times higher than that found in an equal amount of other grains. Teff has 14% protein, 3% fat and 81% complex carbohydrate. Teff is the only grain to have symbiotic yeast. Like grapes, the yeast is on the grain so no yeast is added in the preparation of Injerra. Teff has different varieties in colour. The white one is more expensive than the darker one and is mostly preferred by Ethiopians.

Teff is milled to flour and made into batter. The dough is let to settle so that the yeast can become active. When the dough is ready, it is poured on to a large flat hot griddle. Here in Adelaide, the Ethiopians are forced to use an alternative mixture of rice, barley and wheat powder to produce an imitation of Teff dough.

Injerra is normally eaten with Wette which is prepared from meat, lentils or bean powder. Shiro Wette is a staple for the poor while Sega Wette is mostly eaten by the more affluent.
The tradition of eating Ethiopian food is continuing in South Australia. Almost every family continues to prepare Ethiopian food like Injerra with Wette every day. One of the respondents (R2) says,

"We are still within the Ethiopian food preparation arena. We have not yet adopted the European food culture. We still use garlic, chilli powder, meat or beans powder in an Ethiopian way. Fortunately here we get some ingredients that we use for making Ethiopian food. So we have every reason to stick to our food culture. We eat Ethiopian food because we are Ethiopians. We have not yet started preparing pudding or dessert."

This view is shared by almost all respondents. The tradition of Ethiopian food is so deeply engrained that even the families of mixed marriages frequently prepare Ethiopian food. One of the respondents (R11) from a mixed marriage comments,

"I am very good at cooking Ethiopian food. I make Injerra, Ketfo, chilli powder. My wife always asks me to make her Injerra. She loves to eat Injerra. I make Injerra during Ethiopian holidays. I prepare all sorts of Ethiopian food during major Ethiopian celebrations. I am the one who has shown the ingredients which help in making chilli powder to many of the Ethiopians."

Ethiopians display a high degree of attachment to eating their own dishes and find it hard to get used to other kinds of food. In all Ethiopian community and private parties the preparation of Ethiopian food, takes pride of place and is prized not only because of its taste and
nourishment but also because it acts as a symbol of the group identity and its solidarity in Australia.

Folklore. Ethiopia has a number of musical instruments, a couple of which are shown in Plate 11. Ethiopians also have different kinds of folk dances. All Ethiopians understand and enjoy Amharic songs. Amharic songs are characterised by the expression of sadness. Most Ethiopians here in Adelaide have Amharic tape-cassettes. One of the respondents (R46) says,

Amharic songs give me special satisfaction since they remind me of places and times that I spent while I was in Ethiopia. Whenever I hear Amharic songs, the good times that I had with my parents, friends and relatives reappear in my mind. Therefore, Amharic music is absolutely entertaining for me.

Some of the respondents have Amharic video cassettes which help them tremendously in maintaining their sense of contact with Ethiopians back home.

One of the respondents (R15) says,

We watch different video cassettes on national celebrations, marriages and birthdays and appreciate Amharic sense of humour. We also watch video cassettes on drought stricken areas in Ethiopia. So we believe that we have a great concern about our country. We have concern about our culture, about our country’s political problem. Once we get a video cassette we watch it repeatedly.
An Ethiopian musician plays a stringed instrument called a kerar.

With the Ethiopian countryside in the background, an elderly musician performs on a masenko, which has only one string and is played with a bow.
The Ethiopian community in South Australia celebrates Ethiopian New Year, Christmas and Easter together in the presence of virtually all members. They prepare Ethiopian food and dance Ethiopian folk dances. These occasions provide opportunities for children to learn the Ethiopian music and dancing through participation in all the activities. This displays, on the one hand, how children are eager to learn the Ethiopian music and dancing and perform it in a large audience with pride and parental effort to pass these traditions to their children, on the other.
8.6 Other Social Organisations

Ikub ("Money Club"). Ethiopians have established 'Ikub' which is a money club, formed mainly for the purpose of saving money. In the 'money club' every member has to pay an agreed sum of all the money at a given interval, of say, every month. Then the collected sum of money will be given back to one of the members on each occasion. This continues until everyone has had his or her turn. This form of financial arrangement is intended to force members to save. For some Ethiopians saving money in a bank is a new concept and is difficult to achieve in practice, since money can be withdrawn at any time. In case of 'Ikub', it is everybody's obligation to contribute a fixed amount of money over a given period. Later they can use the lump sum they gain to buy fixed assets such as cars or furniture. The pattern of distribution among members is usually done by general consent. Not too many people like to be the first to draw the lump sum of money, for fear of spending it and then being in debt.

The latent function of Ikub is socialisation and mutual assistance. People meet at fixed time intervals to pay the agreed amount of money. The meetings are usually held in the homes of the various members. Any member who wants or needs the collected sum of money will be given the chance to take it first. Members usually look at the particular needs of others in the group in order to decide whose turn will be next. The life time of the money club is comparatively brief, lasting over one cycle of distributions. Normally it does not exceed six months. Almost all the Ethiopian respondents have joined one of these finance clubs which have been formed at different times.
The existence and method of operation of 'Tkub' clubs reveals some interesting aspects of Ethiopian culture. One of them is the sense of honour which obliges them to keep up the payments to ensure that each member fulfils his/her obligations to the others. The other facet of culture they show is the difficulty of individualistic savings, partly in view of the collected family and friendship values, which make it difficult to accumulate money when others in the group are in need.

In addition members of the community raise money for individuals who are in crisis. Most people feel that they fulfil their Ethiopian social obligations by raising money for those who are in need. This has been a common phenomenon among Ethiopians and has been seen as an Ethiopian value which has to be retained here.

*Anbessa Sports Club as a Means of Socialisation*. As early as 1993 the Ethiopians living in South Australia formed a soccer team. The soccer team plays every Saturday and attracts a following of twelve to twenty people every week. The team usually plays against other soccer teams. Other African background soccer fans and players join their Ethiopian counterparts on many occasions. In 1995 the soccer team is playing in the fourth division. More and more players from different ethnic backgrounds have been joining the team.

The gathering of people attracted to play and or watch soccer each week has a latent social function, as do the money club and the coffee ceremony, although each one of these phenomena is different in its
character and function. However, it is only the coffee ceremony which is uniquely Ethiopian and fulfils most clearly the role of a primary group system. All such gatherings provide a chance for members to forge closer bonds and build friendships of a primary personal nature. In this regard, the coffee ceremony is most fruitful, but other gatherings such as soccer, New Year celebrations, money club also fulfil their role in the patterning of Ethiopian life in the Australian context.
9.1 Language Background of Respondents

- Language Families

9.2 Home Domain Usage of Amharic and the Initiative in the Formation of an Ethnic School

- Language Activation in Terms of Language Families
- Language Activation and Siblings

9.3 Why Amharic School

9.3.1 Embryonic Stages of Teaching Ethnic Languages

- Home-based Parental Guided Teaching
- Pool Teaching
- Formation of an Ethnic School

9.3.2 Triple Vision of the Ethnic School

- Teachers' Perspective
- Students' Perspective
- Parents' Perspective

9.4 Language and Neighbourhood

9.5 Language Mastery

9.6 The Personal Inventory of Respondents' Linguistic System

- FIFO (First in First Out) • LIFO (Last in First Out)

9.7 Australian Schools in the eyes of Ethiopian-Australians

- First Impressions About School
- Friendship
- Difficulties in Learning English
- Evaluation of Learning Amharic
- Education From Parents' Perspective
9.1 Language Background of Respondents

Language guides the way we perceive our environment. We think in terms of the words, phrases, clauses and sentences of our first language which provides us with a structure for looking at the world around us. For many, if not all ethnic groups, language helps to maintain their culture and for some it is virtually essential for their survival.

Smolicz (1979:112) says 'the words of a given language can be defined as cultural objects or values in the life of a particular speech community or group'. Apart from their material content, words have come to acquire a meaning in the consciousness of that group of people. Words are not used in isolation but in relation to one another, therefore, they can be regarded as the group's system in the same way as other systems of, say, economic or ideological values.

The individual's activation of values from the group's linguistic system could be seen when the individual tries to interact with other members of his or her linguistic group. This process enables the individual to form a personal linguistic system, right from the outset. This action of constructing one's personal linguistic system on the ground of the group's system exhibits the tendency of members to utilise the linguistic stock accessible to them.

Background. Ethiopia's church education has a long literacy tradition. The ancient language of Geez was the major medium of liturgical and literary expression in Ethiopia up until the sixteenth century. Geez, which was of great importance in the development of the Ethiopian civilisation, became 'like Latin in the West, the classical language of literature and of the Church and as such has continued in use ever since'
Amharic is the modern development of Geez in the same way as French is to Latin. Amharic and Geez share the same unique script.

Buxton (1970:178) explains Geez as 'a system of vocalisation depending on modifications of the basic character' which was introduced by the Abyssinians in the fourth century AD, the era which marks the highest stage of the Ancient Ethiopian civilisation.

Amharic also known as Lesane Negest (the Language of Kings) was spoken at royal courts and began to be used for literacy purposes at the beginning of the nineteenth century' (Wubneh and Abate 1988:154). The immense literary achievements of Christian Ethiopia were due to this great step forward. It is interesting to note that Amharic was used for the first time for writing the royal chronicles during the reign of Emperor Tewodros (1855-1868). Parchment manuscripts (Plate 1) were and still are used to teach Geez and Amharic. Geez and Amharic vowels are incorporated in the consonants, therefore, both languages are syllabic. Geez, however, apart from being the liturgical language of the Church, is no longer used in the daily life of the people.

Amharic speakers have a strong attachment to religion of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The Bible and other religious books, which are used by Ethiopian Orthodox Church, whether they are hand written on parchments or published by printing companies, use Geez or Amharic script. Amharic has been used by Ethiopians for the purpose of religious discussion and scholarly works for more than a century.

Perham (1947: 246) argues that 'if the country's education is regarded historically, the Ethiopian church schools of 1935 represented the oldest
continuous system of education in the world. The Egyptian Copts and still more the Chinese might dispute this claim...'. The first state school in Ethiopia was founded in 1908 by Emperor Menelik in Addis Abeba. Emperor Haile Selassie, when he was a Regent, founded the Teferi Mekonnen School in 1928. In the 1940s when the Theological College of the Holy Trinity Church was opened, Amharic,
A scroll of parchment, 17cms long and 15.5-17.5cms wide which seems to have been damaged by oil. Source: The Survival of Ethiopian Independence, p161 by S. Rubenson
Geez, English and Arabic were taught. Many religious books in Amharic have been put into circulation since then. In 1943 the Haile Selassie Secondary School was opened following the establishment of an Amharic girls' school by Empress Menen in 1931.

Amharic is the official language of Ethiopia and supposed to be taught in all schools. The spread of the Amharic language, through its official use and through schools has brought fast development of the language among all the peoples of Ethiopia who also use more than eighty other languages. Most students who enrol in government schools, first go to church schools where they learn how to read and write. This means that 'students who attend the Church schools do not need to learn a new script if they subsequently enter government schools' (Cooper 1977:75).

Amharic is an indigenous language which is widely spoken by Amharas as their mother tongue, and by many ethnic groups in Ethiopia as a second language. Amharic is the only indigenous African language that has its own script. The Amharas are an people of the central highlands of Ethiopia. The Amharas are indigenous people who have derived some culture from the Semites who repeatedly invaded their region from the North. Consequently, the Amharas have this distinct culture what is temporally known as Ethiopian. In urban areas of Ethiopia, the Amharic language is spoken by 44.5% of the population of 50 million while 32% of the total population of 50 million use Amharic at home. It is a language which is also used as a lingua franca among different ethnic groups in Ethiopia. Amharic uses a script called Geez.

The Respondents' Languages. As in case of the Ethiopian subjects, of the total of fifty respondents, two (a male and a female) are monolingual
Anglo-Assimilates; twenty six (fifteen male and eleven female) respondents are bilingual of which two are Ethiopian Monoculturals while the rest are Biculturals (Table 9). Fourteen (ten male and four female) respondents are trilingual including six Ethiopian Monoculturals, seven Biculturals and one Anglo-Assimilate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MON</th>
<th>BIL</th>
<th>TRI</th>
<th>QUA</th>
<th>PEN</th>
<th>TO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BI</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TO</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: EM=Eth.monocultural, BI=Bicultural, AA=Anglo-Assimilate, TO=Total, MON=Monolingual, BIL=Bilingual, TRI=Trilingual, QUA=Quatrilingual, PEN=Pentalingual.

Seven (six male and a female) respondents from the Bicultural value cluster are quatrilingual, while one male respondent, classified as Anglo-Assimilate, is pentalingual. Most of them had been able to activate a minimum of two languages before they arrived in Australia. It should be noted that there are some respondents who can speak three or even five languages, but who are culturally assimilated, hence labelled as Anglo-Assimilates (more about clusters in Chapter 10).

In fact, as the diverse language backgrounds of the respondents' indicates, bilingualism is not a new phenomenon in Ethiopia. Basically Ethiopia is a multicultural nation. As stated by (Cooper 1977:85) , 'In Ethiopia, unlike most other African countries, the lingua franca taught at school is also spoken natively by millions of people, with many of whom non-native
speakers have both the opportunity and the necessity to interact.' Ethiopia stands in contrast to countries formerly colonised, politically and culturally, by Europeans (French, English, Portuguese etc), where the foreign language continues to be used as an official language. In Ethiopia, Amharic, a Semitic language (see Map 4) fulfils the dual role of being an ethnic language and a lingua-franca which is widely spoken in the community along side other indigenous languages.

Language Families. The languages that are used by the respondents can be divided into four language families (Table 10). The first is the Ethiopian language family which embodies Amharic, the official language of Ethiopia and the most widely spoken language among the Ethiopian community as either a first or second language; Oromogna which is spoken by the greatest number of Ethiopians as a first language; Tigregna and Guragegna which are the third and fourth major languages in Ethiopia. Somali is also spoken by Ethiopians living in the Eastern part of Ethiopia. Even though, Ethiopian languages are also African languages, the researcher prefers to put them in a separate language family since they are the focus of this research. The second language family, comprises European languages including English, which is the main language used for communication by Ethiopians with the outside world, as well as French, Italian, Spanish and Greek. Apart from English, the other European languages are spoken only by a very few Ethiopians in limited situations.
Map 4: Ancient Linguistic Map of Semitic Languages
The third language group constitutes other African languages such as Arabic and Swahili. These languages are also rarely spoken except when the respondents meet the native speakers of these languages. The fourth language cluster comprises Asian languages which is limited among the respondents to one language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Family</th>
<th>No of Languages</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopian Languages</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Languages</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other African Languages</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian Languages</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Transmitting Amharic.* For the question *How important will it be for you that your children learn to communicate effectively in Amharic?* the following responses were gathered. Almost all of the respondents consider communicating in Amharic as important with a clear majority considering the transmission of their native tongue as very important (Table 11).
One of the respondents who strongly supports the use of Amharic for effective communication cites an example of why it is crucial for the younger generation to learn Amharic. He (R1) says,

I remember one incident which happened in Addis Ababa while I was a high school student. There were two brothers in our school who were born in the United States since their parents were working at Ethiopian embassy to USA. The two boys enrolled in our school, named after General Wingate. It was very sad that these boys were totally alienated from the school because of the language barrier. They had a big personality crisis. When the rest of us were playing we were using Amharic. They did not speak Amharic. So it was a big problem for them to mix with us. I remember what sort of difficulties and anxieties they had due to their inability to communicate in Amharic. That has become a big lesson for myself which I can’t forget.

The above respondent has had experience of the way lack of knowledge of a language prevents communication. As a result, he uses Amharic only at home so that his daughter can communicate in Amharic effectively. He provides her with Amharic books to read. His daughter is in year 7 and

### Table 11 Classification of Respondents by the Degree of Importance they Assigned to the Effective Transmission of Amharic to the Next Generation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of Importance</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Important</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatively Important</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unimportant</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
is able to write letters in Amharic. She has a well established linguistic system in Amharic as well as English.

It is also important to know how the children feel about learning Amharic. While most of them have a positive attitude to, and activate, Amharic; a few of the children find it hard to satisfy their parental wishes, by learning and speaking the language. In the researcher's observations, the gap that is created between the favourable attitude to Amharic on the part of the parents and the inability of children to activate it is due to lack of continuous parental assistance in the early stage of the children's language learning.

According to one of children of the mixed marriage, there was no chance of learning Amharic in her early childhood. She (R12) says, 'I think it is good to maintain your language. It helps you to communicate with people. My father should have taught us while we were little. Not now. Too hard now'.

There is a fundamental difference between "deviations which are judged permissible, though undesirable, and prohibited transgressions" (Znaniencki 1979:299). It is when an individual's actions take the form of the denial of what the group considers to be a core value that the individual becomes classified as a deviant. However, in this case what is shown is a positive ideational attitude to Amharic, has had no activation because of lack of access to learning the language (see also Section 6.3). In this sense the respondent is not challenging the importance of the Amharic language for the group. Her failure to learn the language thus fits to what Znaniencki called a "permissible deviation" and not an outright rejection of the language. Far more serious in the eyes of the Amhara group would be the behaviour of a child who had learnt the language but decided to reject as old-fashioned and irrelevant.
9.2 Home Domain Usage of Amharic

The type of language used in the home domain among parents, parents with children and vice versa as well as children with children varies from cluster to cluster (see Appendix 23). There are four different patterns of communication that can be identified among the three 'value clusters' of the Ethiopian respondents. In pattern 1, parents predominantly use Amharic to communicate with each other and with their children. Only on rare occasions do parents use words, phrases or a few sentences in either Arabic or Tigregna. They know very little English, mostly only a few words, therefore, they do not use English for communication among themselves or with their children. Six parent respondents in this value cluster activate Amharic and other Ethiopian languages mainly Tigregna to communicate with their children. Two parents use predominantly Amharic and a bit of Arabic to communicate with their children. The children in the Ethiopian Monocultural value cluster mostly use Amharic and sometimes English and Tigregna to communicate with their friends. This can be taken as typical examples of language patterns in a Monocultural value cluster.

In pattern 2, parents use mainly Amharic but also some English to communicate with each other and both Amharic and English in speaking to their children. The children use both Amharic and English in speaking to the parents but mostly English with their siblings or friends. This sort of communication pattern is a distinctive marker of the Restricted Bicultural value cluster which is a sub-group of Bicultural value cluster.

In pattern 3, parents use either Amharic or Tigregna or English or Arabic to communicate among themselves and with their children. These respondents have more knowledge of English than the Restricted
Bicultural sub-group which helps them to have greater usage of the language among themselves and in the wider community.

The children use whichever of the four languages, namely Amharic, English, Tigregna and Arabic seems appropriate to communicate with their siblings or friends. This is the most characteristic pattern of the Extended Bicultural value cluster. This pattern is identified with Extended Bicultural value cluster.

In pattern 4, parents predominantly use English and a bit of Amharic in communicating with other parents. In all other contexts both parents and children use only English to communicate among themselves. Likewise, their children use only English with their parents, siblings and friends. This pattern is predominantly observed among respondents in Anglo-Assimilate value cluster.

Language Activation In Terms of Language Families. Most respondents, with the exception of the mixed families, use Amharic at home with their spouses and children for most of the time. However, the children ability to speak Amharic depends on their place of birth. In some cases parents use other Ethiopian and African languages such as Tigregna, Arabic, Kiswahili and Somali alternatively with Amharic. Since most of the adults are either bilingual or trilingual, they just speak whichever of the three languages, is appropriate to the listeners. Those respondents who came from Sudan and Egypt are able to speak Amharic, Tigregna and Arabic fluently, as a result they have more language choice. In rare cases those children who were brought up in other countries such as Kenya use Amharic and Kiswahili with their parents at home while those who came from Djibouti also speak Somali. On the other hand, those families who
have formed exogamous marriages with English speaking partners use English exclusively with their spouses and children.

*Language Activation among Siblings.* Most of these migrant children were either born or spent their early childhood in countries where they were refugees. As a result, most of them speak two or three languages. As soon as they come here they start to learn their third or in some cases their fourth language. For only a few Ethiopian child migrants is English their second language. It is not uncommon for these children to speak two to three languages in short discourses consecutively as a result of insufficient knowledge of words in all the languages.

Many of the Amharic speaking children who came here as refugees activate more than two languages according to the social context in which they find themselves. What has been common among these children is the introduction of words from English into their Amharic linguistic system apart from using English proper, as a language. The main reasons for this is that firstly, their own Amharic word stock is not sufficient enough to accommodate the new concepts, ideas and things learnt from the Australian society and secondly, their parents are not able to give them the Amharic equivalent word.

According to the close observation of the researcher, there is now a growing influence of English among the children even though their stay in Australia is less than three years. Those who have been here for more than two years speak very good English. Even those who have been here for less than two years speak good English and tend to activate English more often than their parents, specially among themselves. This is, apparently, because they have a great desire to learn English as quick as possible.
Initially, however, number of the children experienced difficulties with learning English because of some of the fundamental differences in language structure between Amharic and English. For Example, the pattern of consonants and vowels is quite different in the two languages. Debela (1995) has elaborated some of the linguistic peculiarities and syntactic differences between Amharic and English.

Amharic has 27 consonants. Some of these consonants are represented in more than one letter. For example, the first consonant h, can be written as v, or h . Rubenson (1976:413-414) has given the Amharic vowels and consonants the following English equivalents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amharic</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>_h</td>
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<td>l</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>_m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>_s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td>_sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>_r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>_q (a glottalized k= sound)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>_b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>_t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>_ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>_n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'</td>
<td>_n'(n in Spanish senor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>(between two vowels to indicate glottal stop)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>_k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zh</td>
<td>_zh( s in Pleasure)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>_w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>_y(y in you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>_d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Moreover, there are a few consonants which are formed by a combination of consonants.  

There are a series of seven vowel markers which can be added to each of the consonants to create a series of sounds upon which the language is based. The following vowel markers are rather difficult to describe in terms of English vowels. What is given here is as approximations only. The example below is based on the consonant ꚣ (b in English).

**Vowels.**

**First order** ꚣ - e (between e in bet and a in about)

**Second** ꚤ - u (between u in full and rule)

**Third** ꚣ - i (i in machine)

**Fourth** ꚤ - a (between a in father and u in fun)

**Fifth** ꚣ - e (somewhat less open than e in lend)

**Sixth** ꚤ - i (between i in sit and girl but always short and often silent, in which case the i is omitted in the transliteration)
Debela (1994:9) argues that 'Those children who read and write in Amharic and Tigregna face some problems in reading and writing in English. This is because Amharic and Tigregna are syllabic languages; where the consonants constitute the vowels. Therefore, the concept of vowels and consonants remains to be vague for a while.'

*Language and Relationships.* The general pattern of language choice among adult friends is such that all respondents, except those who speak English only, use Amharic while speaking with other Amharic speakers. Amharic speakers feel more comfortable with their own language than with English. Consequently, they use Amharic whenever they meet other Amharic speakers. Whenever Ethiopians meet with each other whether they are Ethiopian Monocultural, Bicultural or even Anglo-Assimilate parents, they tend to speak in Amharic whether or not there are other people who do not speak that language.

Amharic is the medium of communication for Amharic speakers and their friends, for both parents and children. English is the main language of communication with friends who speak English only. Under no circumstances, do two Amharic speakers use English or any other language for communication unless are special convincing reasons for doing so. Arabic, Tigregna, Italian, Somali and Swahili are the other languages that are used to communicate with friends from other ethnic groups.
9.3 Why Amharic School?

The functions of the Ethiopian Community School of Ethiopian languages has been described in Section 4.4. Here we see why the teaching of Amharic is important for the Amharic speakers.

Having born and bred in a foreign land like Sudan, some of the young children of Ethiopian background do not speak good Amharic. In fact, it is a very common phenomenon among these children to use two, three or four languages according to the situation. It is important to note that under certain social contexts some of the children use up to three languages either alternatively, for a longer time, or intermittently on words and short sentences level as a hybrid language. Arabic, Tigregna, English and Amharic are spoken in a non-orderly manner, even in a short discourse. It seems that the children consider every Ethiopian to have the knowledge of these languages. Their first word is usually uttered in Arabic. This is as a result of their stay in Sudan where the language is spoken widely. Whenever they get annoyed or are desperate to mention something, Arabic is their involuntary choice (This will later be discussed as First in First Out (FIFO) linguistic inventory system in Section 9.5). The researcher has observed the children for quite a long period in schools (both regular and ethnic), in their homes and at other social gatherings. Based on these observations, it could be stated that now English is equally competing with Arabic and Amharic to the involuntary choice of the students (This will later be discussed as Last in First Out (LIFO) in Section 9.5). English is mainly used when the children think that the person they are talking to is non-Ethiopian.
The opening of an ethnic school has been a concern for all families who observed these trends in language activation. The emergence of English as an involuntary choice instead of Amharic has started worrying some parents. This has led most of the parents to spend some time teaching Amharic to their children.

Many of the Amharic speaking children show positive attitude to the study of Amharic at Saturday School. This provides a pertinent illustration of the attitude-tendency distinction.
9.3.1 Embryonic Stages in the Teaching of Amharic

There have been three embryonic stages in teaching the Amharic language in Australia: home-based parental guided teaching, pool teaching and formation of ethnic school. Home-based parental guided teaching is the initial stage in which parents do their best to teach their children at home.

*Home-based Parental Guided Teaching.* The parents had some sort of discussion with other Amharic speaking parents as to how they could be able to teach the Alphabet of Amharic. Since teaching incurs costs, and is difficult to raise money for opening language classes, parents at least, initially, have decided to teach their children at home. One of the parents (R 8) says, 'We don't have teaching materials to teach Amharic. We have not got even the Alphabet, since we all here are unsettled refugees. Both of us, are happy to teach them Amharic.' Despite the fact that this respondent is Tigregna speaker, she is determined to teach Amharic to her children. Home-based parental teaching is the starting point of parental initiation to teach their children to retain ethnic languages. Most ethnic languages are primarily taught at home. In one Polish migrants study, it is acknowledged that 'About half the memoir writers made specific mention of their efforts to teach their children to read and write Polish at home (Smolicz and Secombe 1985:111).' This is an evidence of the significance of the ethnic language for the ethnic parents. Before the formation of the ethnic school most of the Ethiopians had great concern about teaching Amharic to their children. One of the respondents (R39) who has no children says,' I think it requires a great sacrifice in order to teach Amharic to our children. Because, for the time being, until the Amharic speaking
community is able to form Amharic ethnic school, the parents have the obligation to teach their children at home. Once the community is organised Amharic ethnic school could be opened. We ourselves could be teachers and students'. Parents have thus considered it necessary to sacrifice their time and energy in teaching Amharic at home so that their children are able to speak the language. This in fact is not an easy matter. It worries many of the parents since it requires a great amount of effort to make the children know the language to the satisfaction of their parents. In reference to his own daughters, the principal of the school says, 'The younger of the two children has a problem since she tries to use English at home. The two of them speak in English whenever they are together. In fact this is a frustrating situation. We are really under pressure. Therefore, at night, we do not let them stay together. We always try to keep them with us. We spent much of the time with them so that they could communicate with us in Amharic and in order stop them from speaking in English at home'.

However, mere coaching of students at home does not guarantee success in maintaining Amharic. One other way of language maintenance is through teaching in a Saturday school. This requires minimum discipline on the parts of both the parents and the students, since the teaching is informal with little organisation. It is hard to get the attention of the children for a long time in the absence of sufficient materials. This leads to the birth of the second stage of teaching the Amharic language which is pool teaching.

*Pool Teaching.* Pool Teaching is the second stage in which some of the parents get organised themselves and try to share the teaching of a group of children including their own by moving from house to house. Those parents who have children of the same age group tried to
teach their children by rotating their 'classroom or school' ie moving from one house to another where their children can learn together. This type of organisation requires parents to have their own means of transport. Every parent has also the responsibility to teach all the children at his or her house. There are two drawbacks in this type of teaching. The first is that children need to go from one house to the other where there is not sufficient teaching materials, and the second drawback is that every parent is expected to teach Amharic. These drawbacks have caused some of the parents to think ahead and find a permanent place where they can teach their children. One of the respondents (R30) recounts the difficulties of pool teaching by stating that, 'Some of us tried to teach our children by rotating them from house to house. It was really hard, since some of us do not have vehicles to transport them and also to provide them with spacious classroom. Consequently, it did not work out well and we quitted our children from the "pool system". These kinds of difficulties hindered the parents from continuing the pool teaching of Amharic and led them to look for a better facility.

The Formation of an Ethnic School. Parents did not feel that use of Amharic in the home domain was enough to help the children maintain their language. It was this impetus which initiated the parents to do something in a more formal way about the teaching of the Amharic language.

Amharic is the first African language to be taught in South Australia. Under the umbrella of the Ethiopian Community, interested parents got together and formed the ethnic school to the satisfaction of both children and parents. Details about the school are presented in Section 4.4.
9.3.2 A Triple Vision Of The Ethiopian Community Ethnic School

In the sphere of ethnic studies, the humanistic sociological approach used by the researcher is generally to stress the ethnics as active agents. In this study a triple vision of ethnic school reality is very essential. The teachers' view of the school and children; the students' view of the school and teachers; and the parents' view of the school and the children are important to get a holistic picture of how it contributes to the learning of Amharic.

Teachers' Perspective. One of the Amharic Ethnic school teachers (R36) states that she is very pleased to teach the students for a number of reasons. She says, 'When the students come to the ethnic school, they get excited. This is the place where they talk in the language which they can't use outside home. This might be the reason why they never miss out school and feel very sad if there is no lessons going on for some reasons like holidays. Their desire to learn the language is incredible. There is a healthy competition among themselves and they show high performance in their class activities'. The teacher also mentions that the children get maximum satisfaction from meeting fellow children, playing games in an Ethiopian way, singing Ethiopian songs and participating in Ethiopian folk dances. It is further stated by the teacher that the students have asked for more class time than the two hours in a week. This is a good indication that the students are satisfied with the language learning and the company they get from one other. As the teacher points out, the main problem of the school is lack of a photocopier which might be used for photocopying materials for the children. Without it, the teacher says, 'It is hard to
produce materials for each student which is to be used in the classroom. We resort to using chalk and talk method which I would guess, is time taking and boring. Therefore, getting one photocopier might really solve our major problem'.

Lack of sufficient resources hinders the teaching of Amharic to some extent since the teachers can not afford to photocopy teaching materials at their own expense. It would be easier for both teachers and students to use photocopied materials in the teaching and learning process to reduce boredom and save time since they only have a two hour lesson every week.

*Students' Perspective.* In the eyes of most students, their Amharic is limited to understanding and speaking a little. They also feel that they can read and write only few words. Most of these children speak four languages while the rest speak three languages. The most frequently spoken languages among these children are English and Arabic. Amharic and Tigregna are less spoken languages among themselves. Most of these children did not learn either Amharic or English before coming to Australia. All of them were born and brought up in Sudan where Arabic is the main language. They learnt Tigregna from their neighbours. Some of them speak Amharic at home with parents.

In reference to the reason why they study Amharic, one of the students who is aged 13 says, 'It is my language I have to know it. I have to answer questions in Amharic when I grow up and visit my relatives in Ethiopia. Our relatives in Ethiopia can't speak in English.'

Most of the students think that speaking two languages is better than one. One of the students who speaks four languages states 'If you speak only one language like here in Australia and if somebody comes
from another country where English is not spoken, you can't speak with them.' Another student, who is 12, further says that 'It is much better if you speak as many languages as you could because you can talk to different people in different languages.' Most of these children showed an interest in continuing their Amharic studies. One student who is 9 seems to feel confused because of the number of languages he speaks, specially in those languages in which he is not fully competent. He is fluent in Arabic and Tigregna and very good in English, but not so good in Amharic. He says, 'It is difficult to learn Amharic because you get confused. When I get confused I speak in English or Arabic.' The major problems of these children in learning Amharic is that they find it hard to talk and write in Amharic. This result is similar to other minority language studies reported in Chapter 4.

*Parents' Perspective.* There is a strong Education Committee organised by the community to run the school. Parents have been using every opportunity to raise money for the purchase of teaching materials that would help the children to understand the language better. Parental expectations are so high that teachers themselves are under great pressure. Parents expect their children to be top of the class. As a result, there is high tension when exam results are given to children. According to the principal (R13), 'Parents want to see their children come home with great results in Amharic. This pushes the students to be the best in the class. When we give tests we see some of them crying if they get lower results. It becomes a hot issue among the parents.' The researcher has observed one of the students crying in connection with her performance since she realises that her mother would not be happy about it.
9.4 Language and Neighbourhood

Amharic, followed by Tigregna and Arabic, are the key languages used by the Ethiopian Monocultural and Bicultural parents among themselves in their neighbourhood. Anglo-Assimilates use English only. More detailed information is provided about neighbourhood in Section 8.4.

The influence of English on parents is observable specially when they use borrowed words. This is the case with those parents who have no or little knowledge of English. According to the close observation of the researcher, some of the most common borrowed words and phrases are: 'thank you', 'sorry', 'see you' and 'bye bye'. These words are instinctively uttered by the Ethiopian Monocultural type respondents who have little knowledge of English language but have learned these basic phrases. In fact, this is also common among the Bicultural type respondents.

Despite the fact that there are Amharic or Arabic equivalents of the borrowed words, the frequency with which they are used in the Australian society is much more than in Ethiopian society. Therefore, it is easier to use these words even during discourses with Amharic speakers, since the Amharic equivalents are only used rarely and do not give the meaning intended. For an Amharic speaker to repeatedly say 'thank you' would be considered insincere. Only a few cases where people would say 'thank you' for their brother, sister or mother or any of their family. The only time Ethiopian Monocultural respondents use English with lots of gesticulation is when they speak with English speakers who come to visit their place.
9.5 Language Mastery

This section summarises the knowledge and mastery of various languages revealed by the respondents, as opposed to their previously discussed language activation. The verbal and written language knowledge of Amharic among the respondents is quite different (Appendix 24). Most of them speak more than two languages but write in one or two languages only. As far as their verbal language goes, in the 10-19 age group, for instance, there are seven (five male and two female) respondents of which two respondents (a male and a female) are monolingual, two respondents (a male and a female) are bilingual, while three male respondents are trilingual (Appendix 25).

In the 20-29 age group, there are eight male and six female respondents. In this group six male and three female respondents are bilingual, two male and three female respondents are trilingual.

In the 30-39 age group, there are seventeen male and seven female respondents. In this group seven male and six female respondents are bilingual, three male and one female respondents are trilingual, while seven male respondents are quatrilingual. In the 40-49 age group there is one male bilingual respondent, three (two male and one female) trilingual respondents. In the 50 and above age group there is only one male respondent who is a pentalingual.

As far as their written languages are concerned there is one non-literate; 16 monoliterate, 31 biliterate and two triliterate respondents (Table 12). The seven Ethiopian Monocultural respondents are monoliterate in Amharic; the two Anglo-Assimilate respondents are literate in English only, while the seven Bicultural monoliterates are able to write in Amharic
extensively; they also can fill forms in English but are not able to write as extensively in English as they would wish.

Table 12 Classification of Written Language Ability of Respondents by Value Cluster

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value Cluster</th>
<th>Non-literate</th>
<th>Monoliterate</th>
<th>Biliterate</th>
<th>Triliterate</th>
<th>TO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EM</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BI</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TO</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KEY: EM=Ethiopian Monocultural, BI=Bicultural, AA=Anglo-Assimilate, TO=Total; NONL=Non-literate, MONL=Monoliterate, BIL=Biliterate, TRIL=Triliterate.

The 31 biliterates can write in Amharic and English extensively. Two of the biliterates activate most of the Anglo-Australian values and few of the Ethiopian cultural values. Even though they are literate in both languages, this does not mean that they active both of them and hence belong to the Anglo-Assimilate value cluster. The two triliterates (who are basically in the Bicultural value cluster) can write in Amharic, English and French or Italian, besides activating some values from both Anglo-Australian and Ethiopian values.

Appendix 26 shows the classification of written language ability of respondents by age and gender. In the 10-19 age group, for example, there are seven (five male and two female) respondents. Three of them (two
male and one female) are monoliterate in English; another two male are monoliterate in Amharic while two other respondents (a male and a female) are bi-literate in Amharic and English.

In the 20-29 age group, there are fourteen (eight male and six female) respondents. Six (two male and four female) of these respondents are monoliterate in Amharic while the other eight (six male and two female) bi-literate in Amharic and English.

In the 30-39 age group, there are twenty three respondents. There are five (one male and four female) monoliterate in Amharic only while the remaining eighteen (fourteen male and four female) respondents are biliterate in Amharic and English.

In the 40-49 age group, there are five (four male and one female) respondents. One female respondent is non-literate while two male respondents are biliterate in Amharic and English. Two other male respondents are triliterate in Amharic, English and French/Italian. In the 50 plus group there is one male respondent who is triliterate in Amharic, English and Italian.

There are thirty (twenty three male and seven female) respondents who are bi-literate in English and Amharic. Out of sixteen monoliterate respondents, thirteen (five male and eight female) of them are monoliterate in Amharic, while three of them are monoliterate in English.

There are two groups of triliterate which constitute three respondents (all male). In the first group of triliterate, there is one respondent who is literate in Amharic, English and French while in the second group there are two respondents who speak Amharic, English and Italian.
According to the researcher's assessment (see Appendix 27), the understanding and speaking skills in Amharic of all Ethiopian Monocultural respondents can be rated as 'high'. Three out of eight respondents have "high" reading skills while four other respondents have 'medium' skills and one other respondent had no reading skills but now has started to learn Amharic. Half of the Ethiopian Monocultural respondents have 'low' writing skills while the remaining half have 'medium' writing skills.

Six respondents of Ethiopian Monocultural type have 'low' understanding, speaking and writing skills in English while the remaining two have 'medium' understanding, speaking and reading skills. All but one respondent from Ethiopian Monocultural group have 'low' writing skills in English. According to Rado (1995:160) 'A fair proportion of NESB immigrants, particularly women, do not use their language learning opportunities because they are not fully aware of existing provisions and so do not claim them. Clearly strategies are needed for locating such people.'

All Bicultural type respondents have 'high' level of understanding skills in Amharic. One respondent has 'medium' level of skills in speech while the rest have 'high' level of skills in speaking Amharic. In this group there are three respondents with 'medium' level of skills in reading while the remaining 35 respondents have 'high' level of skills in reading Amharic. This group has two respondents with 'low' level of writing skills, three respondents with 'medium' level of writing skills while 33 respondents have 'high' level of writing skills. Eighteen Bicultural type respondents have 'high' level of understanding skills while 20 other respondents have 'medium' level of understanding skills, in English. In terms of English speaking skills, ten respondents have 'high' level while five respondents
have 'low' and the remaining 22 respondents have 'medium' level. In this
group, ten respondents have 'high', 26 respondents have 'medium' while
two respondents have 'low' level of reading skills. In Bicultural group,
there are ten respondents with 'high' English writing skills, 21
respondents with 'medium' skills and 7 respondents with 'low' skills.

Two respondents in the Anglo-Assimilate value cluster have a 'high' level
of understanding, speaking, reading and writing skills in Amharic while
the remaining two have no understanding, speaking, reading and writing
skills in Amharic. All respondents in this value cluster have 'high' skills in
understanding, speaking and reading in English. One respondent has
'medium' level of writing skills while the other three respondents have
'high' level of writing skills in English(see Appendix 27).
9.6 Analysis of Language Transaction by the Linguistic Inventory System

Observation and analysis of spoken language in Ethiopian homes and community contexts has led the researcher to develop a theoretical analogy between the inventory of goods in accounting and the patterns of language transaction among multilingual speakers such as these Ethiopian immigrants.

Martin (1990:462) states that 'Inventory accounting is concerned with keeping a record of the goods on hand available for sale (inventory) and the goods that have been sold (cost of goods sold expense)'. He goes on to explain the assumptions on which two different methods of inventory are based. First In First Out, (FIFO) assumes that 'the goods first received into inventory are the first to be sold. Last In First Out (LIFO), assumes that the goods most recently received into inventory are the first to be issued for sale...' (1990:463). If these inventory concepts are applied to the analysis of language transactions of the Ethiopian respondents, important new levels of understanding are revealed (Appendix 28).

First In First Out (FIFO). The FIFO linguistic inventory system is based on the supposition that the first language learned is the first used, leaving the most recent languages to be assigned to the inventory on hand. For example, in the case of all but one Ethiopian Monoculturals their 'first in' language is Amharic. This means that Amharic as the first language which they learned, is the 'first in' linguistic stock in their repertoire. In fact, in most cases, the Ethiopian Monocultural respondents have 'second in', 'third in' languages which are Tigregna and Arabic. At the same time, all the Ethiopian Monocultural respondents use Amharic as their 'first out' language for all linguistic transactions among themselves and whenever
speak involuntarily, Amharic words come to their lips faster than those from any other language in their linguistic stock.

In the same way, for the Australia-born mixed family children the 'first in' language is English. Therefore, English is the 'first in' linguistic stock in their linguistic inventory. Likewise, these children use English as their 'first out' language in all communication both involuntarily and where there is a choice. This pattern of usage revealed by speakers like the Ethiopian Monoculturals and these Assimilates in linguistic transactions can be labelled as the FIFO linguistic inventory system.

Like the Ethiopian Monocultural respondents, respondents in the Bicultural type value cluster, have Amharic as their 'First In' and 'First Out' language when they respond involuntarily or when given a chance to choose, the language of transaction despite the fact that their English is either good or very good.

In a healthy multilingual contact situation, it is possible for one to have 'first in', 'second in', 'n th in' and 'last in' languages. By the same analogy one can have 'first out', 'second out', 'n th out' and 'last out' languages in a situation where the speaker has the chance to make a choice or when the speaker responds involuntarily. For monolinguals their 'First In' and 'Last In' language is the same. Under such circumstances, their 'First In' is the same as their 'First Out' since they have only one linguistic stock.

Last In First Out (LIFO). The Last In First Out (LIFO) linguistic inventory system is based on the presumption that the most recent linguistic stock is used first, leaving the oldest linguistic stock to be allocated to the inventory on hand. It should be remembered that the individual's 'first in', or 'second in', or 'n th in' language could be his or her 'last in'
language. However, it is not always true that FIFO linguistic inventory is the norm for all speakers. For bilinguals and multilinguals their 'First In' could be different from their 'First Out'.

Most of the Ethiopian children are left with two options (FIFO or LIFO) in their linguistic transactions at about their second year in Australia when their level of competency and mastery of their English is nearly the same as their Amharic the point where the lines of the graph intersect in Figure 4.

There are a number of factors which explain why the LIFO linguistic inventory system better applies to the language transaction of some speakers. For example, child migrants who have mastered the new society's language and find themselves using it in most domains of life are
often more comfortable speaking English. Their linguistic transactions are best described by the LIFO inventory system.

The command of language greatly affects which linguistic inventory system applies. The wider community expectations also pressurise speakers to use LIFO more than FIFO in a society where the minority language is used as home language only. On the other hand a small ethnic community may wish their children to be competent in both languages and encourage the children to maintain their "First In" ethnic language, not just because it is the first one acquired in their linguistic stock but due to its social and cultural significance (see core values and overarching values paradigm in Section 2.4).

LIFO is most clearly applicable to the language transactions of young Ethiopian children in Australia where they find they are expected to use English across a wide range of linguistic domains. At the same time the circumstances of their early childhood meant that they were never able to develop a fully consolidated linguistic system for their first, home language, Amharic.

In contrast, their parents had well developed linguistic systems in their first language Amharic and were accustomed to using it across the full range of linguistic domains. The subsequent languages they acquired rarely had the range and fluency of their first language. Hence FIFO is the most appropriate linguistic inventory to describe their parents' language transaction.
9.7 Australian Schools in the eyes of Ethiopian-Australians

In this section the image of the Australian school is presented in the eyes of the respondents interviewed in the study group. In the experience of the younger respondents, the Australian school is the institution that teaches the English language and the culture of mainstream Australian society.

In this regard it seems appropriate to summarise the educational backgrounds of the respondents. Almost all of them have been involved in Australian education institutions including English classes at different levels.

Five of the eight Ethiopian Monocultural respondents have primary education while the other three have secondary education (Appendix 30). Out of the 38 Bicultural type respondents two of them have primary education while 18 of them have secondary education and 17 of them have tertiary education. It should be noted that 15 of the 17 respondents in the Bicultural cluster with tertiary education are categorised in the Extended Bicultural subgroup. In the Anglo-Assimilate value cluster there are two respondents with secondary education while one respondent has primary education and the other one has tertiary education.

First Impressions About Schools. The first day in Australian schools is a strange experience for many of the Ethiopian children in Australia. For some it is a shocking experience. One of the respondents (R3) says,

The first day of my school was a bit frightening. The teachers were new
did not stay there long. Soon they sent me to the mainstream classroom. Whenever I am asked where I am from, I tell them that I am from Ethiopia. In the former school, where I was learning, there were some people who would like to tease me.

The first day experience of many of the respondents is reported as "a bit scary". This is because the Australian schools' milieu is either different from what they were used to, or else they have never been to any school before. At first the children are not confident enough to talk with other students because they do not know much English.

For some respondents an important criteria in evaluating a school, is whether or not it teaches religion. In the experiences of the respondents, some schools are better than others. This reflects the way Ethiopian people hold religion in high regard, a consequence of the piety in the Ethiopian tradition. The schools which are preferred are those that offer religious lessons. One of the respondents (R25) says, 'I am happy with the school, because it is a Christian school. It is a school where the words of God are taught. The teachers are also very much helpful. Therefore, I like the school very much'.

Those children of Christian background prefer to go to schools that teach the Gospel. Some of the parents also feel that such schools are more disciplined than State schools.

For those children who have never been to school before coming to Australia, it is quite a strange and at times even a terrifying experience to be in Australian schools. The Ethiopian children first assume that
every child in every school is a native English speaker. One of the respondents (R3) says,

*My first impression is that I was the only one who did not speak English; while all the other students were able to speak English. It was a confusing situation. I later realised that they were all refugees like myself, and were also trying to learn English. Gradually I learnt that their English was not very different from that of mine. There were moments where I was helping them; and moments where they were helping me.*

The students first feel that they are the only ones who do not speak English well, but gradually come to understand there are other migrants whose first language is not English. This is particularly evident in the Blair Athol Secondary Language Centre where the above respondent is attending his language lessons.

For some respondents their first impression was that this was an exciting moment. One of the respondents (R24) says,

*The students were quite interesting specially those who were in my class. The teacher was quite cooperative and helpful. She was encouraging us always. She has helped us a lot in boosting our morale. At first other respondents were fascinated by our colour and hair texture. It seems that many of them have not seen dark people before. Some might have seen Aborigines. We do not exactly look like the Aborigines. They were fond of feeling our hair. I am really happy about it. When I was in Sudan, we were fond of touching white’s man skin and hair. And here people are fond of feeling our hair and skin. Is it not really interesting? It is a big experience for us. In fact there are some*
others who do not want to see dark people. They show us gloomy faces. When we react to them in a similar manner they go away. They are in fact students from Eastern Europe. Now they are getting better. They ask us about our history. They are behaving well.

This respondent shows his awareness that the existing students felt some resentment against the new arrival because of his different colour. However, this seems to have been the initial reaction only. Many of the present friends of this particular respondent are children from East Europe.

Friendship. Ethiopian children find it hard to make friends soon after they come to school. It takes them some time to win friends specially for those children who join the mainstream schools. This is the hardest part for students who need friendship in a new environment, since friends help ease the new comers' problems of acclimatisation. One of the respondents (R6) says, 'It is not easy to make Australian friends. I have Australian friends but it is not easy to get. I have friends from Australia, Japan and some other countries. Many of them are all right. But some of them have that sort of feeling. Because, I can see that they do not want to be friendly with me. But I am comfortable with those who are my friends'.

This comment indicates that it takes a long time to get friends. It also suggests that it is easier to get non-Anglo-Australian friends. For those respondents from intensive language schools for immigrants, such as Blair Athol Secondary Language Centre, it is rather a common experience to get friends of non-Australian background. One of the
respondents (R24) who commented on the East European students says, 'My friends are from Bosnia, Rumania and Vietnam'.

The fact that this particular respondent is a language student in a language centre, where new migrants from various ethnic origin study go to study intensively means that there is a greater chance for him to make friends from different origins.

*Views on Australian Education.* It is worth concluding this part with a consideration of the views of the Ethiopian respondents on the Australian Education system generally.

The Australian educational system is different from that of Ethiopia at all educational levels. In Ethiopia students are obliged to stay in one class room the whole day. Here each student has his or her own time table. In Ethiopia and Kenya it is the teachers who have the time table to check where they need to go. Here both teachers and students are responsible for checking their own time tables. Therefore, the students go to the right class room, according to the time table.

The educational assessment system of Australia is quite different from that of Ethiopia. Here the assessment is continuous: every chapter or section of the curriculum is followed by a test. There is no 'mid-term test' or 'end of term test' as Ethiopian schools have. In Ethiopia, for some subjects, students had to wait until the end of the semester in order to sit for the final examination. In Australia, there are final exams in year 11 and 12 only. The difference in the evaluation system has a big effect on the psyche of the students.
As one of the high school students (R14) who had been at schools in both Ethiopia and Kenya points out, 'Students panic back home due to pressure coming from final exams. They find it extremely difficult to decide which subject to choose and study. Therefore, I would say that education here is better than that of Ethiopia and Kenya. It is easier for the students to remember what they studied in a particular chapter. I am extremely satisfied with the educational system of Australia'. This view is shared by other respondents as well. The students feel that Australian teachers are hardworking and helpful. They are surprised at the effort teachers make to care for each and every student. Such individual attention is quite unlikely to happen in Ethiopia where classes are large and teachers tend to teach by lecturing.

Those respondents who have been to Ethiopian schools have the feeling that there are remarkable differences between the Ethiopian and Australian educational systems. The Australian educational system is believed to be more advanced than that of Ethiopia. This is because students here are provided with everything, including materials and books which are not actually available in Ethiopia. Students are encouraged here to do things on their own. These differences are both in the teaching and learning process, as well as the educational evaluation systems. One of the respondents (R1) who is fairly satisfied has the following to say:

At tertiary level you do assignments at both places (Ethiopia and Australia). In Ethiopia, if you are supposed to give a paper, you are
expected to do your own readings and research. But still there is a high lecture domination in that part of the world. You go to lectures, take notes and sit for exams. Here in Australia you get more tutorials. You get knowledge from the teacher, students and your own readings. I think this system is really good and helpful for me. This system enables me to internalise the knowledge and helps me lay a good foundation, instead of just remaining as a passive listener.

The crux of the argument is that education in Australia requires much more personal effort and individual initiative on the part of the students. The teacher lectures in the class and sets homework tasks. Students are expected to study and work on their own.

Not every respondent agrees with the degree of independence students possess in this country. Those who are critical targeted secondary schools specially. These respondents have realised that here students are required to make their own decisions in choosing subjects. Some of them do not appreciate the number of subjects offered in the secondary schools, since they believe that it confuses students. One of the Australian-born respondents believes that the educational system does not meet her needs. She (R12) says, 'I have not been anywhere outside Australia so I can't make any comparison. Actually the Australian education system is a bit shabby. I worked hard and got nowhere. They gave me 41 which was not enough to get into any course'. This Australian-born girl and some other new migrants have expressed their dissatisfaction about the Australian education in a similar way.
Difficulties in Learning English. For the question 'Which was your biggest problem in learning English?', most of the Ethiopian Monocultural and Restricted Bicultural respondents point out that spelling, reading and writing are the most difficult part of English language learning. This might be due to two main reasons. The first is that 'Amharic and Tigregna are syllabic languages, where the vowels are incorporated in the consonants. Therefore the concept of differentiating between vowels and consonants remains to be difficult to comprehend for a while until they get used to it' (Debela 1994:9). See also Section 9.2.

The second reason is related to the difference in the syntax of the Amharic and Tigregna languages from English language. In these languages, by making some changes on the subject markers on the verb of a sentence, it is possible to avoid the 'subject' of the sentence. On account of this, it is very common to construct one-word sentences in these two languages. Moreover, articles (both definite and indefinite) are non-existent. In English, some sounds are silent, like 'k' in 'knife', but in Amharic, a phonetic language, such a concept is totally unknown. As a result, Amharic students often find it hard to understand these new concepts in the early stages of learning English.

Australian Education from the Parents' Perspective. Parents were critical of some aspects of education in Australia. Some parents fear that the children are not at the right age to choose subjects for themselves. Although some parents think it is preferable to have
more subject choices, not everyone agrees. A somewhat dissatisfied respondent (R14) says,

*First of all the children do not know all the subjects. So they need some sort of orientation. They might choose one which they think is better and then regret when they find it uninteresting, later on. I think it is better to give the choice at a higher level. The exam could also be difficult since they study lots of subjects. The language is another problem. More time should be given to language at least for non-English speaking students.*

There is a feeling among the parents and students that it could be a source of frustration when students are asked to choose from a number of courses that are offered at secondary schools. It is felt among parents that the students are not mature enough to make that sort of decision at that level.

A few new migrants are dissatisfied with other aspects of the educational system. This is particularly observed among the adult learners of English language. One of the respondents (R26) says, 'I am learning English language. They (the teachers) provide us with some materials to study. I do not think that it (the language lessons at the Adult Migrant Centre) will make much difference. We don't have enough time to exercise the language'.

Shortage of time is the basic problem for those who are dissatisfied with the lessons given at the Adult Migrant Centre. Respondents believe that sufficient time should be provided to learn the English language
properly. There are dissatisfactions at higher levels as well. As one of the respondents (R44), who has studied at a TAFE college in Adelaide, has pointed out,

_Australians have a very good educational system. However, many of the teaching methods are organised to benefit those people who are speaking English. It will not benefit those of us who came from a different background, therefore, it is important to design a certain method to embody refugees and other migrants._

This respondent feels that a certain provision should be made in order to enable new migrants from a non-English speaking background families to fit in the existing system. He didn't specifically mention how it could be made but he felt that some thing was needed. This relates to what Cummins calls 'empowerment'. He argues that methods of teaching and school Organisation clearly convey 'the fact that "power" is negotiated in schools: between educators and students, and ultimately between dominant and subordinated groups. Thus, the interactions between teachers and students can be analysed according to the degree to which these interactions reflect or challenge historical and current patterns of dominant-subordinated group relations.'(1994:165) According to this view minority students' failure in learning has a strong link to the lack of meaningful participation of the minority communities in the school.
Evaluation of Learning Amharic. For the question 'Do you think it is useful to learn Amharic or it is waste of time?' many of the respondents feel that it is most useful to learn Amharic. As one of the respondents (R42) points out, 'I have to read and study Amharic so that I can remember and use it. It is not a waste of time. In fact, I study it during holidays. I have the feeling that it is important to study Amharic whenever I have free time'.

A similar view has been indicated by other respondents. Another of the respondents (R24) says, 'I do not consider learning Amharic here as a waste of time. It is rather an opportunity to maintain your mother tongue'.

Learning Amharic is considered as a chance to develop one's own language. The idea that learning Amharic as a waste of time has no place in the minds of these respondents. The only hesitant views were expressed by children from mixed marriages as reported in Chapter 6 "Ideological System".

Some of the respondents who were born and brought up in refugee camps have managed to get some Amharic books and magazines which they have brought to Australia. In response to the question 'Do you read Amharic books and magazines?', one of the respondents (R25) states,

I read Amharic books and magazines. Before I came here I had the feeling that there would be no Ethiopians living here in Australia. Therefore, I decided to buy books about Ethiopia so that I could read
and maintain my history and language. I bought some three books on Ethiopian history and laws while I was in Sudan. I thought that they would be of help in my stay here in this country. Our late father was always telling us about our country and reminding us to keep our religion and language. Our father was so proud of his country. He was so enthusiastic about his country. He spent 17 years of his life in exile and finally lost his life without going back to his homeland. He did all that in love of his country.

This comment indicates that even during hard times in refugee camps, the Ethiopian refugees have preserved their language and culture, and transmitted it to the next generation. The above comment supports the argument that the Amaras culture and language have survived long difficult times and were of core significance for the mainstream of Ethiopian identity.

In reply to the question, 'How did your Ethiopian origin affect your school life and your ability to learn?' some of the respondents felt they had been influenced in some ways. The lack of support by teachers in Ethiopia is believed to have affected the progress of some of the children. One of the children respondents (R3) says, 'I remember that I did some schooling in Ethiopia and in Kenya. But I do not think that it is as comprehensive as this one. Back home they did not expend much energy on me. But here they spent lots of energy to help me'.

This comment suggests that schooling back home does not provide individualised support. The teachers show less care for each individual, but are more concerned for the whole class as a group.
Those children who had little educational background regret spending such a long time without any opportunity to go to school. They have mixed feelings about their origin. One of them (R25) says,

*I feel sorry about spending lots of time without going to school. If we were educated we would not have faced such a problem. That makes me feel sad. Otherwise, I am happy about my origin. I had no education in Sudan because the Sudanese government did not help us at all. The only thing that they gave us was a couple of kilos of grain and oil for a couple of weeks and that is all. Therefore, we were all obliged to work. We had no time and no opportunity to learn.*

This comment shows that those children of Ethiopian origin who were born and brought up as refugees in Sudan, unlike those who came from Kenya, had little chance of getting education. This has a clear impact on their present education. Most of the students who came from Sudan need Bilingual School Service Assistance (BSSO’s) while those who came from Kenya do not need much additional help.

The most significant finding of this study in relation to language is the high degree of English language activation and mastering revealed many of the respondents who have been in Australia for a comparatively short time, coupled with a high level of Amharic language maintenance. This leads to a large proportion of bilingual Ethiopian-Australian in the community and augurs well for their integration into multicultural and multilingual Australian society.
Chapter 10 Clusters of Cultural Values: A Typology

10.1 Examples of Respondents in the Value Clusters

10.1.1 Example of Ethiopian Monocultural Value Cluster

10.1.2 Example of Anglo-Assimilate Value Cluster

10.1.3 Examples of Bicultural Value Cluster

10.2 Mobility of Individuals Across Value Clusters

- From Ethiopian Monolingual to Bicultural
- From Bicultural to Assimilate
- From Assimilate to Bicultural
- From Bicultural to Ethiopian Monocultural
- From Assimilate to Ethiopian Monocultural
10.1 Examples of Respondents in the Value Clusters

The three types of value clusters have been briefly introduced as theoretical possibilities in Section 1.2. The procedures of classifying respondents into these value clusters or the basis of each respondents activation of Ethiopian and Anglo-Australian values have been explained in detail in Section 5.3 (See also Appendix 29 and 30).

In this chapter example of each of the main types isolated in this study are provided. In this way it is hoped to give a more holistic understanding of what the various types mean in the reality of every day living in Australia.
10.1.1 Example of Ethiopian Monocultural Value Cluster

Respondents who are categorised under Ethiopian Monocultural value cluster share similar characteristics in that all have 'High' activation of Ethiopian values in the four value systems being considered. At the same time, they all are 'Low' in their activation of Anglo-Australian values. These respondents constitute less than a fifth of the total respondents of 50.

An example of Ethiopian Monocultural value characteristic is provided by one of the respondents (R 23). This is an excerpt from her oral memoir.

I am a widowed mother. I speak Amharic, Tigregna and Arabic. I want to retain my language because it is the language of my country. I did not go to school in my country. I do not understand and speak any English. Because I was living in the countryside, I got married when I was a small girl. I do not think that I was even thirteen when I was married. In the countryside, there was and is an arranged marriage tradition. Parents arrange for their children while they were still toddlers. It is interesting that there were people whose marriage was arranged while they were in the wombs of their mothers. There is what we call 'Lijihen le Lejeha,(literally, this means your son or daughter is pledged to my son or daughter). I had no idea about marriage when I was married. As soon as I married I went to live with my in-laws. My first husband left me alone thinking that I was unable to give birth to a child. After I divorced, I
went to a small town called Humera where I met my second husband. I
married my second husband at Humera. He was a civil servant, not a
farmer. He was director of the Humera district council. We had good life
in Humera. We were middle class by Humera standard. My husband
was earning quite a lot of money. We led a decent life.

I feel sorry for spending lots of time with out going to school. If we were
educated we would not have faced such a problem. That makes me feel sad. Otherwise, I am happy about my origin. I had no education in
Sudan because the Sudanese government did not help us at all. The only
thing that they gave us was a couple of kilos of grain and a litre of oil for
a couple of weeks and that is all. Therefore, we were all obliged to work.
We had no time and no access to learning.

I do not want to lose my language since I want to keep my culture. There
is no doubt that I want my children to learn Amharic to communicate
effectively. I do not want them to lose their language and culture either.
If they speak in Amharic they will not forget their language. If they
know their language they can not forget their culture.

I listen to Amharic songs. Even though I speak Tigregna as fluently as
Amharic and all the people in our area are bilinguals in both languages,
we do not sing in Tigregna. All our songs are in Amharic.

Religion is religion. There is no question and compromise about it. I
want to maintain my Orthodox religion and language. They help me to
maintain my culture.
We have been here for eight months. At first, I was totally confused. Everything was new to me. I disliked everything. But now I am getting used to it. All of my friends are Ethiopians. I have no Australian friend. I know some of the places. I can go anywhere on my own. Language was the basic problem. I had difficulty in communicating in English.

I want to learn English. It is difficult to use interpreters. Because they may not interpret as you want. They could even misinterpret. So I desperately need to learn English. It is a shame not to speak a language and ask people to help you translate.

The greatest obstacle to the activation of the Anglo-Australian values for respondents in this value cluster is lack of communication in English, as illustrated by the respondent above.

Over the period of this research, a big difference has been observed in some of the respondents classified as Ethiopian Monoculturals in terms of their ability to speak English. For instance, two respondents (R25, R26) have managed to enrol in a main stream high school, having received a one year English language education at a special Language Centre. The researcher has noted this improvement in their English in ever day communication. Such changes occurring during the time of this research have led to the need to take into account the mobility of some of respondents across the value clusters. Evidence of this mobility will be discussed more fully later in this chapter. The above mentioned respondent has attended English classes and now is able to communicate to a certain degree.
10.1.2 Anglo-Assimilate Value Cluster

Respondents have been allocated to this value cluster because of evidence that they activate mainly Anglo-Australian values. The following is extracted from the oral memoir of R22.

I'm sixteen, born and bred in Australia. I am a full time student. I live with my parents. I have decided to live with them until I get enough money. I must stay until next year. Even if I get the money I cannot leave now because it costs more. I lead a decent and independent life at the moment; they do not restrict me too much. I will be able to do more at home. So I like to stay there. I try to make my own decisions rather than they make decisions for me. At the moment I have to decide by myself. I am now sixteen. I prefer having independence eventually. Because it is a bit more exciting and a bit more challenging. Except, being brought up here all my life...none of the cultural background from Ethiopia is, like, put on to me by my dad. He's his own an ongoing style.

Basically, I speak English, and I learnt Japanese for two years but I do not remember that any more. I do not really know any Ethiopian at all. Just a couple of words like 'endeminaderke' means 'greetings', 'eshi' means 'OK, and that sort of thing. I guess I would love to learn Amharic, if I were younger. But it will be difficult at this age. I tried Japanese but I was not very good at it. My father did not teach me Greek or Amharic, even though he speaks both of them. Dad sometimes listens to Amharic songs but it sounds like mumbling. I speak English to everybody. I will teach English to my child because I do not know any other language myself.
Amharic won’t be important for me to communicate with my children. I would like to learn Amharic. But I do not want to put the effort in, like to go to classes or anything like that. It would be possible a couple of years ago, but it is difficult now. It might be a good idea for my brother to learn Amharic, but I do not know if he wants to. He identifies himself more Australian than I identify myself as African. I do not know, I haven’t talked to him about it.

I am not religious in any way. At school I have to go to church because there is a church at school. We have lessons a couple of times a week. I do not have any religion.

Basically I am Australian because I live in Australia. I have got an African background but am mainly Australian. People ask me about my identity by looking at my colour because I am not totally dark or white. They ask where I am from. People mistake me for being American or African American; people mistaken me for being even Indonesian.

I have spent all my life here. I feel like one of them and not different from anybody at all. I just tell them I am half-African and half-Australian, you see. They call me Ethiopian, that is in a nice way. It is not racism or anything like that. I take that as a compliment.

I think I prefer white girls. I do not know why, but it might be something entirely genetical. I just like white girls. By white girls I mean Anglo-Australian definitely. I may give an European type name to my child because I do not know any African names.
This is a typical example of an Anglo-Assimilate type of respondent which constitutes a little less than a tenth of the total respondents. Two of the four Anglo-Assimilates (R12, R22) have 'High' valuation of Anglo-Australian values in all four value systems while at the same time they show 'Low' valuation for all Ethiopian values. Both of these respondents were born and bred in Australia from mixed Ethiopian and Australian parents.

The other two Anglo-Assimilates, however, are more borderline cases. They have 'High' valuation of Anglo-Australian values for three of the value systems (R11) and only two value systems in the case of R21.

R21 also has 'Medium' valuation for all Ethiopian values, while R11 has one 'High', two 'Medium' and one 'Low' valuation of Ethiopian values. These respondents are the Ethiopian born parents of R12 and R22 respectively. Both these parental respondents (R11 and R21) have shown mobility across value clusters in the course of this research. This aspect will be discussed later in this chapter.
10.1.3 Examples of Bicultural Value Cluster

Those respondents who give evidence of high valuation and affiliation to the Ethiopian values and activate both Ethiopian and Anglo-Australian values side by side are labelled as Bicultural. All people in this category exhibit a reasonable integration into Australian society, while at the same time maintaining close links within Ethiopian-Australian community. Over three quarters of the total respondents belong to the Bicultural value cluster.

This group of respondents can be further sub-divided into Restricted Bicultural category (constituting a third of the total respondents), and 'Extended Bicultural category (making up a little more than a third of the total respondents). The distinction between these two sub-categories is based on the degree of their valuation of Australian values, seen as a complement to their firmly established Ethiopian systems.

There are no substantive differences between Restricted Bicultural and Extended Bicultural respondents in terms of their valuation of the Ethiopian values. Extended Bicultural type respondents are characterised by competent use of both Ethiopian and Australian ideological, religious, linguistic and social values, although these are demonstrated to a different degree. Individuals in this category, for example, are fluent in both English and Amharic due to their academic background (see Appendix 27), but may show varying degrees of ideological commitment to Australia and Ethiopia.
However, it should be underlined that the Restricted Bicultural respondents have more limited activation of the Australian values, when compared to the Extended Bicultural respondents. This is particularly evident in relation to their ability to speak English. All but two Extended Bicultural respondents exhibit a 'High' level of English, as compared to the Restricted Bicultural respondents who show 'Low' or 'Medium' levels of English activation. The Bicultural Extended respondents' ability to speak in English facilitates their communication with English speakers. It is the ability to speak English and communicate readily with other Australians that marks out this group of respondents and distinguishes them from the Restricted Biculturals, who are held back by their lack of English communication skills.

The following example of Extended Bicultural respondent shows to what extent this sub-group is different from the Restricted Bicultural respondents in terms of activating Ethiopian and Australian values.

**Example of Extended Bicultural (R47)**. I am single individual, aged 26. I was born and brought up in Ethiopia. Ethnically, I am half Oromo and half-Amara. Linguistically and culturally I am Amara.

I am a would-be graduate in accounting from the University of South Australia. I had primary and secondary education in Ethiopia. I was also enrolled in the University of Addis Abeba but discontinued in fear of the political turmoil in the country.

In 1987, I left for Sudan from Ethiopia. I travelled all the way to Sudan on foot. In Sudan I stayed for three years as refugee. Because of my academic background, I had the opportunity to work in an international organisation. While working there, I met an Australian scientist who was working voluntarily for an aid organisation which was assisting
refugees coming from all parts of Africa. The two of us became good friends. As a result, he advised me to come to Australia as refugee instead of going to Canada or America. In fact, I had already processed to go to Canada before starting the process to come to Australia. Thanks to his advice, I changed my mind and came to Australia. He sponsored me to come to Australia.

Almost all refugees, as soon as they first come here get shelter that is organised by the Department of Social Security. But in my case it was different. My sponsor provided me with everything, including shelter and pocket money. I lived with him for a year and half. Then he went to Sydney to take his new job. Before he left, he had organised a place to stay for me. This time it was another Australian student who was doing his PhD in Engineering. I stayed for about one year with him. When he got married, he arranged another shelter for me.

This one was an Anglo-Saxon family. They were happy to let me have a room. It was a sort of full board residential place. They were just like my own family. I do not do any cooking at home. I do dish washing. I feel very comfortable with them. They are caring, loving and supporting people.

I use English all the time with them since they speak English only. I speak Amharic with Amharic speakers. I sometimes speak Arabic with Arabic speaking people. English is the predominant language that I use everyday here in Australia. Amharic comes next to English. My Amharic is much stronger than my English. However, there are a number of words that I know in English but not in Amharic. I can understand, speak, read and write in Amharic and English as much as I want.

The above experience and sentiments exemplify respondents assigned to the Extended Bicultural category. Respondents in this category retain a strong foundation of Ethiopian values, but build upon them Anglo-
Australian linguistic and social Australian values and make use of both Anglo-Australian and Ethiopian values in different situations and domains of their lives.

In most cases the one 'High' valuation of the Anglo-Australian values revealed by the Extended Bicultural respondents refers to their ability to speak fluently in English. Since most of them are political refugees they have completed at least secondary school education in Ethiopia. There are two respondents in this value sub-cluster (R42, R45) who are somewhat different in this regard.

Both (R42, R45) are classified as Extended Bicultural not because of their 'High' activation of English but due to their 'High' activation of Anglo-Australian social values. Both of them have Australian girl-friends. One of them (R42) resides with her in ade-facto relationship. They have many other Australian friends. Despite his 'Medium' level of English, he has many English speaking friends, mixing well socially with them and spends most of his time in English speaking company. Still has only relatively limited command of English, but his social interaction develops his language ability. The other respondent (R45) also has an Australian girl friend. He stays with her most of the day. They do not live together but spend most of their time with each other. Even though his English is not of 'High' level, he is considered as a Extended Bicultural since he shows 'High' activation of Anglo-Australian social values. The example below demonstrates a Restricted Bicultural respondent's activation of cultural values and helps to illustrate the fine line between these two subgroups of the Bicultural value cluster.
Example of Restricted Bicultural (R27). In all situations, with Amharic
speakers, I use Amharic for communication. I think my secondary
school education has helped me to learn English. Moreover, my work
experience with a foreign company in Ethiopia has contributed to my
language development. Likewise, my stay in Egypt has enabled me to
retain my English.

My understanding and reading skills in English are not too good. My
speaking and writing skills need to be improved. After some years, it is
possible to improve all my language skills. But at the moment I must
admit it is a constraint to make proper communication as much as I
want. When there are non-Amharic speakers, say if my two neighbours
come to visit me, I speak English. We can understand each other. In the
language school I use English. I understand what the teachers say. I use
English to communicate with other students. I watch English films on
television. I understand most films. I can read and write, with
limitations. With Ethiopian friends, as usual, we use Amharic. I never
use English with Amharic speakers. In fact, at times, I use some English
words in my discourse, but not a well constructed English. I don’t have
English speaking friends. I usually stay with my brother and sister-in-
law. Our medium of communication is obviously Amharic.

Although the respondent concerned said that she has “no problem”
with her English, she later revealed serious inadequacies in her reading
and writing abilities and even a halting manner in her speech. Her
unwillingness to say outright that she finds English difficult is due to a
typical Ethiopian diffidence in admitting to a deficiency which obviously
causes her a loss of inconvenience and embarrassment. Some other
speakers in this category stated even more plainly their difficulties with
English and the way they grappled with the problem as they attempted to
elevate their performance from “Low” to “Medium”, or from
“Medium” to “High”.

10.2 Mobility of Individuals Across Value Clusters

The respondents have been classified into three basic value cluster, on the basis of their activation of four major value systems namely, ideological, linguistic, religious and social as outlined in Sections 1.1, and 10.1. In Section 1.2 the three types of value clusters were briefly discussed in theoretical terms. The procedures of classifying respondents into value clusters on the basis of each respondent's activation of Ethiopian and Australian values have been explained in Section 5 and illustrated with detailed examples in Section 10.1.

A number of respondents, however, can be described as being "mobile", in the sense that while they have been assigned to one particular value cluster, this ascription can not be regarded as static. The respondents may be observed as moving towards greater Anglo-assimilation, or towards the opposite polarity, namely that of greater "Ethiopianness". Evidence of this mobility has been obtained in at least two ways. One indication of the mobility has been gained through the personal observation of the researcher over a period of some three and a half years. This has related in particular to the greater command of English evident among many of respondents, as a particularly significant indicator of growing acculturation into the Australian society. At the same time, some respondents reveal their mobility through direct statements about the changing nature of their identity, their social relationships and their language interests. Some respondents discover a re-awakening of their Ethiopian consciousness, while becoming more
fully integrated linguistically and/or socially into Australian society as a whole.

The evidence for the existence of patterns of individual mobility across value clusters makes it clear that the classification developed in this study is a dynamic one. One of the findings of this research is that individuals are moving across value clusters towards either of the two poles of the ethnicity continuum.

Some of the transitions are in a direction anticipated by researchers previously classified as sceptical of minority languages. In case of Ethiopian-Australians, this type of mobility is reflected in the transition of respondents from the ‘Ethiopian Monocultural’ value cluster to the ‘Bicultural’, and from ‘Bicultural’ to the ‘Assimilate’ value cluster. This represents the 'expected' trend in the mobility of minority individuals on the ethnicity continuum towards the majority group's cultural values. There also exists dynamism within Bicultural value cluster with individuals moving from the Bicultural Restricted to the Bicultural Extended sub-category when they became more effective in activating English language, or when they increase their social intermingling with Australians.

This investigation would seem to be the first of its kind, however, to identify dynamism among individuals across different value clusters in both directions, with evidence also of a reverse type of mobility to that expected by researchers such as Paulston (see Section 2.4). This research on Ethiopians in South Australia confirms the contention that mobility
across the value clusters is not necessarily uni-dimensional but may be bi-dimensional. Some individuals were clearly observed moving towards greater activation of Ethiopian values, even going as far as the Ethiopian Monocultural value cluster.

This mobility across clusters, is reflected in seven respondents who may be described as 'Border Line Cases' since they straddle cluster boundaries. These respondents have been placed in that value cluster which corresponds most closely to their cultural situation at the time of data collection. However, sufficient information about them has been accumulated since then to indicate clearly the pathway they are already taking towards another cluster.

The border line cases are broadly classified as “Expected” Mobility Towards Majority Culture' and “Reverse” Mobility Towards Ethiopian Culture (See Figure 3).

<table>
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<th>Figure 4  Classification of Border Line Cases in Terms of &quot;Expected&quot; and &quot;Reverse&quot; Mobility</th>
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<td>Expected Mobility towards Majority Culture</td>
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<td>R24,R25</td>
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As indicated above, the "expected" mobility towards majority culture is observed in two ways. The first case is the transition from Ethiopian Monocultural to Bicultural while the second is from Bicultural to Anglo-Assimilate, where the individual has moved into using English in most domains and associating closely with Anglo-Australians.
From Ethiopian Monocultural to Bicultural. Respondents 24 and 25 (see Appendix 1) are high school students who have been attending language classes at a Secondary Language Centre where the researcher himself was assisting them as a Bilingual School Service Officer (BSSO). They started their English from scratch. In one year they were able to understand, speak, read and write to a survival level. In their second year they have managed to develop their English to a level where by they can understand English in the classroom without much assistance, as used to be necessary. With the frequent exposure to the society and classroom language learning, these two respondents are very close to demonstrating the bilingual-bicultural characteristics of using both languages for most aspects of life.

The fact that they have non-Amharic speaking friends means that they are forced to resort to using English as their medium of communication in the school situation. The researcher has been to their house several times and has observed a significant change in the choice of language among the family members. They belong to household of R23 (See Figure 1). Initially most of the children were used to speaking in Arabic, Tigregna or Amharic alternatively. This was the situation about a year ago. But now there is a growing trend towards using English, even in the home. Despite the imperfection of their English, there is a clear sign that the children's 'first out' (see Section 9. 5) language is becoming English. As they progress in their academic level, they demonstrate the ability to activate Amharic and English simultaneously without much problem.
However, their greater activation of English has not been at the total expense of their Amharic. Both respondents have been serving as ‘relief teachers’ for the Amharic ethnic school which demands the usage of Amharic and English. Both will take a short course which will enable them to grasp some basic teaching skills and be assigned to teach Amharic to the other children.

While most of the Ethiopian Monocultural respondents are likely to remain in their particular cluster for at least some time to come, these two cases demonstrate that the acquisition of Anglo-Australian values can take place without loss of the Ethiopian culture and linguistic heritage. Hence these two respondents can be cited as examples of mobility of individuals from the Ethiopian Monocultural to the Bicultural value cluster.

From Bicultural to Anglo-Assimilate. As has been mentioned earlier, the transition from Bicultural to Anglo-Assimilate is another "expected" form of mobility towards the majority culture. The two respondents, R3 and R6, (see Appendix 1) were primary school students who could speak Amharic fluently at the initial stage of this research, in 1992. In the past three years their English has developed tremendously and their Amharic has dwindled remarkably. English is almost becoming their ‘First Out’ language in any discourse with their age group friends. Their fluency in Amharic is gradually decreasing to a level where they find it hard to find many equivalent words in Amharic. It should be noted that they do not attend the Amharic ethnic school.
They have even picked up a noticeable "Aussie" accent which is a clear marker that their acquisition of English is better than that of other Bicultural respondents. Shortage of Amharic words and hesitations while speaking are the most obvious characteristics of the gradual erosion of their Amharic linguistic stock. They are mostly insecure with their Amharic syntax and diction. It is highly likely that these two respondents will move to the 'Anglo-assimilate' value cluster, as their English language gets stronger and Amharic fades away.

For instance, respondent R3, lives in household 1 with R1 and R2 who are Bicultural themselves. This respondent now mostly speaks in English with her parents and friends. She has a very good command of English with a near "Aussie" accent.

Respondent R6 lives in household no. 2 with R4 and R5 who belong to Bicultural value cluster. R6 activates English at all times with his younger sister who cannot speak Amharic. He has an excellent command of English with an "Aussie" accent. He is popular among his friend for his outstanding "Western" dancing skills. He uses English with his friends since they are from a variety of ethnic backgrounds and many of them cannot speak Amharic. R6 was born and bred in Djibouti. He learnt his Amharic from his parents, at home. There, he was a fluent speaker of both Somali and Amharic. His Somali has completely been eroded, except in some counting and greeting words. Language erosion is now threatening his Amharic. He understands Amharic but replies very cautiously and slowly. He sometimes covers up his inability to speak the language by smiling.
This erosion of Amharic has been paralleled by a gradual decrease of the respondents' (R3 and R6) Ethiopian ideological perception, but social systems have, so far, remained predominantly Ethiopian.

*From Anglo-Assimilate to Bicultural.* The respondent (R21) came to Australia almost two decades ago and was originally married to an Anglo-Australian woman. During his marriage, he did not use Amharic and had very little contact with other Ethiopians. He exhibited little interest in things Ethiopian and could have been regarded as totally submerged in Anglo-Australian society. He has two sons.

With the increase in the number of Amharic speakers in Adelaide, he has become more and more immersed in Ethiopian activities. Most of his friends now are Amharic speakers. He spends most of his time with them speaking Amharic, by both meeting them in person during weekends, as well as and on the telephone during weekdays. He usually visits other Ethiopians and never misses Ethiopian functions. He is a good listener. He likes to participate in all Ethiopian social functions. He became a member of the Ethiopian Community Association in South Australia in 1992. He brings one of his sons to the soccer match which takes place every Saturday and uses the time to socialise with the other community members. He identifies himself as Ethiopian Australian. Despite many years of living in Australia, and speaking English as a home language, his Amharic language is again becoming increasingly fluent. He has demonstrated a remarkable skill in revitalising his Amharic. Despite the generation gap that separates him
from the new migrants, he has succeeded in mixing well with the new arrivals. However, his Amharic diction reflects a particular past generation of language use. He enjoys listening to and learning new vocabulary that has emerged in Ethiopia in the past two decades. His frequent contacts with Amharic speakers has enabled him to catch up on new slang and terms which have never existed before. It is a great source of enjoyment for him to get acquainted with these words and compare them with what he knew already. On account of this, R21 is revealing a smooth pathway from the 'Anglo-Assimilate' towards the 'Bicultural' value cluster.

The researcher has had a number of informal discussions with this respondent at his home, at the researcher's house and in many other social functions. The respondent shows particular concern for his son's education, including his ability to succeed professionally in Australia.

*From Bicultural to Ethiopian Monocultural.* Another example of "reverse mobility" can be seen to have occurred when the individual has come to feel threatened by the culture of the majority. The respondent concerned, R13, speaks both English and Amharic very well, but he feels very uncomfortable in that he has been unable to find a job has experienced discrimination in this regard (See The Issue of Visibility in Section 6.5). His perception of himself in this country has therefore undergone a change as he feels excluded from the mainstream and seek consolation by re-entering more fully into his Ethiopian social and cultural heritage. He considers himself as Ethiopian-Australian.
There is evidence, however, that his identity is much more attuned to the 'Ethiopian' rather than 'Ethiopian-Australian'. Most of his contacts are with Ethiopians, who are either 'Ethiopian Monocultural' or 'Restricted Bicultural'. He teaches his children how to speak and write in Amharic. He advises his children to marry Ethiopians, even though they are still small. He does not see much hope for the future, as far as getting a job is concerned and this has exerted a pronounced effect upon his position in his community and his distancing himself from the Australian society. He finds refuge in upholding Ethiopian cultural values.

From Anglo-Assimilate to Ethiopian Monocultural. One of the most remarkable findings in this study has been the identification of an Assimilate who has shown a tendency to move towards the 'Ethiopian Monocultural' value cluster. This rare case represents an even more striking example of "reverse mobility" than those of the respondents discussed previously. Such reverse mobility is not an unknown phenomenon although it may be rather uncommon or isolated. Kloskowska (1994:88) reports 'The case of Ketrzynski is of interest for the sociology of culture, because his national conversion (from German to Polish) occurred without the direct influence of personal contact and in the absence of any pressure or attraction which may be exerted by such contacts.'

This particular respondent (R11) has been in Australia for more than 20 years. He is married to an Anglo-Australian and has two children. He is
not happy with the upbringing of his own children, particularly their behaviour and lack of respect for parents, especially in relation to him. He has revitalised his language by going to Ethiopia for an extended stay (See Section 6.3 under Revitalization ). He has made an attempt to show the World about life in Ethiopia by making a documentary film entitled ‘Man of Ethiopia’ (see Plate 13 ). Following his visit to Ethiopia, he changed his lifestyle and has established an extensive network of social relationships with fellow Ethiopians in Adelaide. He became a member of the Ethiopian Community Association in South Australia (ECASA). He was one of the two longest serving executive committee members of the Ethiopian community. After his visit to Ethiopia, the respondent’s personal narration at the end of the film is as follows:

So that was my trip to Ethiopia, the country I left so long ago in search of a rainbow. My Roman adventure was not the answer, as soon as I found out there was no rainbow there. My entry to Australia was not very spectacular. Two suit cases, and a lot of determination to find fame and fortune. Australia has been very good to me for which I will always be thankful. It made it possible for me to return to my country and to be reunited with my extended family. My travel to Ethiopia has opened my eyes to many things and to their way of life. Now, well in the future, circumstances permitting, I shall return from time to time to the land of my birthplace. Perhaps, after all, this is where my rainbow ends.

Ultimately, he went back to Ethiopia in February, 1995. His plan was to stay there for ever, if the political situation permitted. He suggested that his wife and daughter go with him, but they did not accept his
Camaraman finds beauty behind famine

Famine and death have become familiar images of Ethiopia, but Adelaide welder turned film-maker Giorgio Liveti believes there is another side to the North African country.

Mr Liveti, Ethopiaborn, says most of the people, has left green hills and valleys, slowly dying and stille land.

And to prove it, Mr Liveti has spent five years filming Man of Ethiopia, which is full of lush images.

'The point of the film is to show that millions of people are dying, and to show Australians that Ethiopia is not all horror and death'.

Mr Liveti says:

The famine is restricted to only two provinces, which border the desert, while the rest of Ethiopia is healthy.

'But my film is non-political. It is a cultural and historical travelogue I suppose you could say. It is an adventure tour through Ethiopia.'

Mr Liveti, 41, of Christie Downs returned to Ethiopia in 1981 to be reunited with his mother, whom he had not seen or heard from since he left for Italy in 1963.

It was during his return visit that Mr Liveti, who came to Australia in 1969, decided to make a subsequent visit and film the country.

'I was staggered by its beauty'.

Mr Liveti says, 'The images wouldn't leave me and I was determined to put them on film.'

To finance the film, Mr Liveti, married with two young children, worked for two years as a welder at the Moomba gas fields.

Giorgio Liveti with a model of an 'Ethiopian warrior'.

By Meno Toutsidis

He returned to Ethiopia last year with his Bolex reflex camera and spent eight months travelling and filming.

Mr Liveti had wanted to film in the least accessible provinces, but says authorities would not give him permission.

While the filming and post-production were exhausting, so too was the marketing of his film.

Mr Liveti had spent months talking with distributors and exhibitors and could not sell Man of Ethiopia, in which he appears and which is shot in the style of the Leyland Brothers TV series, would remain in the can.

But last week Mr Liveti struck a deal to have the film screened at Locleys Cinema Centre from November 25 to 30 and has the approval of the Education Department to approach individual schools to have the film screened for students.

Eventually, Mr Liveti hopes to have Man of Ethiopia—the title refers to himself—screened in halls and cinemas throughout the State.

'Trm not interested in making a profit', he says. 'All I want is to break even and hopefully finance another film about Ethiopia.'

Mr Liveti has given up his welding trade and since his return to Adelaide has taken jobs with film production companies.

His most recent job was as a camera crane assistant on the feature film, 'Free Enterprise', which was shot in Melbourne by John Dixon and Geoff Burrows, makers of the TV mini-series 'The Anzacs'.

Giorgio captures the other side of Ethiopia.

To many people Ethiopia conjures up pictures of pain, suffering and starvation but Giorgio Liveti of Christie Downs has set out to show another side of his homeland.

Giorgio sees Ethiopia as a lush green land of people, rivers, lakes and wildlife but broken with unknown tragedy and a history of suffering.

He has just returned from an expedition across the country capturing his journey on film to show the world a different picture.

This week Giorgio's film, 'Man of Ethiopia', will be showing at The Flamingle Ballroom, Christie Downs.

Giorgio does not deny millions are starving in Ethiopia but believes people should also be aware of the land's beauty, dangers and the underlying tragedy.

'No-one knew where Ethiopia was until the famine broke out but it's different from what western people think,' he said.

Learning of the famine and drought, Giorgio was drawn back to Ethiopia where his family still live in the capital city Addis Ababa.

While there, he re-discovered beauty as well as learning his film did not only lie in the poverty-ridden areas.

'In travelling the country Giorgio met himself among the people and went to a close关系 with whom I thought he was a peasant agent.'

When' I was there nobody allowed to talk about the war but people were under a different system of Ethiopia, but don't want to see anything to do with Ethiopia,' he said.

'I was there, I know how the system is,' he said.

Giorgio worked in Moomba to earn the $71,000 needed to make his film.

He has spent the past year's running and working towards his product.

Today, Wednesday, September 27, his film, 'Man of Ethiopia', will show at The Flamingle Ballroom, McKinnon and Christie Downs.

Sessions are at 3.30 p.m., 5.30 p.m. and 7.30 p.m.

Tickets are $2.50 for adults, child concessions $2.50 are available door.
offer. Even without them, he was determined to go and, when in Ethiopia, to decide whether to stay there for the rest of his life. The researcher was invited to a farewell party at R11's home on the eve of his second departure for Ethiopia. A week before his departure, his Ethiopian friends, including the researcher, organised a barbecue where he was also given a symbolic present of a suitcase.

To the farewell party at his home, R11 invited a number of Ethiopian and Australian friends. He was extremely surprised when his son arrived unexpectedly on leave from the Navy for the special purpose of saying farewell to him. He had not seen his son for four years before his farewell party. When R11 saw his son, he burst into tears. He couldn't stop crying. R11 has always had high expectations of his two children especially in terms of their respect for him. These expectations were of such nature that neither of his two children seemed able to satisfy them. This was undoubtedly one of the chief causes of his dissatisfaction.

The cool and detached attitude which his children adopted towards him made R11 feel lonely and desperate. Consequently he decided to look for a homeland that would give him a better chance of activating Ethiopian value systems.

The collection of material for this case study illustrates the varying data that has been accumulated in this research, using three different approaches. Firstly, the respondent was asked to fill a questionnaire, then interviewed using oral memoir technique, and finally the
researcher included data from his participant observations to amplify these findings. The researcher had a number of contacts both directly personal and on the telephone to deepen the meaning and context of his findings. This particular respondent has confirmed his previous sentiments (as expressed initially in the interview) by repeating them in the presence of his family members, who were indifferent about his decision to return to Ethiopia. The researcher has met the family of R11 more than eight times on different occasions at their home and at other places. Even though R11 is a citizen of Australia, he does not feel that he is accepted either by the Australian society as a whole or even by his own family.

This kind of "reverse mobility" from Assimilate to Ethiopian Monocultural could be viewed as of rare occurrence. However, many Ethiopians (mainly refugees) who came to Australia in their teenage years show the tendency at some later stage of wishing to reside again in their own homeland, if the situation there improves.
PART IV

CONCLUSIONS
Most countries in the world are now culturally diverse. This diversity can take various forms. Most frequently it shows itself in terms of linguistic plurality, often with one language dominant while other languages assume minority status. Issues concerned with minority languages impinge not only on education but also on social and political arrangements in society.

The focus of this study is on Australia, but conceptually it is placed in an international setting since the issues that confront Australia are of general significance and are applicable to other countries in the world.

**Theoretical Contributions.** The theoretical presentation of the thesis represents a contribution from a minority languages' perspective to the understanding of how language contact situations vary from a healthy and positive context, resulting in bilingualism or multilingualism, to an unhealthy and negative environment, leading in the extreme situation, to language death.

The question of minority languages in general, and minority language education in particular, has aroused a range of opinions among scholars, educational administrators and policy makers, as well as the community at large. The lack of consensus on this issue is most clearly demonstrated in the divergent orientations that have been espoused by researchers in bilingual education and other social sciences concerned with languages education. These include both supporters of the teaching of minority languages, who advocate the teaching of
minority languages on a number of grounds, to sceptics who perceive minority language education as costly, confusing and divisive.

This thesis adopts a positive and healthy perspective on minority language education and hence advocates an orientation that favours the maintenance and development of minority languages. The conceptual perspective is developed into five paradigms that articulate the grounds for this stance.

One of the distinctive features of the thesis is the development of a linguistic inventory system to classify language knowledge and usage. In the study the concept of FIFO (First in First out) and LIFO (Last in First out) as linguistic inventory systems are used to interpret the patterns of the Ethiopian respondents' activation of linguistic values. This can be seen as one of the distinctive theoretical contributions of this thesis to knowledge in the area of minority language education.

**Conclusions Related to Community Languages Education.** The image which emerges from the latest state and national language policy initiatives across Australia is one that heralds a return to a situation that in accords more closely with the linguistic human rights paradigm.

This return to a more healthy language contact situation, such as that which prevailed during the second half of the 19th century, has opened room for the maintenance of community languages.

In relation to the practical aspect of the teaching of community languages in schools, it can be concluded that Mother Tongue
Development (MTD) programs in South Australia, have proved highly successful as far as teaching of Languages Other Than English (LOTE) is concerned.

This research ascertained that the teaching of LOTE as a second language is more likely to be successful, if the language taught corresponds to the language background of the student population, as well as parental preference. On the other hand, it was observed that the teaching of a LOTE other than the students' mother tongue is less successful if it is taught to NESB children who are not yet proficient in English since it is hard for them to learn two new languages, at the same time.

This thesis substantiated that, the teaching of Italian and English in a bilingual situation is more successful than the teaching of Italian as LOTE, and that it enjoys a high level of parental support. This is because the students can actually experience the use of the language in special religious services, at concerts and at home. The evidence suggests that it is much more difficult to successfully teach a second language where there is not a single speaker of the language concerned, and when no opportunity is provided to acquire literacy in the home language.

The study revealed three stages in the teaching of minority ethnic languages among small newly arrived groups. The first two stages are "Parental Guided Home Teaching" and "Pool Teaching", in which some of the parents organise themselves to teach their children by moving from house to house. These represent informal precursor
leading to the third stage, the formation of a more formal “Ethnic School”.

Conclusions Related to Ethiopian-Australians. According to the findings in this study, the Ethiopians arrived in South Australia in three different ways. The largest group of refugees migrated in big waves. As a result this group is categorised as 'wave migrants'. The next group consists of those migrants who came to join their spouses and relatives. This group of a few migrants who have arrived to reunite with their families is labelled as 'chain migrants'. The very few respondents who came to Australia in isolation, mainly by getting married to Australian citizens, or as skilled migrants, are labelled as 'isolated migrants'.

Adjustment to Australian conditions has varied considerably from person to person and from group to group. This thesis reveals that, those children who are born and bred here in Australia and those adults who have a good command of the English language found the integration process as 'easy' and 'fairly easy'. On the other hand, those who have little knowledge of English have generally found the integration process as 'difficult' and 'very difficult'. This underlines the fact that knowledge of English is absolutely crucial for adjustment to the Australian conditions.

The cultural adaptation of the Ethiopian community can be seen to be positively influenced by the minority languages education policy in South Australia. The thesis identified those values that have been variously adopted, modified or rejected by the Ethiopians living in South Australia. Ethiopian-Australians have adopted a number of Anglo-Australian values, one of which has been the acceptance of the
democratic rights and freedom of speech that exist in Australia. They have also adopted the idea of respect for all kinds of jobs, proper use of time and tolerance of people from a variety of backgrounds. One of the modified values is encouraging children to speak in front of adults. This amends the strong ideal pattern of behaviour in Ethiopian society- the quiet, silent type, which is considered as a model for children. Some Ethiopian respondents do not like to let third parties, such as social workers, 'meddle' in their affairs. They stress that they are more responsible and concerned for their children than social workers, who do the job just for the sake of earning their living. They prefer 'elders' or 'wise men' to mediate between members of a family. The public social policy approach represents Anglo-Australian values that are rejected by Ethiopian-Australians.

Three basic value clusters were identified in the analysis of data: the Ethiopian Monocultural type which is perceived as predominantly Ethiopian, the Bicultural value cluster which is perceived as Ethiopian-Australian and the Anglo-Assimilate value cluster. The Ethiopian Monocultural respondents rely upon extensive use of Ethiopian ideological and religious values. Likewise, they count on the extensive usage of Ethiopian linguistic and social values but with a much more limited or non-existent use of English language and Anglo-Australian social values. Those respondents who have high valuation and affiliation to the Ethiopian values and activate both Ethiopian and Anglo-Australian values side by side are labelled as Bicultural. All individuals classified as Bicultural demonstrate a high degree of Ethiopian value activation but only those labelled as Extended show a significant degree of familiarity with Anglo-Australian value systems. In contrast, Restricted Bicultural type of
respondents have a more limited command and activation of Anglo-Australian values. Anglo Assimilate respondents entirely depend on the extensive usage of Anglo-Australian ideological linguistic, religious and social values.

Evidence presented in the thesis indicates that the survival of Amharic is partly due to the positive attitude of the Ethiopians towards their culture a finding which affirms the ethno linguistic vitality paradigm. This research further identified Amharic as a core value for Amharic speakers and other Ethiopians, as well. Most Ethiopians want to maintain their language and recognise the importance of maintaining the Amharic language with its ancient script, and passing it on to the young generation at any cost. At the same time, all the Amharic speaking Ethiopians also clearly understand the importance of English for living in the Australian society. Parents believe that Amharic language is the foremost carrier of their culture. The erosion of their tongue among their children is perceived as painful since they recognise that the loss of their linguistic core is in most cases a prelude to the attenuation of the Ethiopian cultural system. These findings illustrate the core values paradigm, by demonstrating the utmost importance of Amharic to Ethiopian cultural maintenance.

Another important contribution of the thesis is its documentation of patterns of mobility of individuals across value clusters. In particular, this thesis identified individuals moving across value clusters towards both of the two poles of the ethnicity continuum. In this way the investigation provides original evidence for the existence of dynamism in the adaptation of immigrants to a new society. In this
regard one of the most remarkable findings has been the identification of ‘reverse mobility’ of individuals across value clusters in line with the reactivation and revitalization paradigm.

Overall, the findings presented from the different parts of the investigation enable the thesis to conclude that the healthy language contact situation in South Australia and the support available for community language teaching and English as a Second Language programs can be seen to have contributed to the maintenance of Amharic and the cultural adaptation of the Ethiopian community towards the bilingual, bicultural type of Ethiopian-Australian.
PART V APPENDICES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY
N.B The family relationships between respondents is indicated in Figure 1.

R1 Male, in his mid-thirties, speaks Amharic and English, has tertiary education, works part-time.

R2 Female, in her early thirties, speaks Amharic and English, has tertiary education, works full time.

R3 Female, in her early teens, speaks Amharic and English; has primary education.

R4 Male, in his late thirties, speaks Amharic fluently, also speaks Oromogna, Arabic and English, has secondary education.

R5 Female, in her early thirties, speaks Amharic and English; has secondary education, works full time.

R6 Male, in his early teens; speaks Amharic and English, has primary education.

R7 Male, in her early thirties, born of Amharic speaking Ethiopian parents, education in Ethiopia, did some courses in TAFE college.

R8 Female, in her late twenties; speaks Amharic, Tigregna and English, has secondary education, currently unemployed.

R9 Male, in his late thirties, born of Amharic speaking parents; speaks Amharic and English, has secondary education, currently employed.

R10 Female, in her early thirties, speaks Amharic and English; has secondary education, currently employed.
R11 Male, in his late forties, speaks Amharic, Italian, Japanese, Spanish has secondary education, currently employed.

R12 Female, in her late teens, speaks English, has secondary education, has a part time work.

R13 Male, in his mid thirties, speaks Amharic, Arabic and English; currently unemployed.

R14 Male, in his early forties, speaks Amharic, French and English, Ethiopian parents, currently studying.

R15 Male, in his early teens, speaks Amharic and English, has secondary education.

R16 Male, in his late thirties, speaks Amharic, Tigregna and English, has tertiary education.

R17 Male, in his mid-thirties, speaks Amharic and Somali, has secondary education, currently employed.

R18 Male, in his mid-twenties, speaks Amharic and English, has tertiary education.

R19 Male, in his early forties, speaks Amharic, Oromogna, Guragena and English, currently unemployed.

R20 Male, in his late thirties, speaks Amharic and English, currently works part time.

R21 Male, in his mid forties, speaks Amharic and English; has tertiary education.

R22 Male, in his mid-teens; speaks English, has tertiary education.
R23 Female, in her early forties, speaks Amharic, Tigregna and Arabic currently unemployed.

R24 Male, in his late teens; speaks Amharic and English, has secondary education.

R25 Male, in his mid teens; speaks Amharic, Tigregna, Arabic and English, has secondary education.

R26 Female, in her early twenties, speaks Amharic, Tigregna, Arabic and Arabic, currently studying English language.

R27 Female, in her mid thirties, speaks Amharic and English, has secondary education, currently unemployed.

R28 Female, in her early twenties, speaks Amharic and Arabic, has primary education, currently unemployed.

R29 Female, in her mid twenties, born of Amharic speaking Ethiopian parents; currently a high school student.

R30 Female, in her early thirties, speaks Amharic and Arabic, has secondary education, currently unemployed.

R31 Female, in her late twenties, speaks Amharic and Arabic; currently studying English.

R32 Female, in her early thirties, speaks Amharic and Arabic, currently unemployed.

R33 Male, in his mid thirties, speaks Amharic and English; has secondary education, currently working full time.

R34 Female, in her early thirties, speaks Amharic and English, has a secondary education, currently employed.
R35 Male, in his mid twenties, speaks Amharic, Arabic and English; has tertiary education, currently working full time.

R36 Female, in her mid twenties, speaks Amharic and English, has secondary education, currently unemployed.

R37 Female, in her mid twenties, speaks Amharic and English, has tertiary education, currently unemployed.

R38 Male, in her early thirties, speaks Amharic, Arabic and English, currently studying at a TAFE College.

R39 Male, in his early thirties, speaks Amharic, Arabic and English; currently doing a tertiary studies.

R40 Male, in his late twenties, speaks Amharic and Arabic; currently studying English language.

R41 Male, in his late thirties, speaks Amharic and English; has tertiary education, currently unemployed.

R42 Male, in his early twenties, speaks Amharic, Tigregna, Arabic and English, currently studying at a secondary school.

R43 Male, in his late twenties, speaks Amharic and English, currently studying at a TAFE College.

R44 Male, in his early thirties, speaks Amharic, Arabic and English, currently studying at a tertiary level.

R45 Male, in his early thirties, speaks Amharic, Tigregna and English has secondary education, currently unemployed.
R46 Male, in his mid twenties, speaks Amharic, Kiswahili and English, has secondary education, now working full time.

R47 Male, in his late twenties, speaks Amharic, Arabic and English, has tertiary education, currently works full time.

R48 Male, in his late twenties, speaks Amharic and English, currently studying at a tertiary level.

R49 Male, in his mid thirties, speaks Amharic and English, has tertiary education.

R50 Male, in his late twenties, speaks Amharic and English, has tertiary education, currently works full time.
1. Sex: male  female
2. Country of birth: Ethiopia  Other (Please specify)
3. Year of Arrival:
4. Marital Status: Single  Married
   If married, is your spouse from your ethnic background?
5. How many children do you have?
6. How old are they?
7. How well can you

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<tr>
<td>Amharic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tigregna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Oromo</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kiswahili</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. Do you want to maintain your Amharic?
   a. yes
   b. no

10. Do you often
   a. listen to Amharic songs?  a. yes b. no
   b. watch Amharic videos?  a. yes b. no
   c. eat Ethiopian food?  a. yes b. no

11. What do you do at present?
   a. English language student  b. secondary school student  c. tertiary student  d. working full time  e. unemployed

12. What is your religious denomination?
   a. Orthodox  b. Pentecostal  c. Lutheran  d. Islam  e. other (Please specify)

13. How important will it be for you that your children learn to
communicate effectively in Amharic?
a. very important
b. relatively important
c. unimportant

14. What language do you mainly use when speaking to your

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Amharic</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Other(specify)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. spouse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ethiopian)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>d. friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non-Ethiopian)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

15. Do you feel discriminated because of your ethnic background?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>on the part of the</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teachers/employers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>students/employees</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. Have you ever had a desire to hide your Ethiopian origin? Yes No

17. Do you feel that you are
a. fully Ethiopian?
b. half Ethiopian, half Australian?
c. completely Australian?

18. Would you like to spend the rest of your life in Australia? Yes No

19. Do you feel in cultural and behavioural terms to be integrated with Australian society
a. completely? b. partly? c. not at all

20. If you are single, what are your intentions concerning your marriage? To have partner of
a. Ethiopian background?
b. European background?
c. any ethnic background?
d. any background, irrespective of race, colour or religion?

21. If married, is your spouse of
a. your own ethnic background?
b. Anglo-Australian background?
c. Ethnic Australian background?

22. Are your close friends and those of your parents
a. almost all of your ethnic background?
b. a mixture, but predominantly of your ethnic origin?
c. a mixture, but predominantly of Anglo-Australian?
d. almost all Anglo-Australians?
23. How would you rate the following aspect of culture:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aspect</th>
<th>very important</th>
<th>important</th>
<th>not important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. maintaining Amharic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. maintaining religion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. acquiring knowledge about Ethiopia</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. respect for the aged</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. songs and music</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. national dances</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. food, beverages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24. In your opinion, has your adjustment to Australian conditions been
a. easy?
b. fairly easy?
c. difficult?
d. very difficult?

25. Do you think the Australian Government could have done more for migrants? a. Yes b. No

26. How many years did you study in Australian schools?...........

27. How do feel about the kind of education which you have received in Australia?
a. completely satisfied..................b. fairly satisfied..............................c. somewhat dissatisfied........d. fairly dissatisfied....................e. very dissatisfied..................

28. Your age group:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>age group</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. 10-19</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b. 20-29</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>c. 30-39</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>d. 40-49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. 50-59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. above 60</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Could you tell me your impressions and feelings from your first day of school?

How could you describe your relationships with teachers and other students? Were you fairly treated by them?

Do you think your school was a good one? Did you like the atmosphere at school?

How did your Ethiopian origin affect your school life and your ability to learn?

Did teachers tell you or your parents not to speak Amharic at home as it interfered with your English?

Were you ashamed at the beginning of your poor English?

Which was your biggest problem in learning English?

Do you think it is useful to learn Amharic or it is waste of time?

Is it easy to make Anglo-Australian friends? Or it is easier with ethnic Australians?

Does the Anglo-Saxon majority feel superior with regard to other ethnic groups? If yes, please give one example.

If an Ethiopian sporting team came to play with an Australian one, which one would you support?

Which music, dance and food do you prefer?

Are Anglo-Australian children more independent than Ethiopian Australians?

What do you dislike about Australia and Australians/Ethiopia and Ethiopians?

Do you live with your parents? If yes, have you ever considered living away from home? Why? Do you enjoy living away from home?

When your parents grow old, who will look after them? Would you consider nursing home/living with you?
How often do you disagree with your parents on important questions?

How often do you visit your Ethiopian relatives and friends?

Have you ever had a desire to have parents of non-Ethiopian, eg. Anglo-Saxon origin?

How could you describe the relationships between elderly and young Ethiopians?

Please tell me about your siblings' attitude towards the Ethiopian language, Ethiopian culture and about their studies in Australian schools.

Did your attitude towards your ethnic origin change with age?

If your call a person "Australian", do you mean Anglo-Australian'? If yes, please explain why.

How does religion affect maintenance of ethnic traditions?

Could you compare attitudes among Orthodox, Pentecostal and Lutheran communities?

Do you like Ethiopian literature? Or do you prefer English or some other?

Are you interested in the events in Ethiopia?

Have you ever had a desire to hide your Ethiopian origin?

Are you going to/Did you give Anglo-Saxon or Ethiopian names to your children?

Have you ever been called Negro"?

What aspects of the Ethiopian way of life would you be glad to see disappear in Australia?

What aspects of the Ethiopian way of life would you be glad to retain?

Do your parents encourage you to study hard? Why?

What was the greatest single problem in trying to adjust to Australian life?..
setting:

availability of L2 outside class:

status of L2 relative to L1:

functions of L2 in community:

societal expectations:

content:

test/exam-oriented:

interaction-based:

task based:

subject based:

interaction- teacher - learner recitation:

conversation:

group activities:

participants:

age:

sex:

size of group:

peer relations:

attitudes,/expectations:

prior schooling:

socio economic status:

preferred learning styles:

method:
teacher/learner roles:

learner autonomy:

type of syllabus:

criteria for quality and success:

turn-taking in the Second Language Classroom:

Initiative (Selection):

Prominence (Floor) The status of a turn as attended-to action:

  loudness:

non-verbal behaviour:

other attention getting factors:

transition (turn progression and size):

distribution (speaker selection and allocation):

classroom rituals:

teacher-led classroom talk can be moved forward by:

a series of linked questions:

or by a series of instructions or directives:

  or by various kinds of talk that are closer to ordinary conversation:

  or by (narrative) exposition:

    Basically, the teacher can either treat the whole class as a generic addressee, expecting answers in chorus

or from individual volunteers

or select specific learners in a rotating dyad.

or ???

questions:

display questions (known - information questions):
referential questions (genuine information questions):

repair (is a generic term and that correction is one type of repair):

error of fact:

reasoning:

language:
The data which are collected from the observed classroom, other than the general information, are presented as qualitative results. The humanistic approach increases the perspective of the teaching and learning process at a micro level by embodying sociological data from the teacher's perspective and students' comments. In the sociologist's eyes 'the individual and his milieu form a single whole' (Znaniecki 1982:11).

Setting. Vietnamese is the predominant language spoken in the homes of the students. The status of Vietnamese, in this country, is not as prestigious as English or other international languages. Vietnamese-language programs have been presented three times a week on the special Broadcasting Service (SBS) channels in Melbourne and Sydney, and there is a daily program for overseas listeners on Radio Australia. The main content of radio programs is news and commentary.

Content. Every lesson is taken from Vietnamese books which are still in draft form. All suggested modules allow for additional content to be negotiated by teachers and learners. The lessons are subject based. The activity type includes: interpersonal, informational and aesthetic. Every week they have two 45 minutes lessons of Vietnamese.

Interaction. Mostly, the conversation is dyad i.e., between the teacher and one of the students. Under such circumstances, each student responds when he or she is asked or just keeps quiet when he/she is not sure of the answer. At times, the teacher asks the students as a whole a question and the students respond in a chorus. Sometimes,
the teacher first asks the whole group and then directs the question to one of the students. Most of the activities are individual based. Each student has his/her own pen, pencil and exercise book to do the individual based exercises.

Participants. The age group of the participants ranges from 8-11. The size of the group is 13. There are six boys and seven girls in the class. Peer relationship is based on sex. The girls usually sit together. The boys sit scattered, except for one or two, who occasionally sit with the girls.

Method. The teacher plays a leading role in the class room. He facilitates learning conditions for the students. Students have the autonomy to ask questions and to move freely from place to place whenever they wish: for instance, when they want to sharpen their pencil or fetch their colour pencils or when they want to show what they have done in the class. They are also free to choose their seats.

Questions. The questions on reading are randomly selected and distributed to seek a genuine answer from students. The students' inability to read some of the words properly and the on-the-spot corrections which are given by the teacher indicate that they are not just asked for mere display.

Turn Taking. Because the Vietnamese teacher usually leaves it open to the students, instead of selecting the speaker, initiative is usually taken by those students who feel courageous enough to respond in the class. If no one dares to answer, then the teacher directs the question to particular student(s). The transition is short-lived - it takes a matter of seconds i.e., students speak less than a minute when they try to answer a question or ask a question. However, the transition from the
'Teacher Talk' to 'Student Talk' is longer, because the teacher takes longer time to explain ideas. At times, a couple of students alternatively respond to questions or compete to give answers, especially when they have different opinions. Irrespective of their sex group, boys and girls are keen to attempt the answer. This is seen repeatedly in the class. Occasionally teacher interaction provides the right answer. The turn taking distribution is usually controlled by the teacher unless some of the students themselves take the initiative. The teacher tries to allocate the turns as evenly as possible. However, a couple of students as a result of their own drive appear to dominate. A similar number of students always remain silent and take no initiative in responding. The student participation data clearly show that three of the top students took most of the class time.

Classroom Rituals. Discussion that allows for revision of previous work is the basis for new learning. The classroom talk is moved by progressive discussion aimed towards revision of the previous class. Where individual reaction and group response fail to provide the correct answer, the answers are provided by the teacher. The classroom ceremony is under the control of the teacher. The stage, on which the performance is taking place, is managed solely by the stage manager, ie., the teacher. Usually the students behave according to the teacher's instruction.

The Vietnamese teacher is able to reduce the noise in a short time with minimum effort. Especially when they are asked to keep quiet, the students pay due respect to the teacher. Vietnamese students, encouraged by their elders, are usually highly motivated and conscientious.
Setting. Vietnamese is spoken at home by all the students. There is a weekly one hour Vietnamese program on radio. The students can use a computer by using Vietnamese diskettes.

Content. The content of the lesson on this particular day is task-based. The students ask questions with regard to the task which they do. The task is selected by the students themselves. There is no restrictions on the type of task they do. The class discussion helps to clarify some of the doubts and difficulties which the students encounter.

Participants. This is a Vietnamese language teaching classroom. The teacher is the one who was teaching Vietnamese for the Vietnamese learning students at 'School A'. He treats the students politely. He asks and answers questions in a friendly manner. The size of the group is 17. There are 9 girls and 8 boys in the classroom. The peer relationship is on the basis of sex. The boys and the girls sit with their sex group respectively.

Method. The interaction is based on a one to one conversation. Each student explains what he or she has done so far. The teacher either asks questions or answers questions as the case may be. The teacher's role is to listen to each student and comment on their performances. The students have the autonomy to do the task as they want. Each student is doing the task individually since the topic he or she does is selected by the learners themselves. The teacher expects each student to accomplish the task and then present it in the classroom. The teacher's role is to assist the students in their attempt to tackle the problems.
Classroom Rituals. The teacher starts the lesson mentioning about the tasks the students are doing on individual basis. Then he asks each student, about the progress of the task given, in a rotating dyad. Each student reports the progress of the task one by one. The rest of the class listens when each student explains what he or she has done. The students have been doing the task for the past five weeks. Once the discussion is over some of the students start doing the remaining part of the task in the classroom while the rest go to the library.
Setting. The availability of Arabic outside classroom is limited. The Coptic Church has a biweekly trilingual magazine which is written in Arabic, Coptic and English. Students are encouraged to contribute drawings of religious content on the magazine. The Church also has a one hour Arabic broadcast once in a week. Arabic is an international language with a high status in the Arab world. But its importance in Australia is restricted to the language speakers only. Therefore its status is relatively low compared with English.

The Egyptian Coptic community in Australia adheres to its language strictly. Members of the community use Arabic in their day to day conversation among themselves and as a language of liturgy. Not all members of the community have the tendency to activate the language specially their children.

Content. The content of the lessons are subject based and religious oriented. The interaction is based on teacher - learner recitation. The teacher reiterates the content of the lesson and then asks the students to repeat the words in Arabic. The conversation between the teacher and the students is on one to one basis. The teacher expects each student to respond to a given question. If a student is unable to answer a question then the teacher asks other students to give the correct answer. Basically there is no group activities done in the classroom.

Age Group. The age of the older group ranges between 10 to 13. In the group of 4 students there were 3 girls and 1 boy while there were 4 girls and 2 boys in the younger group of age under 11. The youngest group comprises more than 20 kids. Therefore, the size of group is getting smaller with increase in age. The peer relations was based on sex. The
boy in the group of four was complaining that he was the only boy to learn with the girls. This seems to have affected his attitude towards the language.

*Method.* The teacher's role was to explain selected religious words from the Bible and show the students how the words could be written in Arabic and then in Coptic. The students role was to listen to the explanation and respond to the questions forwarded by the teacher.

*Turn-taking.* The Initiative in the turn taking process in the classroom is taken by the teacher. The teacher selects who should speak next. Sometimes, the teacher uses other attention getting factors such as noise or inattentiveness to select his respondent. The transition of the turn taking depends whether the learners respond to the question correctly or not. If the learners mispronounce or misspell words then the transition can be elongated till they provide with the correct answer. The teacher tries to distribute the turn taking evenly so as to assure the participation of all the students.

*Classroom Rituals.* The classroom rituals start with prayers and songs in English, Arabic and Coptic. This is followed by teacher-led classroom directives and talk. English and Arabic are used as a media of instruction. The teacher's explanation is followed by a series of questions to let the students participate in the discussion. The teacher disallows side talks. The ritual could also be interrupted by teacher's directives in case one of the students misbehaves in the class. Series of answers are expected for the forwarded questions. This is followed by teacher's corrections. The classroom rituals could also be interrupted by intruders such as small kids or adults who want to go into the kitchen through the classroom.
Questions. Basically, the teacher is interested in getting answers from individual volunteers, if that fails then she selects specific learners in a rotating dyad. The questions are intended to get known - information questions by so doing the teacher attempts to stabilise it in the minds of the students. The mistakes which are done by the students are language based.

The one hour lesson time is divided into two lessons. The first lesson takes 30 minutes and is devoted to the teaching of Arabic while the second half of 30 minutes is devoted to the teaching of Coptic.
Setting. The Arabic language is only available at home outside the classroom. It is a language used with parents and sometimes friends alternatively with English. The status of Arabic in relative to English in the Australian setting is low and less important for day to day communication with the society at large. The functions of Arabic in the surrounding community is also very limited. The parental expectations is high since parents with Arabic speaking background want their children to develop their Arabic reading and writing skills.

Content. The content of the lesson is subject-based. The lesson was focussing on how words are changed from past to present tense using Arabic and English examples. The interaction is based on teacher-learner recitation. The teacher repeatedly states words or sentences till he makes sure that everybody has got the point.

Age Group. The age of the regular students ranges between 10 to 19. However since there is an adult group of English speaking background, learning Arabic, at the same time in the same class sitting behind the teenagers, the age range could further go up to 45.

Class Size. The group size could vary from time to time. The younger group comprises 4 girls and 1 boy while the adult group has 2 females and 1 male. A week ago, for instance, there were 8 students from the younger group and 3 adults. Today all the boys except one were absent from the class.

Method. The teacher plays an important role in transmitting knowledge to the learner in the form of explanation, asking questions,
correcting exercises of the students and answering questions which are forwarded by the learners. The learners' role include asking and answering questions verbally or in written either on the chalkboard or on their exercise books and reading paragraphs when asked. The teacher has the lion's share of the time in the discussion. He uses chalk and talk method. The discussion is followed by asking and answering secession. Then the teacher corrects the sentences which the learners have written. The teacher knows each student quite well and tries to help him or her individually. Each student is asked to write a sentence on the chalkboard and is asked to change the verb from present to past. The teacher deals with the two groups sometimes as a whole and sometimes individually. The adults could be asked to answer verbally but not required to write on the chalkboard. A couple of naughty boys are also sent from the younger group of the other class to this group where the teacher keeps an eye on them.

The learners' autonomy is not highly restricted. Some students come to the class having done their private things after the class started. The teacher welcomes them with open arms.

*Turn Taking.* It is the teacher who takes the initiative to take the turn. The floor is taken for a longer time by the teacher followed by transition. The transition is in fact short lived and usually occurs when the teacher asks the students to answer questions. The distribution is done by the teacher. He asks the learners in a row. The adults sometimes take the initiation through asking or answering questions voluntarily.

The teacher-led classroom talk was moved forward by a series of explanations and examples using chalk and talk method followed by
questions. This is followed by a transition to answer questions either taken by voluntary respondents or learners directly asked by the teacher. The oral discussion is followed by written work which could take the form of either writing sentences on the learners' exercise books. This is followed by the teacher's instruction to each student to write a sentence on the blackboard. Then a couple of students try to write sentences on the chalkboard turn by turn. The rest of the class observe and then comment on what is written on the blackboard by their colleagues. The reading secession of the day continued with each individual reading a sentence. The teacher corrects on the spot as soon as the learners made mistakes. Basically, the teacher treats the whole class expecting answers from randomly selected specific learners in rotating dyad.
This was for the second group of students who have better knowledge of Amharic than the first group of younger children.

Setting. The children use Amharic at home, to a varied degree. Some use it enormously while others use it to a lesser extent. Two of the five respondents use Amharic with their mothers almost always while the other three use some of the time. Amharic is a minority language even among the minority ethnic groups in Australia. It is only spoken by less than 200 people including those who are not members of the Ethiopian community. There is high expectations among the parents to see their children speak and write in Amharic.

Content. The content of the lessons is word-based. The teacher uses selected words for explaining concepts. It is also test-oriented. Tests are highly valued both by the teachers and students.

Interaction. The interaction is based on teacher-learner recitation. The teacher writes a word on the chalkboard and asks the students to read and explain. This goes on for a long time.

Participants. The age group of the students is 8-9. There are four male and one female students in the classroom. Three of them are siblings: two sisters and one brother. Four of the students attend regular classes at Sturt Street Primary School. The students have positive attitude to the learning of Amharic. Most of the students do not have prior schooling. All of them came here under 'Women at Risk' program since their fathers are all deceased.

Method. The teacher mostly does the talking. Some times students
participate in the discussion. It is a teacher based class room. The teacher uses inquiry method and asks the students series of questions which are usually followed by encouraging or reprimanding words. At times, this teacher led classroom talk is moved forward by a series of instructions. The teacher treats the whole class as a generic addressee expecting responses in one voice or at times directs the question to each student.

Questions. Most questions are information seeking ones since they are asked based on the Amharic Alphabets they studied at the beginning of the lesson.

Repair. Most of the errors are made due to lack of sufficient knowledge of Amharic language exposure. This is mainly evident in those students who do not speak the language in their day to day use at home.
This is a small group of 10 students. There were 7 girls and 4 boys.  
Three of the girls were special students.  

The class started by teacher's greetings in Italian. The students responded in a chorus. The teacher distributed books (Pane e Fantasia Racconti 3' which is a curriculum for R-8) to the students. The teacher speaks in Italian and in English. Instructions were given in Italian and checks whether they understood it or not by asking questions or sometimes repeats words in English. The teacher uses a tape recorder to teach the students. The students follow the voice by reading the book. While the voice from a man and a woman read the book; the students, with the guidance of the teacher, follow by reading the books. Today they read page 7.  

The teacher and the students read a small paragraph together. This was followed by question and answer. This has been repeated for a couple of times. The reading enables the students to read correctly and at the same speed with the teacher. Questions are raised in between and students attempt to answer. Students' participation is high.  
After 15 minutes students were asked to collect the books and form a circle; all of them standing up. This was to teach counting in Italian. They started with 10 and proceeded to 100 counting in tens. He or she
who fails to count sits down. They proceed till the winner is declared. Teaching 'colour' was the next lesson. All colours were mentioned. The teacher was asked the students to stand up. Now they started to play a game. The teacher asks students with particular colour in their clothes to sit down. The students check whether they get that colour in their clothes or not and decide to sit or stand. Here it needs to understand what the word is in Italian and then to check and make decision as quick as possible in order to remain part of the game players. The instruction was in English with a word or two in Italian. For example, 'Sit down if you wear 'rosso'. or 'stand up if you wear 'bianco'.

Using teaching aids the teacher was asking the students to answer questions such as 'What is 'casa ?' showing a house. The teacher here shows how to relate colour with objects. Students love to colour the picture given by the teacher to each student. Using different colours the students do the task given by the teacher. The task was to look and read(Guarda e scrive) and once they coloured the house (La mia casa). The teacher was sometimes interrupted by the students who need special care. The special students were brought to this class since the one who was in charge of them is on leave.

Having given some explanation about the exercise which the students are expected to do in the class room the teacher asked the students to do the exercise. Some of the students finished the task and asked the teacher to comment on what they did. The teacher gave comments
and asked the students (those who already finished) to work again in twos so that they can check each others' sentences. When all the students finished the task the teacher resorted to ask the students questions in relation to the task given. The task was to construct sentences in Italian using new words.
3rd of August, 1993.  Time: 9:40-10:40  Year: 2
The class started at 9:40 by exchanging greetings in Italian. The classroom was so spacious. There were about 25 students in the classroom. It was a co-educational classroom. There were 15 girls and 10 boys. It began with a short prayer. The students, in uniform, sat on the floor during the prayer. The prayer was in Italian.

Right after the prayer the teacher started to explain about a competition entry in which students would get different prizes such as a free ticket to fly to any of the Australian state capitals as the first prize; $100 dollars as a second prize and a walkman as a third prize, on the occasion of National Language Week.

The today's work focussed on researching on Mary MacKillop. This month is known as the month of Mary MacKillop. The whole class was divided into a group of three. Each group was expected to have a writer, golfer, and researcher. There could be an exchange of roles every some minutes as they wish. This was assigned by the teacher, mixing the students. Having heard the teachers explanation each group tried to get as many information as possible about Mary MacKillop (who had formerly known as La Bianta Mary MacKillop before being called as Saint Mary MacKillop). The books were written in English. The students were expected to write, the information they get, in Italian. The students were also asked to state every thing in their own words. The students were asked to research various things about Mary MacKillop and not just her simple personal data.

Once the students started researching; it was very common to see the students to ask the Italian version of some words that would be used to
write sentences. Each student had a personal 'dictionary' or word book in which they wrote difficult words. The word book is arranged alphabetically so that the students could easily pick the meaning of the word which they wrote when ever required. The teacher assisted students in constructing sentences by writing and telling words which they did not know in Italian. The teacher spoke in Italian some four or five sentences and translate them into English. This was mainly when giving instructions.

The students kept on researching for about half an hour. Then the teacher asked all the students to gather together. The teacher asked the students to count numbers and days in Italian. They counted numbers in different ways: counting odd numbers, even numbers etc. Then they played a small interesting game. The students made a circle and started counting even numbers. He or she who failed to tell the next number sits down. They played this for some time till eight students remained standing without making mistakes. Finally the teacher announced the remaining students as winners of the game. The winners got excited. It was a real fun.

Ultimately, the teacher reminded them about the closing date of the competition entry. Many of the students seemed to be pleased to enter into the competition which will take place on the 28th of August. They showed their interest by raising their hands.
Dear 

I am writing to you to follow up our telephone conversation in regard to the possibility of one of our research students coming to your school in relation to his study of the teaching of languages other than English in South Australia.

Mr Nega Worku is an overseas scholarship student from Ethiopia. He is a fully accredited and experienced teacher and has also successfully completed Masters study in Great Britain. His PhD project here involves a study of Australia's national language policy and how this is actually being implemented in South Australian primary schools. He hopes the knowledge and understanding he gains in this area will prove of great benefit to him when he returns to Ethiopia.

Part of Nega's study approach involves observing students in the classes in which they are learning Vietnamese language and English. In the course of these observations he would expect to talk informally with a number of the students. It would also be of great advantage for him to be able to have access to these students' files in order to gain information about family background and school achievements.

In addition, he would like to understand how these classes fit into the overall policies of the school by interviewing you, as the principal, as well as the Aboriginal language and English teachers.

I am attaching a summary of Nega's research proposal which was accepted by the University as the basis of his study under the supervision of Professor J.J.Smolicz.

I would be most grateful if you could give Nega permission to continue his study at Kaurna Plains School. I am sure you will find him a most courteous and considerate person with a genuine interest in the students and a deep commitment to his study. Please contact me on 303 5630 if there are any issues which you wish to discuss further.

Yours sincerely

Margaret J Secombe
Head, Department of Education
Appendix 7 Interview Questions for LOTE School Teachers

1a Could you tell me your main functions or duties?

1b. How many students are there in your school? by gender? Is your language taught for native speakers or for others, as well? Do you teach them other subjects in your language?

2. How many language teachers do you have?

3. What resources does the school have to teach this language?

4. What suitable teaching materials are available in your school?

5. What methods are used to teaching students?

6. What would you say about the achievements of the students?

7. Do you consider students' second language as being of help or hindrance in the study of their first language?

8a. What do you think are the major successes and failures of teaching your language? What problems need to be overcome? What future developments would you be able to see?

9. Is it important to maintain one's language?

10. What is your school language policy? What is your personal evaluation of the policy and how it is working in the school?

11. What training have you had in teaching methodology?

12. Has there been any research in this area?
Appendix 8 Interview Questions for ESL School Teachers

1a. Could you tell me your main functions or duties?

1b. Is ESL taught only to NESB (Non English Speaking Background) students or also to ESB students? Do the NESB students learn ESL and mainstream English? Do you have remedial English for ESB students?

2. How many ESL teachers do you have?

3. What resources does the school have to teach ESL?

4. What suitable teaching materials are available in your school?

5a. What special methods (for ESL) are used to teaching students with different ethnic background?

5b. Do you have mixed background language classes or ethno specific ESL classes?

6. Do the ESL teachers speak a LOTE? What languages? Is there LOTE coordinator?

7. What would you say about the achievements of ethnic students as compared to ESB students?

8a. What expectations do you have for Anglo-Celtic and for NESB students? In what ways are they the same or different?

8b. Do you consider students home language as being of help or hindrance in the study of ESL?

9. What do you think are the major successes and failures of teaching ESL and community languages? What problems need to be overcome? What future developments would you be able to see?

10. What is your school language policy? What is your personal evaluation of the policy and how it is working in the school?

11. What training have your teachers had in ESL methodology?

12. How long have you taught in this school?

13. What is your personal view of teaching a second language?
Appendix 9 Interview Questions for ESL Coordinators

1a. Could you tell me your main functions or duties?

1b. Is ESL taught only to NESB (Non English Speaking Background) students or also to ESB students? Do the NESB students learn ESL and mainstream English? Do you have remedial English for ESB students?

2a. How many students of ESB and NESB are there in your school?

2b. How many ESL teachers do you have?

3. What resources does the school have to teach ESL?

4. What suitable teaching materials are available in your school?

5a. What special methods (for ESL) are used to teaching students with different ethnic background?

5b. Do you have mixed background language classes or ethno specific ESL classes?

6. Do the ESL teachers speak a LOTE?

7. What would you say about the achievements of ethnic students as compared to ESB students? What are the common problems of learners of NESB in learning English?

8a. What expectations do you have for Anglo-Celtic and for NESB students? In what ways are they the same or different? To what extent do the cultural differences affect learning adversely?

8b. Do you consider students home language as being of help or hindrance in the study of ESL? How far, in your opinion, are there differences among different ethnic groups in learning ESL?

9a. What do you think are the major successes and failures of teaching ESL and community languages? What problems need to be overcome? What future developments would you be able to see?

9b. How does the study of LOTE affect the study of ESL?
10. What is your school language policy? What is your personal evaluation of the policy and how it is working in the school?

11. What training have your teachers had in ESL methodology?

12. Has there been any research in this area?
1a. How many years of experience do you have as a teacher in school and as a principal?

1b. How many students do you have in your school (by gender and ethnic background)?

1c. How many teachers do you have in the school (by gender and by ethnic group)?

2. How many languages do you teach in your school? How many of the teachers speak a language other than English? Do you speak a language other than English?

3. What resources does the school have to teach ESL and community languages?

4. What training have your teachers had in ESL language teaching methodology and multicultural education?

5. What suitable teaching materials are available in your school?

6. What contacts does the school/staff and school principal have with the communities your students come from?

7. What studies of ethnic and cultural diversity have been done in your school?

8. What are the school's language policies? How does it compare with state language policy?

9. What would you say are the major successes and failures of teaching ESL and community languages?

10. What is your personal evaluation of the policy and how it is working in the school?

11. Have you conducted any research in this area?
APPENDIX 11 Interview for Ethnic School Teachers

1a. Could you tell me your main functions or duties?

1b. How many students are there in your school? by gender? Is your language taught for native speakers or for others, as well? Do you teach them other subjects in your language?

2. How many language teachers do you have?

3. What resources does the school have to teach this language?

4. What suitable teaching materials are available in your school?

5. What methods are used to teaching students?

6. What would you say about the achievements of the students?

7. Do you consider students' second language as being of help or hindrance in the study of their first language?

8a. What do you think are the major successes and failures of teaching your language? What problems need to be overcome? What future developments would you be able to see?

9. Is it important to maintain one's language?

10. What is your school language policy? What is your personal evaluation of the policy and how it is working in the school?

11. What training have you had in teaching methodology?

12. Has there been any research in this area?
## Appendix 12 Interview Questions for Ethnic School Principals

1a. How many years of experience do you have as a teacher in school? and as a principal?

1b. How many students do you have in your school (by gender and ethnic background)?

2. How many teachers do you have in the school (by gender and by ethnic group)?

3. What resources does the school have to teach your language?

4. What training have your teachers had in language teaching methodology?

5. What suitable teaching materials are available in your school?

6. What contacts does the school/staff and school principal have with the communities your students come from?

7. What are the school's language policies? Is it important to maintain your language? What is your personal evaluation of the policy and how it is working in the school?

8. What would you say are the major successes and failures of teaching your language?

10. Have you conducted any research in this area?
Appendix 13: Interview Questions for Formal School Learners

1. Languages Used at Home with

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<th>F</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>Gp</th>
<th>Gm</th>
<th>Fr</th>
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</table>

2. If you speak your mother tongue
   a. do you speak few words only
   b. understand and speak little
   c. speak fluently
3. Do you read and write in your mother tongue? Yes  No
   If yes, do you
   a. read and write few words only
   b. read and write as much as you want
4. Do you like speaking your mother tongue? Yes No
5. Do your brothers and sisters like speaking their mother tongue? Yes No
6. Do you like speaking English? Yes No
7. Is it better to speak two languages than one? Yes No
8. Will you continue to learning your mother tongue? Yes No
9a. Which language is more important for you?
   a. Your mother tongue
   b. English
   c. Both
9b. How do you rate your first language ability?
   a. good  b. poor  c. very good
9c. Why do you learn your mother tongue?
9d. What problems do you have in learning your mother tongue?
10. Which languages do you speak very well? or Which languages are easier for you to understand, speak, read and write?
    First
    Second
    Third

Key: F=Father, M=Mother, B=Brother, S=Sister, Gp=Grandpa, Fr=Friends, Gm=Grandma, E=English, Et=Ethnic Language
APPENDIX 14 Interview Questions for Ethnic School Learners

Age: Sex: M F

1. Languages Used at Home with

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<th>Brother</th>
<th>Sister</th>
<th>Grand Pa</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ethnic Language</td>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

2. If you speak Ethnic language
   a. do you speak few words only
   b. understand and speak little
   c. speak fluently

3. Do you read and write in Ethnic language? Yes No
   If yes, do you
   a. read and write few words only
   b. read and write as much as you want

4. Do you like speaking Ethnic language? Yes No

5. Do your brothers and sisters like speaking Ethnic language? Yes No

6. Do you like speaking English? Yes No

7. Is it better to speak two languages than one? Yes No

8. Will you continue to learning Ethnic language? Yes No

9a. Which language is more important for you?
   a. Ethnic language b. English c. both

9b. How do you rate your Ethnic language language ability?
   a. good b. poor c. very good

10a. Do you get language support from your parents? Yes No

10b. Which languages are easier for you to understand, speak, read and write?

10c. What problems do you have in learning Ethnic language?

11. Why do you learn Ethnic language?
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## Appendix 16 Internal Ethnic Differentiation of Respondents

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R= Respondent while the number corresponds with the code number of the respondents
**Appendix 17 Classification of Members of ECASA by Gender**

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**Appendix 18 Classification of Members of ECASA by Broad Age Group**

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**Appendix 19 Classification of Members of ECASA by Marital Status**

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### Appendix 20: Classification of Members of ECASA by Type of Migration

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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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### Appendix 21: Classification of the Students Population of ECASA by Education Level

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Key: (3A,10) and (3A,1e) -> Three quarters of the time Amharic (3A) and a bit of other language (10) or English (1e).
(3A,1E) -> Three quarters of the time Amharic and one quarter of the time English (1E).
(2A,2o) and (2A,2E) -> Half time Amharic (2A) and the other half (20) other languages or English (2E).
(2A,1E,10), (1A, 1E, 1o) -> Half of the time Amharic (2A), a quarter of the time English (1E) or other languages (10).
(3E,1A), (4E) -> Three quarters of the time English (3E) and a quarter of the time Amharic, all time English (4E).
## Appendix 24: Respondents' Mastery of the Amharic Language Skills

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Appendix 25: Classification of Verbal Language Ability of the Respondents by Gender and Age Group

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**Key:** 'mon' stands for monolinguals, 'bi' stands for bilinguals, 'tri' stands for trilinguals, 'qua' stands for quatrilinguals, 'pen' stands for pentalinguals, To stands for total.

Appendix 26: Classification of Written Language Ability of Respondents by Age and Gender

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**KEY:** NL = Non-Literate, MLE = Mono-Literate in English, MLA = Mono-Literate in Amharic, BAE = Biliterate in Amharic and English, TAEE = Triliterate in Amharic, English and French, TAET = Triliterate in Amharic, English and Tigregna.
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Key: R=Respondent, LI=Linguistic, SO=Social, ID= Ideological, RE=Religious, H=High, M=MEDIUM, L=LOW
## Appendix 30 Classification of Respondents by Value Clusters Based on Value Distributions

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Key: R= Respondent, E= Ethiopian, A= Australian, H= High, M= Medium, L= Low
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