CULTURAL BECOMING IN A MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA:

A Study of the Educational and Cultural Experiences of a Group of University of Adelaide Higher Degree Students

DOROTHY MAY HUDSON

A.U.A., M.A., Dip.Ed., B.Ed.

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Education
at the University of Adelaide
December 1995

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

The study investigated the role of formal and informal education in the life experiences and 'cultural becoming' of a group of University of Adelaide higher degree students from a number of different ethnic backgrounds.

The intellectual framework of the thesis was based on Znaniecki's (1930) distinction between education as imposed cultural development, and self-education as the consciously directed activity of the creative individual. This theory of education was compared with Durkheim's superorganic concept of cultural norms, Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction, Freire's concepts of domestication and liberation and Giroux's view of students as active agents in their learning. The framework of Humanistic Sociology, as developed by Znaniecki and extended by Smolicz, was adopted for analysing individuals' cultural development or becoming in multicultural Australia. The concepts of group and personal cultural systems and core values were found to be useful tools for the study of individual identity and cultural valence. The methodology employed in this investigation was that of memoir analysis. This approach enabled the researcher to understand the factors which had influenced the authors' social development and had made them what they were in their own cultural terms.

The study involved the collection and analysis of memoir materials from thirty six higher degree students who were asked to write about the educational and cultural experiences which they felt had influenced their lives. Approximately half of the memoir authors came from English-speaking backgrounds, while the other half were born into non-English-speaking homes. These two categories were further subdivided according to whether the writer was born overseas or in Australia. This ethnic composition of the participants enabled patterns of educational and cultural influences, identified from an initial content analysis of the memoirs, to be compared across cultural and linguistic

backgrounds. The relevance of each of these factors in the remembered experiences of the writers was discussed in detail in relation to the four ethnic-birthplace groupings.

A second stage of analysis enabled the writers to be classified into five ideal types, based on a modification of Kloskowska's (1993) model of 'National Identification and Cultural Valence.' In this juxtaposition of the patterns of cultural activation and the national identification revealed in the memoirs, it became apparent that although all the respondents of English speaking background were in the Univalent, Single National Identification category they could be distinguished into two subgroups - those with Pluralistic Attitudes and those with Monistic Attitudes. In the case of respondents of non-English speaking backgrounds, a third could be classified as Bivalent, and of Single National Identification, a third as Bivalent, with Dual National Identification, and a third as Polyvalent, with Dual National Identification.

The conclusions considered the implications of the five ideal types for educational policies and practices in a multicultural society. The overwhelmingly monocultural ethos of the formal schooling experienced by most ESB authors highlights the need for multicultural education which is inclusive in cultural content. The bicultural or polycultural personal systems of the NESB writers illustrate the emergence of what Casmir (1993) refers to as the 'third culture'. In addition, the extent to which Znaniecki's concept of self-education was a factor in influencing the social and cultural becoming of the memoir writers was discussed. The findings point to the significance of informal educative activities generated by the respondents themselves at later stages in their lives as having an important influence in shaping their personal development, particularly in relation to the activation of and attitudes towards minority ethnic cultures.

DECLARATION

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being available for loan and photocopying.

SIGNED   DATE 7/12/95

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the academic expertise of my supervisor Miss Margaret Secombe who had the insight to visualise the whole structure of the thesis from the drafts. I am most grateful for her co-operation and encouragement throughout the period of this investigation. Professor J.J. Smolicz stimulated much intellectual thought and was generous in providing access to basic theoretical materials. His academic leadership contributed towards the development of the thesis and is acknowledged with deep respect. The complementary support provided by both of them helped to make for inspiring research. To Mr Robert Brown, Head, Department of Education, I extend my appreciation for his willing co-operation and encouragement during the final stages of the thesis.

I am indebted to Mrs Shirley Ball for her fine computing skills, both in the process of writing the thesis and in the final stage. Her patience and long experience in the presentation of documents in the Department of Education endowed the thesis with a professional finish for which I am most thankful. Mrs Royleen Warland and Mrs Lucy Hatch gave valuable secretarial support which I record with much appreciation.

One cannot complete a thesis in isolation. There are many individuals who have encouraged me during the journey. To my family, friends and colleagues, I offer deep thanks for their involvement and interest in the thesis in which they have all shared a part.

1. THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN CULTURAL BECOMING

If our option is for [human beings], education is cultural action for freedom and therefore an act of knowing. Freire

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study is to analyse the educational and cultural experiences of a group of higher degree students who reflect the cultural diversity in contemporary multicultural Australian society. The sociological analysis of the personal statements made by the participants focuses on the nature of their educational experience and the extent to which respondents transcended cultural boundaries, and re-organized their personal lives as a result of educational and cultural influences. The overarching experience which all participants shared was a return to tertiary study in South Australia as Higher Degree students.

For the framework of education, theories of Znaniecki on education and self education are expanded to include a review of other comparable classical and contemporary theories as discussed by Durkheim, Giroux, Bourdieu and Freire. The thesis is placed overall in the theory of Humanistic Sociology as outlined by Znaniecki and colleagues from the Polish School of Sociology. This conceptual framework has been extended to include the concepts of personal cultural systems and core values as developed by Smolicz for the study of ethnic cultures in a plural society.

The approach adopted for data collection and analysis was the memoir methodology developed by Znaniecki and his followers and, more recently, used by Kloskowska at Warsaw and Smolicz in Adelaide. Chapter 4 considers this form of qualitative study and explains how it has been applied in this piece of research. For the purposes of sociological analysis, the participants were divided into two categories viz ESB and NESB, although this rigid separation is not the reality evident in their lives. The primary inductive analysis of data (reported in chapters 5, 6 & 7) focuses on isolating the key educational and cultural factors described by the participants in the memoirs as

influences on their personal becoming. On the basis of this memoir analysis it was possible to isolate a number of Ideal Types which were further explored through an in depth discussion of a number of respondents who illustrated each of these types.

The concluding chapter considers which factors were most important in influencing the respondents' developing towards self education, the extent to which their lives had been influenced by the contact with other cultures in the context of multicultural Australia and the implications for formal education.

In the first chapter, it is my intention to review some key theories in the area of the sociology of education, particularly in relation to their interpretation of individuals as social and cultural beings in the educational process. My earlier interest in Znaniecki's humanistic sociological theory led to the discovery of his extensive writing (in Polish) about the sociology of education.[1] The search led to articles by Znaniecki, written in English, with a strong emphasis on education as a social and cultural activity. The next step was to look at theorists with similar approaches to education which would be useful in analysing the social and cultural forces experienced by tertiary graduates in the course of their education and life experiences.

1.2   The Social Role of Education

Znaniecki (1930) outlined a theory of education as a social and cultural activity. He contended that social conditions had changed such that creative individuals were more important than uniformity of personal type. Znaniecki considered which new methods of education had replaced the old ones of enforcement.

In his work 'Cultural Sciences', Znaniecki (1963, pp.382-3) referred to the approach of the French sociologist Durkheim and his concept of society as a cultural system. They

---

[1] For example Znaniecki's substantial evaluative work on sociology of education: *Socjologia Wychowania.* Vol. I 1928, Vol.II 1930. Warsaw: The Ministry of Education of Poland. Published in Polish.

shared a stress on the collective consciousness of the group as it related to the experience of individual members. This approach assumes that before individuals can perform culturally patterned actions they must learn how to perform them. It was considered important to study education as a sociological process in greater detail before analysing the educational experiences of a group of students and the extent to which they modified values from diverse cultural groups.

As the students in the current study had been in education systems during the 1970's and 1980's, contemporary theories of education were included in the literary review. Giroux's (1983) discussion on the way schools functioned as agencies of social and cultural reproduction through the imposition of a particular culture on all students was taken as a starting point. In Giroux's view, radical educators tried to fashion a new set of understandings around the reproduction thesis. A detailed study of the reproduction theory of Bourdieu suggested that capitalist production and its roles required certain educational outcomes. In the context of memoir analysis, this raised the question of 'How do human agents respond?' to these processes. From another perspective, Giroux points out that resistance theory gives central importance to the notions of conflict, struggle and resistance. The writings of Freire were significant in restoring a degree of agency and innovation to the cultures of subordinate classes and groups. Freire's fundamental thesis that education is either for domestication or for freedom (it is not neutral) stimulated questions for research as applied to memoir analysis.

I propose to discuss, firstly, similarities between Znaniecki and other educational theorists. Secondly, I shall look at differences between Znaniecki and more recent, radical theories of education and question how theories have been applied.

Znaniecki uses education in a very definite and limited significance for an intentional social activity of every society and every group. He views education as a specific social function. The individual, whether an infant, a child, a youth, or a grown-up individual

is prepared for membership and participation in collective life. In a social group, a person must know its social values and help maintain them; one must share its common activities and eventually perform special functions on its behalf. In wider society, the educational function is as much part of group organization as the judiciary and the military. Thus, the role of formal education was preparation for a specific group or groups in society.

In addition education has a socially determined content. Its purpose is to shape the individual in accordance with a pre-existing model. As 'types' are diversified in various epochs and societies, education aims for an individual to be appreciated in a given milieu: that is, to bring forth individual combinations of general types already socially known and positively appreciated.

According to Znaniecki education also has a social method. The educator decides upon a personal model of behaviour, may adapt it for the educand, and then it will be imposed upon the educand by social pressure. However, Znaniecki's sociology recognises that a human individual as a conscious and active personality, is not a closed system where causal laws are applicable. If one considers the author's apt phrase of a human personality as a whole 'in the process of its becoming', one would rule out the possibility of subjecting it to the principle of causality. The key concept of an individual in the whole process 'of its becoming' encapsulates the influences which shape the development of the individual's personal world. Education, therefore, should not be the shaping of a personality for a pre-determined end.

To illustrate this concept of the becoming of the personality, Znaniecki (1930, p.378) applies the metaphor of a continuous stream (used by William James of consciousness). He perceives this:

> as a freezing stream, on the surface of which smaller or larger lumps of ice are forming, floating with the current, coagulating, dissolving, but presenting while afloat a more or less solid bulk to outside pressure.

This metaphor provides a good image of lumps of ice as 'systems of activities and experiences' of an individual which change slowly in response to disturbances in the environment or from one's own impulses. The shaping of lumps of ice, rather than complete change, depicts social actions which aim, not to influence the person as a whole, but to modify some of the systems into which certain activities and experiences of the person have been shaped.

It follows that success in influencing an individual's behaviour depends on the relative stability of the system one is trying to change. Extending the metaphor, in the experience and activity of an older person there are more closed systems than that of a child who tends to yield easily to new experience, and when there are innumerable possibilities to upset any habit formed. Znaniecki (1930, p.379) asserts that education sets for itself an impossible task:

> Because it can change the shape of the blocks of ice floating down the stream of the personality it imagines it can make the stream freeze into blocks of a definite and permanent shape.

The fluid, growing personality of the child is influenced not only by education but the individual's own 'self-organization' and the total cultural milieu. One can extend the metaphor to visualise blocks of unequal shape and size indicating students who possess different amounts of cultural capital.

1.3 Moral Education for Individual Socialization

Durkheim's concept of education deals with a body of theories which have the aim of guiding conduct as a preparation for action. Like Znaniecki, he asserts that education must not rely on the past, or the 'moral gospel of our elders', as a closed book but must prepare for the future.

In his superorganic view of culture, Durkheim (1961, p.82) declares that culture is a 'collective consciousness'. As individuals, one cannot live in isolation:

> There are no genuinely moral ends except collective ones ... Although society is something other than the individual, although it is not completely in any one of us, there is nonetheless no one in whom it is not reflected ... Each one of us has a hand in this collective ideal, which makes for the integrity of the group.

The effect of culture is to develop much more the altruistic aspect of our nature than its opposite - egotism. In his study on Moral Education, Durkheim outlines moral laws for socialization of the individual. The school environment, as an influence outside the family group, must give the child the clearest possible idea of the social groups to which s/he will belong. This is in keeping with Znaniecki's theory of education as preparation for pre-determined groups in society. The latter contends that it is difficult now to prepare a child for particular groups in modern societies where an individual tends to make many short-lived contacts. For Durkheim, attachment to social groups in a collective life, rather than specific groups, is the final goal of moral education. It is the role of the school to instil the love of collective life so that the child internalizes the image of her/his group as a reality not just in the imagination.

Znaniecki and Durkheim concur that the school is the appropriate milieu in which to establish the habit of common life. It is the link between the family life and the wider community. While the child is still isolated from active life, school is a role model. Durkheim does not view the family on its own as the agency to train a child in terms of the demands in society. For socialization, that is to appreciate social life to the point where one cannot do without it, one must feel the need for a role in the group. Life in common requires no sacrifice of individuality. Individuals can develop their personal 'becoming' but, as social beings, they fulfil themselves to the extent that they become involved in their culture and make its aspirations their own. This view of education has no economic base but is envisaged in a superorganic view of culture. It has consensus with Znaniecki's theory of education as a 'cultural activity' which from the dawn of

civilization has been trying to control the life of humanity. Both scholars assert that old forms of education viz physical coercion are out dated. These forms enforce drilling and training but not education (Durkheim 1961, p.134). In contrast, Durkheim (1961, p.xiv) contends that education is more than allowing individuals to develop according to their natures: education creates new beings.

1.4   Reproduction Theories of Education

If education has a socially determined content whose aim is to shape the individual in accordance with some pre-existing model, how do schools reproduce a particular culture and, in particular, which culture is reproduced?

A Reproduction theory implies a culture imposed by the dominant group which is reproduced by the dominated. Radical educators put forward ideas on Reproduction in schools analysing the power dimension which aims to reproduce social structures whereby the group with economic power controls society. In this view, discussed in the various models by Giroux, schools as institutions could only be understood through the power dimension and their relationship to the state and the economy. As a cultural activity, schools function as agencies of social and cultural reproduction.

To illustrate this, the work of Bourdieu represents an important study on the mediating role of culture in reproducing class societies through the imposition of a particular (dominant) culture on all students. As distinct from physical coercion, this again implies a cultural force imposed on students externally regardless of class, gender, or race. The theory of the Cultural-Reproductive model is concerned with the question of how capitalist societies are able to reproduce themselves. Culture becomes the mediating link between ruling-class interests and everyday life. Culture of the dominant group in society is imposed on all students while disconfirming the cultures of other groups. It is tacitly imposed so that subordinate groups 'misrecognize' the culture imposed as the dominant, and 'legitimate', one. This is apparent through an analysis of

the notion of cultural capital. For example, when discussing the concept of linguistic capital in the context of the French educational system (ES) Bourdieu (1977, p.73) explains:

> The influence of linguistic capital, particularly manifest in the first years of schooling ... never ceases to be felt: style is always taken into account, implicitly or explicitly, at every level of the educational system ... Language is not simply an instrument of communication: it also provides, together with a richer or poorer vocabulary, a more or less complex system of categories, so that the capacity to decipher and manipulate complex structures depends partly on the complexity of the language transmitted by the family.

Bourdieu links power and culture and points out the 'disadvantage' for working-class students in schools through the medium of the initial streamings, the social origin predetermines educational destiny, i.e. both the chain of subsequent school-career choices and the resulting differential chances of success or failure. These two factors of cultural capital and class ethos lead to the educational process of differential elimination according to social class. Social origin cannot be considered alone in defining an individual but in the 'ensemble' of social characteristics which define the initial situation of children from the different classes in order to understand the different probabilities which the various educational destinies have for them. For example, in the case of a manual worker's son, there is the highly improbable fact of studying Latin, or the highly probable fact of having to take a job in order to continue higher education. That is the reproduction of a culture on all students may not necessarily reproduce the classes in society.

The teacher: authority of coexistence. Znaniecki refers to the role of the teacher in imposing education on the educand who is subordinate. In order to reproduce a culture, or according to Bourdieu 'in order to fulfil its social function of legitimating the dominant culture', a school must obtain the recognition of the authority of its action. The teacher is given the right and power to deflect the authority of the institution onto her/his own person and in this way the school ensures the means of getting the teacher to put all resources into the service of the school. Teachers transmit the required culture

by their personal manner of e.g. dress, language and body movement: elegance of verbal acrobatics, insertion of studied jokes, concealment of sources. This is tolerated by the school because the teacher must transmit not only content but also the affirmation of the value of the content. Bourdieu (1977, p.110) provides a further example in the professorial chair which commandeers the intonation, the diction, the delivery, the oratorical gestures of its occupant. The professors can speak on whatever topic they choose within the French ES as their role implies the 'neutralization' of their words and their language imposes the authority of the institution.

Bourdieu's notions of *habitus* and *habitat* examine the relationship between action and structure through forms of historical action. Habitus refers to an embodied history and points to a set of internalized competencies and structured needs, an internalized style of knowing and relating to the world that is grounded in the body itself. According to Bourdieu (1977, p.31; p.40):

> PA [pedagogic action] entails pedagogic work [PW], a process of inculcation which must last long enough to produce a durable training, i.e. a habitus, the product of internalization of the principles of a cultural arbitrary capable of perpetuating itself after PA has ceased and thereby of perpetuating in practices the principles of the internalized arbitrary.
>
> Habitus[2] (is) a system of schemes of thought, perception, appreciation and action.

The notion of *habitus* is important in the theory of learning as individuals from different social groups and classes undergo processes of socialization. This is because by not

---

[2] To expand this notion Bourdieu (1977, p.32) draws an analogy between Education and the biological order:

> Education, considered as the process through which a cultural arbitrary is historically reproduced through the medium of the production of the habitus productive of practices conforming with that cultural arbitrary ... is the equivalent, in the cultural order, of the transmission of genetic capital in the biological order.

Bourdieu (1977, p.204) cites the particular case of the relationship between the school and the social classes:

> The harmony appears to be perfect: this is because the objective structures produce class habitus and in particular the dispositions and predispositions which, in generating practices adapted to these structures, enable the structures to function and be perpetuated.

explicitly teaching what it demands, the system demands uniformly of all its students that they should have what it does not give, i.e. the relation to language and culture produced by a particular mode of inculcation. It is clear that if this mode differs as little as possible from the family mode, it gives training and information which can be fully received only by those families most familiar with the culture: the dominant one. This is preparation for one group in society. Znaniecki suggests that a child needs now to be prepared for diverse groups in society but admits it is difficult to anticipate these.

Habitat, or objectified history, refers to the history which has accumulated over the passage of time in things, machines, buildings, monuments, books and customs. Class and power connect not only with the evaluation of the school curriculum but also with the dispositions of the oppressed themselves. The notions of habitat, or positions, and habitus, or dispositions, are central to Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction.

The hidden curriculum. Working-class students may gain access to schools but not to content in the curriculum i.e. there is equity of access but inequality of content. Bourdieu explores this notion in a discussion on 'Exclusion and Selection'. He asserts that language and culture are continuously taken into account during secondary education such that the mastery of complex structures reflects the type of practical mastery of language and the type of language acquired in the home:

> but the organization and functioning of the school system continuously and through multiple codes retranslates inequalities in social levels into inequalities in academic level (Bourdieu 1977, pp.157-8).

It follows that working-class children pay the price of their access to secondary education by relegation into institutions and school careers which entice them with the false pretences of apparent homogeneity only to ensnare them in a truncated educational destiny.

Bourdieu discusses how the female-student group is composed differently from the male-student group as regards social origin, subjects studied and previous school history. He looks at the question: Why are female students 'twice as likely' as male students to enrol in Arts courses? However, there is no discussion on the ethnic composition of students and schools which provide not only access to the institution but content in language teaching of the mother tongue. His perspective eliminates conflict both within and between different classes resulting in the loss of notions such as struggle and diversity.

The discussion does bring out Znaniecki's idea of education having its sources in social factors such as class hierarchy. Giroux (1983, p.263) discusses in the Economic-Reproductive Model how schools mirror not only the social division of labor but also the wider society's class structure. He refers to the hidden curriculum:

> This term refers to those classroom social relations that embody specific messages which legitimize the particular views of work ... The power of these messages lies in their seemingly universal qualities - qualities that emerge as part of the structured silences that permeate all levels of school and classroom relations.

1.5 Education as Liberation not Domestication

Freire also discusses the imposition of a culture, Portuguese based, on the mass of the population in Brazil. In this case, the imposition of the dominant culture on the dominated is an intentional educational activity with the functional aim to domesticate the oppressed. According to Freire oppression is a state of living death whereby the oppressive reality absorbs those within it and acts to submerge their consciousness. The oppressors inculcate in the mass viz the peasants, lack of confidence in their ability to think, to want and to know.

Domestication is a recurring concept in Freire's theory as applied to the oppressed and has the sense of the future as having no meaning for the peasants. Freire (1970, pp.220-1) writes that the future is not a 'creative overcoming of the present':

> Some people ... study all the possibilities which the future contains, in order to 'domesticate' it and keep it in line with the present, which is what they intend to maintain ... There is no genuine hope in those who intend to make the future repeat their present, nor in those who see the future as something predetermined. Both have a 'domesticated' notion of history: the former because they want to stop time; the latter because they are certain about a future they already 'know'.

In this process of domestication, self-depreciation is another characteristic of the oppressed, which derives from their internalization of the opinion the oppressors have imposed on them e.g. they are good for nothing and are incapable of learning anything.

Education as a banking concept. To illustrate the inculcation of the dominant culture in the teacher-student relationship, Freire uses the image of education as a banking concept. In this process, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing. Projecting an absolute ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry. Education as the exercise of domination stimulates the credulity of students, with the ideological intent of indoctrinating them to adapt to the world of oppression. The teacher talks about reality as if it were motionless, static and predictable. Or else s/he talks about a topic completely alien to the experience of the students. The banking concept stores knowledge as deposits and files it away. How this process is modified or resisted by students is not explored.

The following example of this 'narrative' education is given (Freire 1970, p.45):

> 'Four times four is sixteen; the capital of Para is Belem'. The student records, memorizes and repeats these phrases without perceiving what four times four really means, or realizing the true significance of 'capital' in the affirmation 'the capital of Para is Belem,' that is, what Belem means for Para and what Para means for Brazil.

In his early sharing of the life of the poor, it became clear to Freire that the whole educational system was one of the major instruments for the maintenance of the culture

of silence[3] of the dispossessed. Freire and Giroux (Livingstone et al. 1987, p.xii) state it was the task of radical critics to break through this 'false harmony' of dominant ideology in order to unmask the lies, myths and distortions that constructed the basis for the dominant order.

The above discussion has similarities with Znaniecki's thesis of the old methods of enforcement and imposition used in education to shape an individual in accordance with some pre-existing model. A certain kind of behaviour is enforced and behaviour which is in conflict with the model is repressed.

Freire uses examples of classroom pedagogy to highlight the imposition of a dominant culture on all students. The discussion of Durkheim's views on Moral Education define the inculcation of a spirit of discipline as a superimposed process by which a child internalizes the moderation of desires and self-mastery. Discipline is an intentional activity imposed to direct the child into laws of social behaviour according to a type 'socially known and positively appreciated', or general types (Znaniecki 1930, p.373). Durkheim suggests the individual does not inherit, genetically, moral forces but one's nature does have a pre-disposition as a creature of habit. He asserts that the teacher has the power to impose her/his will, exert dominance over the child's behaviour as an external check to the child's desires. This influence is unlike a physical force. Znaniecki gives more stress to the influence of the early training in the family unit as a

---

[3] In his monologue, Adult Literacy Process, Freire (1970, p.222) advocates a theory and practice based upon authentic dialogue between teachers and learners. The following dialogue from a 'sower of words' in a literacy class defines the meaning of the culture of silence. We asked ... why he hadn't learned to read and write before the agrarian reform.

> 'Before the agrarian reform, my friend,' he said, 'I didn't even think.
> Neither did my friends.'
> 'Why?' we asked.
> 'Because it wasn't possible. We lived under orders. We only had to carry out orders. We had nothing to say,' he replied emphatically.

The simple answer of this peasant is a very clear analysis of the 'culture of silence.' In 'the culture of silence,' to exist is only to live. The body carries out orders from above. Thinking is difficult, speaking the word, forbidden.

foundation for socialization in cooperative actions between family members[4]. In contrast, Durkheim expresses the view that the family unit on its own is not sufficient for a moral education. He explores the school environment which exposes the child to various influences and milieus and thus provides a step beyond the family for participation in later group life in society.

Education in this sense is for the child rather than with the child (Freire's contention also) as imposition is aimed at conforming to rules of morality which are for the good of the child and society. Imposition is necessary as an educational method as the moral law, says Durkheim (1961, p.116), was not created by the individual:

> We can investigate the nature of these moral rules, which the child receives from without, through education, and which impose themselves on him by virtue of their authority.

In this superorganic view of culture (which must be explained in terms of its own laws), human behaviour is culturally determined: culture controls the lives of men. It shapes behaviour by continuous practice. Moral education does not happen automatically as spontaneous growth. Rules are not internalized on their own and the inclination to collective life must be instilled.

Durkheim asserts that moral education leaves room for creativity and individualism. It is a criticism of the above theories that the inculcation and reproduction of the dominant culture neglects the humanistic perspective and mediation of resistance. How is culture reproduced? Giroux (1983, p.262) provides an example of power relations of dominance and subordinance in the economic sphere in the Economic-Reproductive model. The Economic group controls society:

---

[4] The family as the early milieu for educational guidance is explored by Znaniecki in Chapter VII of 'Social Actions'. Znaniecki (1936, p.189) contends:

> One (pattern of social action) has led to the development of a type of guidance that may be termed educational, because it is mainly used in teaching others actions they do not yet know how to perform. Educational guidance originates in the traning of the young for cooperation with adults. The earliest purposes for which adults require the cooperation of the young concern the latter's own needs.

> Through its classroom social relations, schooling functions to inculcate students with the attitudes and dispositions necessary to accept the social and economic imperatives of a capitalist economy.

This inculcation has consensus with Znaniecki's education as an intentional activity but not necessarily for 'the good of the child'. The theoretical construct that illuminates the ideological connection between the schools and the work-place is the notion of the hidden curriculum. This emerges as the structural silences that permeate all levels of school and classroom relations e.g. high status and low status knowledge. Following this argument, Freire writes that the oppressed adapt to the domination in which they are oppressed and dehumanized. The oppressed absorb the ideas of others and do not reflect critically upon their situation.

Education does not take place in a vacuum. According to Znaniecki, it has a distinct and regulated social form. This involves a social relation of a specific type viz the educand who is personally subordinate to the educator. The duty of the educator is the personal evolution of the educand. In this context, Znaniecki (1930, p.372) argued:

> The duty of the educand is to subject himself to the direction of the educator and to follow the line of evolution imposed upon him. Since the educand cannot always be expected to understand his duty and be willing to fulfil it, the educator has means at his disposal by which he is supposed to develop in the educand the proper understanding and willingness.

This is the 'spirit of discipline' as outlined by Durkheim. In his study, the role of the teacher though limited is an important one in directing the class and creating a general atmosphere of moral health. It is the teacher who imposes her/his will 'with resolution' and provides the environment in which a child is accustomed, from an early stage, to self-control and moderation. In this educator-educand relationship, the child grows into a consciousness whereby her/his external actions are the result of internalized control. That is, the teacher is needed as the external check.

In contrast, the relationship becomes polarized in Freire's notion of the banking concept of education as an instrument of oppression. In this view, the teachers present themselves to the students as their necessary opposite. These are poles of a contradiction in which the teachers justify their own existence by considering the (students') ignorance absolute and the alienated students accept their alienation. Banking education maintains and stimulates this contradiction through attitudes and practices which mirror oppressive society. Freire (1972, p. 46) gives some examples of the teacher-student contradiction:

1. The teacher teaches and the students are taught.
4. The teacher talks and the students listen - meekly.
5. The teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined.
6. The teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply.
8. The teacher chooses the programme content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it.

One of the criticisms of Reproductive Theories of education is the lack of investigation into the dynamics of the teacher-student relationships especially in the transmission of culture. As Freire and Giroux (1987, xiii) point out such theories failed to move beyond the language of critique and offered little hope for those who had to work in or deal with schools on a daily basis:

> Early forms of radical educational theorizing provided the context in which schooling was analyzed as part of a set of wider institutional and political practices. In this case, schools were linked directly to the work process and implicated in reproducing the class divisions necessary for maintaining the distribution of capital, labor, and power essential to the capitalist order. (Livingstone et al. 1987, p.xiii).

This theory was not put into practice.

Bourdieu proposes a reproductive theory in which teachers are agents of the institution and transmit through their authority a 'legitimate' dominant culture. This polarisation maintains Freire's image of the banking situation. Teachers who transmit this culture may themselves 'misrecognise' the dominant culture particularly if they as agents obey the law of 'routinization'. Teachers are not required to establish their own authority as

the authority of the school is deflected onto the teachers and the latter are more effective as distance between the culture of school and family is decreased. This means that social and cultural reproduction enables the possessors of the prerequisite cultural capital to continue to monopolise that capital.

Durkheim's theory of moral education for socialization suggests that the child is a helpless recipient of culture. Culture as ways of thinking and acting are ways of behaving which exercise a power of coercion over the individual, in that s/he is penalised, either legally or morally, for not abiding by them. It implies that some form of coercion is in the process and part of the fundamental concept of education. Znaniecki (1930, p.379) observed:

> The basis of education is a parallel belief that human will can control human nature, modify it permanently to suit definite purposes; and if ever a really planful and efficient social technique develops, it will owe to this belief its existence.

In order to evolve social technique out of education, Znaniecki warns that one must limit one's claims and intensify efforts in adaptation to objective reality and its laws.

1.6   Students as Active Agents in Resisting Education

'To limit one's claims' could perhaps be kept in mind by educational theorists who neglect to look at the individuals in their context as active human agents. Both sides of a theory need to be considered. If, as Bourdieu outlines, education is the process of reproducing the dominant culture in all students, how do students respond and modify the process?

Writing in 1930, Znaniecki was aware of the response to coercion and repression in education but did not explore a new theory as such. Self-education was put forward as a new approach. He concludes that enforcement and repression 'inevitably produce revolt' which may be checked by fear but sooner or later finds expression. Perhaps his experiences of life in Poland made him aware of resistance but this is seen in the

context of education. As discussed above, reproduction theories neglected this human aspect and failed to address the experiences of educators and those who work in and with the schools. Whilst one cannot make too many claims with a theory, a one-sided approach offers little hope for teachers working in schools on a daily basis. There was little room for notions of culture and ethnicity in the theories discussed. Giroux (1983, p.273) points to the flaw in Bourdieu's work regarding 'his unwillingness to link the notion of domination with the materiality of economic forces'.

Resistance theories do not differ from Znaniecki so much as providing a theoretical base from which to examine the individual in context (which he pinpointed). They can be compared with Reproduction theories as analysing a new perspective on how students respond to the imposition of culture. As discussed by Giroux, resistance can take different forms. Schools can be linked to the state constituted by law through the logic of repression. Involuntary school attendance does not guarantee student obedience and in some ways can promote student resistance. Involuntary attendance is enforced through attempts by courts and police. Radical educational theorists have looked at such oppositional behaviour, not as disruptive and inferior, but have analysed the 'structured silence' of these students in a creative way.

A striking example of a mode of resistance based in culture is demonstrated by Willis (Giroux 1983, p.283): a group of working-class lads in an English secondary school rejected the primacy of mental labour over manual labour. Their opposition had roots in the counter-logic of their families and street life where the make up of their culture pointed to a different and more convincing reality. It needs to be noted that their rejection of the school curriculum did not give rise to conflict but closed off the emancipatory process through the intellectual power of critical thinking - which is Freire's pedagogy. Drop-outs failed to recognize the limits of their own resistance. By leaving school, these students placed themselves in a structural position cut off from political and social avenues. In some cases, students were indifferent to the dominant

ideology of the school. A distinctive feature of resistance theories is their emphasis on the importance of culture and cultural reproduction. In this concept lies the basis for a theory of human agency constructed through the active experiences of oppressed groups. Resistance has various forms and sources as Giroux (1983, p.285) mentions:

> It is important to stress that the opposition displayed by a sub-ordinate group must be seen not only as a form of resistance but also as an expression of a group's struggle to constitute its social identity.

Acts of resistance may be linked to class-gender-race specific - and ethnicity and culture. For a full understanding of the nature of such resistance, one must place it in a wider context to see how it is mediated and articulated in the culture of such oppositional groups.

This leads on to Freire's 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' in which the author expounds a liberating logic in a tone which is didactic and powerful. With specific reference to Latin America, Freire's view of educational policy is cultural action for freedom through dialogue rather than domination for domestication. His concept of conscientization contrasts with the banking education. Conscientization refers to the process in which individuals, not as recipients, but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness both of the socio-cultural reality which shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality. Freire (1970, pp.221-2) explains:

> Conscientization occurs simultaneously with the literacy or post-literacy process. It must be so ... The more they unveil it (the problem), the more their awakening consciousness deepens, thus leading to the 'conscientization' of the situation by the poor classes.

In the culture of silence, the dependent society is by definition a silent society. Its voice is not an authentic voice, but merely an echo of the voice of the metropolis - in every way the metropolis speaks, the dependent society listens. To keep the masses domesticated, the banking concept of education is used by the dominators. In this way, students cannot be creative thinkers but simply store knowledge as deposits. Freire rejects this banking method and proposes his perception of a teacher-student

relationship. Freire (1972, p.50) asserts that human life holds meaning only through communication:

> One cannot impose oneself, nor even co-exist with one's students. Solidarity requires true communication. The teacher cannot think for his students, nor can he impose his thought on them. Authentic thinking, thinking that is concerned about *reality* ... takes place only in communication.

Authentic thinking is in contrast to Bourdieu's analysis of class reproduction through education. Thinking is concerned with reality and can take place only in reality. If thought has meaning only when generated by action upon the world, the subordination of students to teachers becomes impossible. Freire asserts liberating education consists in acts of cognition, not transferrals of information. Through dialogue, teachers and students cease to co-exist. The teacher is no longer merely the one-who-teachers but one who is also taught in dialogue with the students, who in their turn while being taught also teach. Bourdieu's pedagogy for authority dismisses a sharing relationship for the reproduction of culture as distinct from Freire (1970, p.53) who sets up an education where 'no-one teaches another, nor is anyone self-taught'. In contrast, the latter process is the one envisaged by Znaniecki as an alternative to the 'older forms' of education.

Freire defines Cultural Action For Freedom as a two step process in which the oppressed actively participate in transforming their world.

1. Consciousness of their dehumanized state: a desire to be 'like the oppressors'.
2. Liberation of themselves and their oppressors as well.

These precepts illustrate the style and tone of Freire's writing. It is intended as a pedagogy for the oppressed which could, however, be applied to other Third World countries. It remains at the level of a theory as the ideas are not applied in a specific methodology - a difference with Znaniecki (1930, p.381) who outlines a process for the

developing individual who has a clear personal ideal 'but as yet there is no adequate theory of this process'.

To compare another scholar, Durkheim's superorganic view of culture implies that in time, all students will come to internalize the moral laws of socialization which have been imposed on them. Durkheim does consider resistance as well as reproduction in his theory: modes of resistance can be expressed in anti-social behaviour or fierce individualism. His lengthy discourse on 'Punishment to fit the action' as a social concept of Discipline highlights the fact that individuals respond in various ways to a system of education.

1.7   The Family as a Cultural and Educational Unit

In a wider context, Znaniecki (1930, p.377) refers to cultural processes:

> Objectively the same influence exercised upon two individuals or the same individual at two different moments of his life will produce every time different modifications of his personality.

This was discussed above in the metaphor of the freezing stream. Changes in education, according to Znaniecki, are part of a general process. The author relates these changes in 'a crumbling education' of his time to changes in the influence of the family viz parents have ceased to be the chief educators of the family giving way to specialization; also the close and enduring relation of educator to educand is disappearing. If the influence of the family as a primary educational milieu (discussed more fully in 'Social Actions', 1936) has diminished what process has taken its place? For example, there was no mass media. The need for self-education comes into play. It is significant how, in contrast to Znaniecki, a modern writer, Livingstone, points to a return of the family as a cultural and educational unit. His proposal stresses the early influence of the family as a deep and lasting one giving stability and continuity of values to the developing individual. In consensus with Durkheim, he says that the role of educational institutions is engaged in socializing people into understanding of and

forms of wider personal involvement in society. Basically, the individual is placed in the context of the family. Livingstone (1987, pp.4-5) perceives this as pivotal for the reconstituting of the social order:

> In advanced industrial societies, families, the mass media and schools are the prime educative agencies. First, some form of household/family/kinship network provides us all with our initial socialization and conditions later learning activities whatever amount of time is spent in family relationships, they remain the place throughout our lives where we are most likely to share our intimate thoughts and feelings with others and reaffirm or transform our most basic understanding of and practical orientation to the wider social world. Families therefore continue to be the most profoundly educative institutions.

Writing in 1987, Livingstone perceives a 'new' educational and cultural influence which had less significance in Znaniecki's time to 'shape' the frozen blocks of ice. He perceives the mass media at least as influential as schools in providing people with their general understanding of society. Looking further ahead, he cites more changes in education by advocates of such alternatives as privatisation, voucher systems and early vocational training services independent from public schools. Clearly, educational influences are as Znaniecki demonstrated dynamic and changing even sometimes indicating a return to more traditional values by different generations, such as the role of the family.

Livingstone's conclusion is appropriate to this discussion particularly in the argument put forward by Freire. Changes in educational policies require changes in one's thinking especially in the critical thinking of subordinate groups who want to transform their world:

> However broadly or narrowly education is construed, the heightened public rhetoric of the current crisis is indicative of an historical moment during which those in subordinate groups have exceptional opportunities to consciously reassess the status quo and to become engaged in the social construction of alternative futures (Livingstone et al. 1987, p.7).

In the above comparative discussion on educational theories, it can be concluded that radical theories are not applied and are also incomplete. For example resistance

theories as studied by Giroux need to examine the students who 'see through lies and myths' hidden in the school curriculum but who decide against overt rebelliousness in a passive form of resistance or even a logical approach in accepting values outside school. Giroux and Freire suggest the need to move away from more class analysis to provide theoretically useful support to teachers, parents and others involved in the ongoing struggle for justice and peace. Their aim is not to defend an orthodoxy of one sort but to formulate a notion of radical pedagogy for a variety of cultural spheres and open up areas of popular culture, mass media, trade union organizing, the family as areas for pedagogical work.

1.8 Creativity

This was an aspect neglected by the proponents of Reproductive theories. In his writings, Freire proposes that the oppressed should be liberated through not only critical but creative thought. He asserts speaking the word means a human act implying reflection and action. For a word to be a 'true' act it must at the same time be (Freire 1970, p.212):

> associated with the right of self-expression and world-expression, of creating and re-creating, of deciding and choosing and ultimately participating in society's historical process.

Znaniecki takes this idea of creativity and the development of the individual and gives it a new perspective. He conceives the personal development, consciously directed and controlled by the developing individual as self-education. Znaniecki proposes that this method of education would make the self-educated person 'incomparably superior' to the type produced by educational pressure in such areas as personal initiative, creative power, internal self-control and voluntary subordination to those cultural ideals which one has chosen for guidance. These are concepts raised by both Durkheim and more radical theorists such as Freire and a thorough exploration of the 'facts' of self-education is warranted. These considerations have been neglected both by pedagogical and sociological reflection in Znaniecki's view. Whilst no theory has been established,

self-education is intended as a substitute (in its own right) for the older form of education rather than simply a modification of that education by increasing the amount of freedom granted to the educand and changing the nature of the pressure exercised by the educator. This is not an innovative approach in itself as self-education has existed as a supplement to formal educational methods for some time e.g. the situation of a research student in a university which preserves the tradition of academic freedom. Certainly Znaniecki's concern is for individuals to have freedom to be creative and the opportunity to develop their full potential. The interesting question remains whether self-education has its sources alongside of education or apart from it and how it continues to be propagated. It is a valid concept and one which includes cultural possibilities as well as educational ones to fulfil Znaniecki's (1930, p.386) personal ideal:

> For the first time the cultural possibilities of man, unhampered by the mistaken educational treatment to which every growing generation has been subjected until now, will be fully manifested and realized.

1.9 Self-Education as an Outcome

Znaniecki suggests that self-education is a third way, not a compromise, to older forms of education, on the one hand, and the notion of spontaneous growth, on the other. He feels this has been neglected in sociological reflection, although it has existed 'for thousands of years.' Znaniecki (1930, p.381) outlines self-education as:

> Distinct from free natural growth of the personality as it is from education. It is personal development, consciously directed and controlled by the developing individual himself in view of some more or less comprehensive and clear personal ideal ... It also depends upon social factors.

Self-education can be regarded as a supplement to educational methods e.g. maintenance of the mother tongue by one's own efforts. There are famous people who have risen from the ranks without formal educational training. In this instance, personal ideals often arose early in life. Examples can be found in life histories of 'under-

achievers' who failed to reach social prominence; above-average abilities which have risen by their own efforts - but not to the halls of fame. The ability to supplant education by self-education is not limited to endowed individuals but includes those from the lower classes of society. Wasted genius indicates self-education requires certain social conditions and influences.

Self-education has arisen as a result of open conflict between the personal aspirations of the individual and the demands of the group which controls education - the family, the professional group, the territorial group, the religious group. In finding a new social environment favorable to these ideals, the individual may develop into an original and constructive personality. Partial self-education is another outcome when the individual tries to substitute her/his own personal values and standards for those unsatisfactory ones which the older generation imposes upon her/him in the educational process. It is not clear from where these values would come.

Self-education is sometimes started and socially organized in consequence of conflict, not between the individual and the group, but between social groups, as in Poland before reconstruction. Znaniecki (1936, p.193) concludes that self-education would allow the cultural possibilities of the individual to be fully manifested and realized. In 'Social Actions', the author wrote:

> Educational guidance by adults is not the only way in which a young individual can learn to participate in the cultural life of the older generation ... At every stage of culture, youth by its own initiative and effort masters without any guidance many of the activities necessary for this participation ... A research covering many years has convinced us that only by such unguided efforts can a young individual become an initiator or leader in any cultural field whatsoever; self-education, though a much more difficult 'road to culture' (to borrow Counts' expression), is the one that opens up the greatest possibilities.

In his discussion on Znaniecki's Sociology of Education, Kowalski (1989, p.52) refers to works used in this chapter:

> The continuity of Znaniecki's interest in the field, and his cumulating contributions to the sociology of education are reflected in several of his English-language publications. Notable among these is an excellent synthesis attained in a survey article *Education and Self-Education in Modern Societies* (1930). Another summation of theoretical work appeared in *Social Actions* (1936) as a chapter entitled 'Educational Guidance'.

Kowalski observed that the theoretical concepts anticipated major directions of development in the sociology of education.

Self-education is, in accordance with the humanistic perspective of its author, a humanistic approach in the sense that it has the responses of the individual in mind. With all theories and applications as Giroux underlines, there are some weaknesses or gaps. Perhaps one has to 'limit one's claim' for a theory and methodology but self-education is presented in the context of a better process than existing ones, and a basis for 'exhaustive' investigation. But, firstly, it is not accessible to everyone in the sense that it depends on social factors or a milieu which stimulates its growth. Individuals respond in various ways to repression e.g. passive resistance or rebelliousness? It is not limited to exceptionally endowed individuals as evidenced in cases where personal ideals have given impulse and direction to individuals to rise from the ranks in all lines of cultural endeavour. National interests usually form the nucleus of personal ideals toward which individual development is consciously and voluntarily directed. It is a condition that a sustained self-educational effort can only be made under very propitious social influences indicating that creative power may be dissipated in vain struggles against a milieu which conflicts with individual ideals.

Reproductive theories which aim to reproduce a particular culture suppress the desire and ability for self-education and the reproduction of one's cultural heritage as part of one's socialization.

1.10   Conclusion

Znaniecki and more recent radical theorists expressed dissatisfaction with existing educational theories. One theory cannot cover every aspect of education but one should envisage its application even though gaps may need to be filled in practice. Livingstone (1987, p.10) says that critical scholars using a critical pedagogy:

> should not be restricted to narrow educational concerns focussed only on the schools alone or including mass media and family spheres, but should facilitate popular efforts to make sense of the entirety of everyday life in relation to practice.

Znaniecki was convinced that self-education had 'the germ of a good idea' as a social technique which would free the individual, not from education per se, but for the development into an original and constructive personality. This has consensus with Durkheim's ideal for individual socialization for the good of society and the good of the child. Scholars such as Durkheim, Bourdieu and Freire had good ideas in theory which gave different perspectives on the complex issue of education. Freire, as one example, provides an important writing on the adult literacy process as cultural action for freedom in a third world country. Adult literacy aims not only for the acquisition of literacy skills but also as an act of 'knowing' through which a person is able to look critically at the culture which has shaped one. This comment brings to life the thesis of Giroux and Freire in respect to theories of education:

> It is important to underscore that within the varied theoretical perspectives ... the category of transformation is viewed not merely as a matter of institutional change, it is also linked to forms of practice that resonate with the development and production of new needs, desires, and subjectivities. (Livingstone et al. 1987, p.xv).

Theories provide a framework for understanding educational and cultural influences. They alert the researcher to concepts that require investigation.

In this study, the theoretical concepts of humanistic sociology provide the framework for the humanistic approach to the memoir analysis of group and personal cultural systems and core values.

2.   THE CONCEPTS OF HUMANISTIC SOCIOLOGY

It is social persons both as conscious agents and as objects of the actions of others that qualify as sociological data.   Znaniecki

Humanistic sociology, as one of the variants of the social action orientation, was first associated with the names of Florian Znaniecki, William I. Thomas and Robert M. MacIver in Poland and the United States.

In their analysis of 'The Polish Peasant in Europe and America', Thomas and Znaniecki (1918-20) recognized the role of human experience in social life and developed an extensive social theory for studying it. Znaniecki (1939, p.799) referred to this school of sociological thought as a 'humanistic science'[1]. In his later work 'The Method of Sociology' (1934), he 'offers the most complete and satisfactory system ... (for) the selection and determination of scientific data in general, with the principles of selection of cultural data, with the data of sociology ... and finally with his own recommended method, the method of analytic induction' (Bierstedt 1969, p.15).

2.1   Theoretical Assumptions

Znaniecki viewed the social and physical world as equally complex and clearly indicated sociology was a special, not a general, science of culture, with its own special subject matter, its own specific category of data. He preferred the term 'cultural sciences' to the more widely accepted 'social sciences'. The term 'humanistic' suggests an approach relating to the human situation and consciousness viz experiences, aspirations, social milieu and other human agents. It is an anti-positivistic approach to the study of society. In opposition to positivistic approaches to the study of society, Znaniecki (1939, p.16) emphasised:

---

[1]   In the same article, Znaniecki (1939, p.802) used the term 'humanistic coefficient' which is the key concept in the theory of this thesis:

> We emphasized this point in earlier works by saying that the scientist investigates such data with his 'humanistic coefficient'.

The primary and essential meaningfulness of social reality to accept human values and activities as facts, just as human agents themselves accept them.

The theoretical framework is concerned with the phenomena of culture as opposed to the phenomena of nature. The distinctive characteristic of the phenomena of culture is their analytic connection with the phenomena of consciousness (Smolicz 1974, p.13). The assumption underlying this approach is that social and cultural life can only be understood if it is taken with its humanistic co-efficient (to be defined). It should be noted that the sociologist only has access to, and interest in, those thoughts which find external manifestations. Human actions and their material and ideational products have become patterned and organised into group systems. Action as a basic category of social inquiry was insisted on by Znaniecki:

> It is social persons both as conscious agents and as objects of the actions of others that qualify as sociological data. Every man is an aspect of himself as he appears to someone else - and to himself as well (Bierstedt 1969, p.21).

Every member of a group is the centre of a circle of experience and activity so that the sum total of such centres becomes the group social system. Conscious human agents play the decisive role in the creation of, reintegration and disintegration of, groups' cultural systems.

In the analysis of the role of human agents, humanistic sociology imposes a specific structure upon nature, and the sociologist observes natural phenomena in the form in which they function in the human consciousness. It follows that the application of the humanistic co-efficient requires a study of the intentions, experiences and activities of individual agents and participants, within the context of their cultural situation and social role as they themselves perceive these external realities - or as the cultural phenomena are given to the participants. To illustrate this last point, I refer to a student's poor performance in class examinations. The humanistic coefficient applied to the student, teacher and parent is likely to yield differing, even contradictory, perspectives. Viewed in the context of home and school, the several aspects of reality

are needed for a holistic approach to the problem. This approach is not simply a sum of separate parts but a complex interaction of cultural and social influences. In their interpretation of Polish Peasant life, Thomas and Znaniecki pointed out that contradictory, or even negative perspectives must be analysed (perhaps searched for) to give this holistic approach. They were convinced 'of the necessity of approaching ... social problems by isolating given societies and studying them, first in the totality of their objective complexity, and then comparatively' (Blumer 1939, p.4).

Humanistic sociology is distinct from the behaviourist point of view.[2] Natural phenomena are observed in the form in which they function in the human consciousness in the context of the social milieu. Another Polish scholar, Chalasinski (1982, p.41) states:

> Social groups do not exist outside individuals, but only in the experience of the individuals who are their respective members ... This is why social groups cannot be studied exclusively from the outside, as to their objective (numerical, spatial, cultural aspect), but also from the point of view of the experiences of their members.

The individual cannot be studied objectively, and in isolation. A sociologist who wants to base research on empirical data must seek order among data which depends on conscious human agents. Thomas and Znaniecki (1958, p.11) argue that any group of social facts cannot be treated theoretically in an arbitrary isolation from the rest of the life of the given society:

> This lack of real isolation ... is a permanent feature of all the artificial, abstractly formed groups of facts such as "prostitution", "crime", "education", "war", etc. Every single fact included under these generalizations is connected by innumerable ties with an indefinite number of other facts belonging to various groups, and these relations give to every fact a different character. If we start to study these facts as a whole, without heeding their connection with the rest of the social world, we must necessarily come to quite arbitrary generalizations.

---

[2] Smolicz (1974, p.15) provides an example:

> From a behaviourist point of view, the movements of two pairs of individuals may appear quite identical, but to a sociologist they may either represent a fight or a wrestling match.

Natural phenomena, according to Znaniecki, in their naturalistic interpretation are objects and facts which are essentially independent of an experience and thinking. They are given to the researcher as independent, as 'nobody's' data. As a theorist, the researcher assumes that that does not in the least affect the nature of the object and facts s/he studies. On the other hand, the data of a cultural student are always 'somebody's' data.

It is this essential character of cultural data that illustrates the concept of the humanistic coefficient, because such data exist in the experience of conscious agents, and are objects of theoretic reflection. Even when sociologists examine their own personal experiences they must treat themselves not as a 'pure, enquiring mind but as a member of certain social groups' (Smolicz 1974, p.16).

2.2   Key Concepts

Cultural systems depend not only for their meaning but also for their very existence upon the participation of conscious and active human agents and upon their relation with one another. Znaniecki had his own method for recognising their uniqueness. It is through the humanistic coefficient that the humanistic sociologist distinguishes cultural from natural systems. Znaniecki (1963, p.132) defines the term:

> The student of culture seeks to discover any order among empirical data which depends upon conscious human agents, is produced, and is maintained by them. To perform this task he takes every empirical datum which he investigates with what we have called its *humanistic coefficient*, i.e. as it appears to those human individuals who experience it and use it.

Smolicz (1974, p.14) discusses the concept:

> Humanistic sociology imposes a specific structure upon nature ... A special feature of the 'humanistic structuralisation' of natural phenomena is that a sociologist looks upon them with what Znaniecki has termed as the humanistic coefficient, i.e. he observes them in the form in which they function in the human consciousness.

Znaniecki (1922, p.452) used this term as early as 1922 in his 'Introduction to Sociology'[3] :

> In a word, the objects investigated by the sciences of culture are not absolute, self-existing realities, but objects existing for men, and such as men see them; they are *human values*. We call this character of their being the object of 'somebody's' experience and activity the *humanistic coefficient* of cultural data.

Znaniecki insists that differences are not only in composition and structure but in the character of the elements that account for their coherence. In proposing a scheme for a scientific study of social life, the first step in this undertaking is the determination of data. Thomas and Znaniecki asserted that 'attitudes' and 'values' were the basic data and these two terms, and the relation between them, constitute the foundation for their whole scheme and undertaking.

The individual and social organization are the factors of group life: the basic data, consequently, must refer to these two factors. The two kinds of data must be taken as correlated.

Cultural values. Thomas and Znaniecki identified the term 'value', or social value, with the objective cultural elements of social life and of attitudes with the subjective characteristics of the individual. Analysis of cultural data involves these two concepts.

Human values and activities are to be considered as facts and one needs to differentiate between natural objects or things and cultural objects or values. A thing has content (only) and stands only for itself e.g. a piece of metal, a tree or a slab of marble. A cultural object has both content and meaning and the association between these key concepts was indicated by the formal definition. By a social value is understood any datum having an empirical content accessible to the members of some social group and

---

[3]   This article is a Resumé based on the author's book (1919) Cultural Reality, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

a meaning with regard to which it is or may be an object of activity. In the Methodological Note to 'The Polish Peasant', the authors (1958, pp.21, 39) asserted:

> The meaning of these values becomes explicit when we take them in connection with human actions ...

> A social value, acting upon individual members of the group, produces a more or less different effect on every one of them; even when acting upon the same individual at various moments it does not influence him (her) uniformly.

Social theory as a basis of social technique must include both kinds of data involved, namely the objective cultural elements of social life and the subjective characteristics of the members of the social group. The authors used the terms 'social values' (or simply 'values') and 'attitudes'. Since 1976, Smolicz has used the term 'cultural values' for these shared group meanings.

Examples of cultural values can be cited. Rings exchanged at a marriage ceremony have a content that is partly sensory e.g. metallic (gold) and partly imaginary. Written and spoken words evoke images representing religious and marriage bonds. The rings have meaning in the social milieu of a wedding ceremony which is shared by other members of the group and family and their social value becomes explicit when taken in connection with human actions.

To use an example from education, the school blazer is a cultural value. It has material (or sensory) content as an article of clothing which distinguishes it as an empirical object. In addition, it has an emotional association for the student, and involves shared values, such as tradition, pride, and gentlemanly ethos, within the school, and for Old Scholars, which can be observed by outside individuals. The school motto with the crest worked on the pocket evokes further images of tradition and shared values, e.g. a Latin motto: *Veritas* (Truth); *Fac fortia et patere* (Do brave deeds and endure). These examples show how the meaning of a value can be experienced an infinite number of

times by an infinite number of individuals and so can be observed repeatedly and tested, as long as the community survives.

Other examples of cultural phenomena are a sacred tree, a coin or the statue of a god. A myth has content which is only imaginary. In some cases, a thing may acquire a meaning in a cultural context. By itself, a wink is an involuntary muscle twitch. It acquires a meaning when it is shared by another member of a group, and is analysed as a message, or is conspiratorial.

A value cannot be taken in isolation and its full meaning is only understood by finding the role which it plays in a cultural system. Therefore, a system as a whole must be studied simultaneously e.g. a word cannot be fully understood outside the linguistic system to which it belongs or else it would be 'meaningless'. Language is more than a means of communication. It is a carrier of culture. To illustrate this concept, I refer to the translation of languages. A word in a given language has a content, and cultural associations, which at times can be translated in several ways. Difficulties arise when a word, as a cultural value, loses that intrinsic meaning for the society in which it was born. For example, to take a classical context, the translation of the Latin word *senex*, an old person, could refer to someone forty years old in Roman times. To use a recent linguistic work, Wierzbicka (1992, p.65) in her Chapter 2 on 'Fate and Destiny' questions the 'universality of notions of (this) kind' and asks as a preliminary:

> Is this true? Do all languages have words roughly similar to the English words *fate* and *destiny*?[4]

---

[4] To expand this discussion on language encapsulating culture, I include the following section (Wierzbicka 1992, p.95):

8. Sociocultural Correlates.
Why is the Russian concept of *sud'ba* so different from the Polish concept of *los*? Why is the German *Schicksal* so different from the Italian *destino* or from the French *destin*? And why are the English *fate* and *destiny* so very different from all of those?

Presumably, the answers to these questions lie largely in the history of the peoples in whose cultures these concepts have evolved and in their national characters, shaped by their history.

Her discussion traces, in a comparative approach, how concepts and attitudes which are fundamental in a given culture 'find their expression ... in the grammar of the language of that culture'.

From the above discussion of differences between values and things, it can be seen that no-one operates in isolation, and human cultural activity must take into account both individual experiences and the experiences of those who react to her/his action or participate in it. As Znaniecki (1969, p.221) points out:

> The scientist who wants to study these actions inductively must take them as they are in the human experience of those agents and re-agents; they are his empirical data inasmuch and because they are theirs.

Attitudes. Values cannot be studied separately but in a dynamic relationship with attitudes. An emphasis upon the latter was one of the theoretical contributions of 'The Polish Peasant'. The authors insisted attitudes and values were basic data of social theory and change in society is to be accounted for in terms of the interaction of attitudes and values. Thomas and Znaniecki defined an attitude as:

> By attitude we understand a process of individual consciousness which determines real or possible activity of the individual in the social world ... The cause of a value or an attitude is never an attitude or value alone, but always a combination of an attitude and a value (Blumer 1939, p.9).

Process of consciousness refers to any manifestation of conscious life, such as emotion, aspiration, idea and has been discussed in relation to the concept of the humanistic coefficient. Activity is the other key term as it implies a tendency to act toward some value or object. There is a distinction between the psychological process which remains always fundamentally a state of somebody: the attitude is always fundamentally an attitude toward something.

An attitude is always an actual or implied tendency to act and has reference to some value. To those who argue that terms such as attitude and tendency are psychological in origin, Znaniecki contends it is the way they are used viz, for the sociologist, an attitude

is to be studied not as a facet of the individual who manifests it, but in relation to the cultural values which one would desire to activate. An attitude always has reference to a value and the deficiency of social theory and practice had been this failure to realize the presence of both individual and social components in social situations.

A social cause cannot be simple but compound and must include a value and an attitude. A value acting upon individual members of the group produces a more or less different effect on everyone of them: even when acting upon the same individual at various moments in time, it does not influence her/him uniformly. This concept is basic to the application of the humanistic coefficient to the analysis of memoir data.

Tendency. A tendency is related to the individual activation of certain values in the life of the group. It is not realized in a single act dealing with one value, but in a whole series of acts. For example, the Principal of a school may have a positive attitude towards the introduction of Italian into a school curriculum. Once the Principal has the teachers and other resources, this attitude can be activated into a tendency to teach Italian. Later, the application of the attitude-tendency distinction has importance in the teaching of the mother tongue to Italian and all children.

The interaction between attitudes and values, the 'foundation stones' of the theoretical framework, can be conceived thus:

	Group Values:	sharing within groups and across groups
Dynamic Equilibrium.	↑ ↓	source of individual attitudes
	Individual Attitudes.	
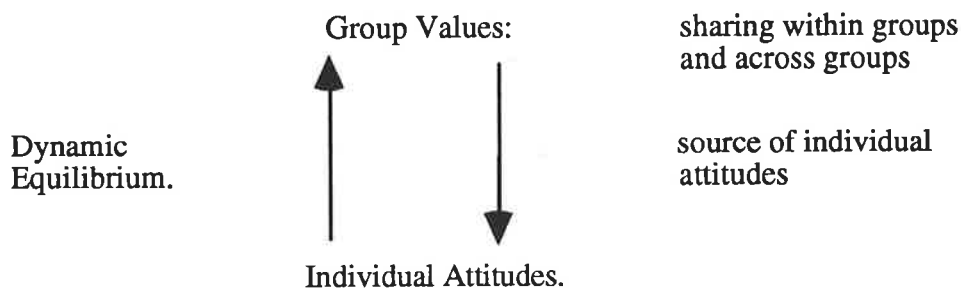
How do changes in attitudes and values come about? The above diagram indicates how an attitude can change only as a result of an outside value acting on it and a value can change only as a result of an attitude acting on it. As a value does not act in isolation, there must be a pre-existing attitude to explain the appearance of a new attitude. The problem for the sociologist is to find both the value and the pre-existing attitude upon which it has acted and get in their combination the necessary and sufficient cause of the new attitude.

VALUE

NEW ATTITUDE

PRE-EXISTING
ATTITUDE
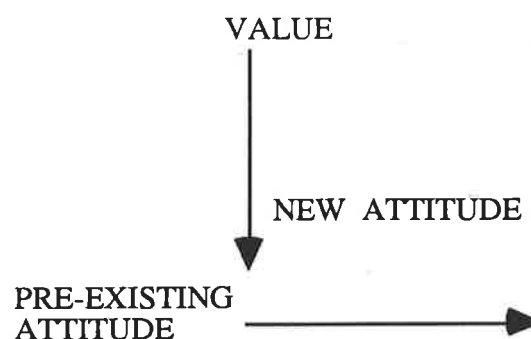
In social life, external factors play upon individuals, and through the medium of the experience of these individuals, lead to given forms of conduct. To illustrate this, in the formation of a personal cultural system (to be discussed), the individual uses experience 'like a prism', to select values from one or more groups. These basic data, and the humanistic coefficient which Znaniecki uses to distinguish cultural from natural systems, provide the relationship between facts and theories that jointly build a cultural science. Znaniecki (1969, p.18) insists that sociology must avoid both the Charybdis of theorising with no firmer ground than the hypotheses of the other sciences accepted as dogmas, and the Scylla of an irrational mass of motley information. It is the humanistic coefficient which characterises Znaniecki's sociology and which separates it rather sharply from the behaviouristic theories of many of his contemporaries on the American scene. He upheld the independent existence of cultural data in their own right.

In their study of extensive social change in Polish peasant life, Thomas and Znaniecki regarded this social change as similar to that of contemporary social life. Their work

was more than a mere monograph on the Polish peasant but provided an extensive theoretical scheme for the necessity of approaching these and other social problems. They proposed a standpoint and method for the study and analysis of any contemporary society. The principles of humanistic sociology can provide a theoretical perspective from which to analyse education and cultural interaction in a plural society, such as Australia.

2.3 Group and Personal Cultural Systems

A group is not a 'society' in the old sense of the term nor is it a single organism. It is simply one of the many cultural systems individuals construct and maintain by their activities. For example, there are many thousands of various groups maintained by the inhabitants of a big city. Individuals take a more or less active part in maintaining a dozen or more various social groups of which they are members. Social life is not coextensive with group life. There are innumerable social actions individuals perform not as members of any group, but simply as individual agents.

All the individuals in a large city, besides participating in innumerable social groups, participate also in economic enterprises and e.g. religious systems. Often they form special groups or utilize existing groups for the purposes of more efficient economic, technical, religious, aesthetic, intellectual cooperation - except friendship which can exist for its own sake. In a social relation there are two individuals or two groups, or an individual and a group, given to each other as partners of the relation, objects with regard to whom certain duties have to be fulfilled and from whom the fulfilment of other duties is expected. Znaniecki (1968, p.132) wrote:

> A "social person" is a center 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.

A group is composed of individual members each of whom is a social value for all the rest, the object of the collective assistance and control of the group, and all of whom cooperate in supporting the group as their common value.

Smolicz has applied the theory of humanistic sociology to cultural pluralism and extended the framework to the concept of the formation of personal cultural systems. This theory is used in the analysis of memoir data which follows in chapters 5, 6, 7 & 8.

Group cultural systems, or the living framework within which the group culture exists, is the total of individual centres of meaning. Examples of group cultural systems, or sets of cultural and social values, are linguistic, religious, ideological, social, economic or political. Some areas of group systems can overlap, as in Catholic and Protestant religious values. For a researcher, studies of personal cultural systems reflect group cultural systems.

An individual member of a group develops a cultural system which may not include, or be comparable, to all the group's systems e.g. there may be no sporting values. Individual variations in personal cultural systems can feed back to change later group cultural systems. One person could be influential such as a Shakespeare or a Prime Minister, or an accumulation of individual variations will interact with the group values e.g. the teaching of LOTE in all schools. In this case, personal linguistic systems have influenced the overarching framework of the whole society from monolingual Australia to linguistic pluralism. Individual members construct personal systems by selecting those cultural materials supplied by the group which meet their own particular situation in life. The personal cultural system can be regarded as a mediator between the culture of the group and the private world of the individual.

Formation of personal cultural systems. In Australia, for example, individuals can select among different group values in developing their personal systems. This concept

applies to the culture for any group. Two or more corresponding sets of group values for each aspect of culture such as language, family structure or religion are usually available to each individual born into a minority (NESB) ethnic group, as well as to those of the dominant (Anglo-ESB) group who enter into some form of social relationship with the members of the other ethnic groups. In this way, the personal cultural systems which individuals construct can take several different forms.

They may be culturally homogeneous, i.e. from one ethnic source, or heterogeneous when some degree of interaction between different cultures takes place. An Anglo individual may want to include the collectivist values of the extended Italian family in one's personal system. A process can occur with the formation of a dual system of values in which two components co-exist within the individual and are activated in different cultural and social contexts. Language provides a good example of this internal cultural pluralism. Bilingualism assumes the existence in society of a number of individuals, both Anglo and minority ethnic, who have internalised dual systems of linguistic values drawn from different cultural sources e.g. English and Italian, Greek and English. As language is additive and non-exclusive this concept applies to individuals who are tri- or even multilingual. Each autonomous part of a dual system can be activated at different times depending on the situation in which the individual finds oneself. This is the preferred type of interaction for an individual in a plural society.[5]

In the case of other cultural systems, an interactionist value orientation may lead to a synthesis solution rather than a dual system one. Blending in family structure can make use of both ESB and NESB cultural values : one can live close to one's parents (without having them living at home) and see them almost every day at the old folks' home at one and the same time. What does the Italian girl do who wants to be

---

[5] Refer to Smolicz 1979, p.93. Table 2 provides a typology of personal cultural systems in response to a plural society.

independent like her ESB peers and still evaluates the collectivist values of Italian family life? Some blending solution is possible and perhaps her peers may come to enjoy and be enriched by the interaction. Language blending can result where members of a minority group whose ethnic tongue takes the form of a social class or regional dialect restricted to informal oral usage include English words in the vocabulary.

In response to cultural diversity, a personal cultural system as developed in individuals may be bicultural or activate values from several ethnic groups. Casmir explores a new model of interactive, interpersonal communication which he calls third culture building. This is a system of understandings that coordinates, actions, and identities of participants in a relationship. Casmir (1993, p.419) asserts:

> What is important here is the realization that participants engage in an active, coordinated, mutually beneficial process of building a relationship.

This model has a focus on an active relationship more than the attitudes of participants.

Ideological systems. In theory, according to Smolicz, there are no barriers or obstacles in drawing upon a variety of cultural stocks for constructing a personal system. In reality, freedom to select cultural values is more limited than is commonly supposed. A discussion of the role of ideological values is relevant to an understanding of the different forms of personal systems constructed by individuals.

The ideological system of each ethnic group includes certain beliefs about the value of its culture as a distinctive entity. The type of personal systems constructed by ethnic minority individuals in a plural society will normally depend upon the ideological value systems of more than one cultural group. Firstly, this would be derived from a particular ethnic group's own estimate of the importance of retaining its culture as distinct from that of the dominant majority. This can be conceptualised as the ethnic tenacity of the group in a particular cultural environment. Secondly, formation is dependent on the way the ideological values of the ethnic culture concerned are related

to the value system of the host society. For example, if the dominant group already has a tradition of religious pluralism, such as Australia, ethnic groups with religion as a core value e.g. Jewish group, have more chance for self-perpetuation than cultures centred on some other values. The significance of the group's system of ideological values is evident in its influence on the personal cultural systems of group members. The nature of personal systems constructed is dependent not only upon the quality and accessibility of the cultural systems of the group, but also on a member's willingness or tendency to make use of those group systems that are available to each member. The ideological system also plays a key role in the way it evaluates heritage and shapes the group's tradition.

The formation of personal cultural systems is dependent on group cultural values. That is, a reservoir of values is needed and so 'the cultural values of a particular group can thus be regarded as some kind of cultural capital or treasure' (Smolicz 1979, p.45). Group members construct their personal linguistic systems, for example, whose nature is dependent upon the quality and accessibility of the linguistic stock that is made available to them, and their tendency to make use of it. If Italian is not taught in a school and a dialect is mainly spoken at home, the linguistic reservoir is limited: How does the Italian child get access to the standard stock?

An individual's tendency to make use of the stock of an ethnic group is not an inherited quality which complements the cultural values transmitted from the social environment. The tendency to activate a cultural value is the outcome of a number of forces, and in particular, those which emanate from the group's current tradition. Therefore, values must be transmitted so an individual can make use of them. Even a strongly ethnic home is not in itself sufficient to ensure the transmission of the ethnic literary heritage.

Cultural support. In addition to the family, an ethnic child can make use of ethnic resources such as the ethnic neighbourhood, Saturday schools, folk dancing ensembles

and ethnic clubs. Martin (1972) made a study of group organization in East and Central European Minorities in Adelaide from 1948-1967. In the early days, the search for companionship became absorbed into the more self-conscious aim of preserving ethnic cultural traditions and identity. Her research (1972, p.23) found:

> These groups claimed to embrace whole families, to provide for the general well-being rather than the particular interests of the members, to be responsible for the continuity of cultural traditions ... These community associations normally generated a series of affiliated interest groups, such as schools, choirs and folk-dancing groups, and youth, professional and women's clubs.

The Scout and Guide movement emerged as well organised, coherent, and stable compared with most other immigrant activities. This movement was closely associated with the church in fulfilling the role of guardian of ethnic culture.

Within the groups, Martin discussed the importance of the role of the clergy as individual socializing agents, particularly in those churches e.g. Orthodox, which used a non-English language and were organized into ethnic communities. These churches transmitted, and maintained, religious and linguistic values of the minority group:

> Priests and other ethnic leaders have ... acted as individual socialising agents, but the associations have not normally seen the orienting of the immigrant community towards Australian society and culture as part of their function (Martin 1972, p.123).

Martin found that socialising immigrants into the host society was not a function of the ethnic community organisation in Adelaide. She explored the question of the role of the ethnic community in encouraging or forcing individuals to relate themselves to the larger society:

> They ... avoided undertaking even the most neutral of acculturation-oriented tasks, such as providing opportunities for members to improve their command of English (Martin 1972, p.122).

Today, these cultural structures are important for an individual's well-being but in turn individuals need the support provided by the mainstream society in which the Australian school occupies the central role.

2.4   Core Values

A personal cultural system is unique: core values are shared by members of a group. Smolicz has extended the theory of humanistic sociology to his concept of core values of culture. Within the theoretical framework (discussed above), core values can be regarded as forming one of the most fundamental components of a group's culture. They generally represent the heartland of the ideological system and act as identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership. It is through core values that social groups can be identified as distinctive ethnic religious, scientific or other cultural communities. Rejection of core values carries with it the threat of exclusion from the group. They are generally assumed to fit into the category of ideological values but, in principle, there is no one to one correspondence between core values and an ideological system.

Core values, as the name implies, are vital for a certain level of cultural survival. Smolicz (1988, p.147) discusses the theoretical issue of how many changes a group's culture can sustain before it loses its integrity:

> In this type of analysis, culture cannot ... be regarded as some kind of amorphous or random collectivity of items which, in the case of the Greek group, would include ... national dances, music, Orthodox faith, national dishes, solidarity within the extended family, love of the native land, arts and crafts, organizational ability, gifts for political activism, and an "ethno-specific" language.

Not all these items are of equal importance for the identification of individuals as group members and some items may be drastically altered or even shed altogether without undermining the stability of the group.

There are other aspects of culture which are of such fundamental importance for its continued viability and integrity that they could be regarded as the pivots around which the whole social and identificational system of the group is organised. Removal of such pivots, through enforced assimilation, would result in the entire edifice crumbling to pieces. Hence the concept of a 'fragmentalized' or 'residual' culture whose native elements have been reduced to fragments or random residues, after its original pivots have been torn out and replaced by those originating from the majority or dominant group. Such pivots have been referred to as core values and loss of these values deprives a community of its ability to perpetuate itself as an authentic entity across generations.

Core values, which are regarded as of key significance by group members, vary from group to group and may involve an ethno-specific language, religion, family structure, as well as an attachment to the native land or region. In Australia, a number of ethnic groups appear to be *language-centred*, with their ethnic tongues as their cores. Smolicz and Secombe (1989) identified Greek, Polish, Latvian and Chinese language groups.

Language as a core value. Core language maintenance is closely related to the preservation of literacy skills. This safeguards the status of the language and its ability to act as an avenue for creativity as well as a link with the group's recorded past. French, either in Quebec, as a minority language within Canada, or France itself is an example of a core value for a group which is language centred. For such groups, the death of their ethno-specific tongue means much more than the loss of some practical avenue of communication or commercial gain. It fulfils a symbolic role in identifying people within a particular group, a particular culture and a particular people.

When a mother tongue is under threat, and through it the culture as a whole, attempts to maintain it can elevate that language to a symbol for the survival of the group as a separate entity. Whenever people feel there is a direct link between their identity as a

group and what they regard as the most crucial element of their culture, the element concerned becomes a core value for the group.

Poles provide one of the best examples of a culture where the native language has acquired the status of a central or core value. During the 19th century when the country was partitioned among three powerful neighbours the language came most clearly to acquire the role of a core value as a result of its most determined persecution. An indissoluble link was forged between the Polish language and the perpetuation of the Polish people as a distinct social and cultural group (Smolicz 1979, p.59). In their 'Methodological Note' to 'The Polish Peasant', the authors discuss efforts to maintain 'a distinct and unique cultural life' and the response of the society to external threats. The reference is to Poland during the time of partition.[6]

Kloskowska (1985) discusses social culture which includes two other categories: reality culture and symbolic culture. Interaction in which social culture operates may have various forms e.g. physical manipulation of human beings. Another important part of interaction takes place with the use of signs i.e. it takes the form of semiosis. Semiotic interaction is termed communication. This form of communication is materialized in art, knowledge and play and does not influence social roles and relations. It forms part of symbolic culture.

Symbolic culture is deprived of interactional residues. For example, individuals who see works of art may experience states and imagine social situations and events which bear no relationship to their real social situation and conditions. Most theoretical

---

[6] Thomas and Znaniecki (1958, pp.75-6): As a (Polish) society without a state, divided among three states and constantly hampered in all its efforts to preserve and develop a distinct and unique cultural life, it faced a dilemma ... Substitutes were created ... They show in an exceptionally intensified and to a large extent isolated form, the action of certain factors of social unity which exist in every society but in normal conditions are subordinated to the state organization and seldom sufficiently accounted for in sociological reflection. Secondly, the lack of permanence of every social institution and the insecurity of every social value in general, resulting from the destructive tendencies of the dominating foreign states, bring with them a necessity of developing and keeping constantly alive all the activities needed to reconstruct again and again every value that had been destroyed ... In general, life becomes much more evident than in a society not living under the same strain, but able to rely to a large extent upon the inherited formal organization for the preservation of its culture and unity.

conceptions of rebellion, according to Kloskowska, are not any threat to the existing order of things. This leads to the concept of autotelic elements of symbolic culture:

> Elements of symbolic culture which are confined to that specific intrinsic symbolic function are termed autotelic (Kloskowska 1985, p.20).

This concept has relevance for the theory of core values where language as a core is more than a means of communication but a 'communion'. The loss of the ethno-specific tongue for a group means therefore more than the loss of communication. For language-centred groups, language fulfils a symbolic role in identifying people within a particular group, a particular culture and a particular history, by bonds which are valuable for their own sake. To experience language means to experience symbolic values to which Smolicz (1989, p.15) refers:

> For such group members the value of their tongue transcends any instrumental consideration, and represents a striving for self-fulfilment that makes the language a symbol of survival, and hence of autotelic significance. This means that the values concerned are an aim in themselves.

Hierarchy of core values. In considering the nature of core values in a particular culture, it is important to remember that more than one core value may be involved. For example, Greek language and the Greek Orthodox religion are hallmarks of Greek ethnicity and Greek national consciousness. Can an individual be regarded as an 'authentic' member of the Greek ethnic group if the member is unable to communicate in the Greek language? (Smolicz 1988, p.148). Core value clusters, when one value reinforces the other may be observed in the maintenance of the Tamil tongue and religion as core values. In one study (Smolicz and Secombe 1989, p.503, 8.9 (a)), this vital link between language and religion has been shown in the finding that Tamil survived better in Hindu, rather than Christian, Indian households, because family attendance at the temple reinforced activation of Tamil in devotional singing.

For Italian culture, family structure as well as language constitutes a core value. The Italian family ethos has an underlying stress on collectivism and mutual inter-

dependence of its members. This contrasts with the Anglo-Saxon stress on individualism and emphasis on independence and self-reliance at the expense of close group ties and any consuming primary relationships outside the narrow circle of the conjugal family and its young children. Among rural southern Italians, the importance of the family as a cultural value may even transcend that of language. In a particular culture where more than one core value could be involved, it may be possible to establish a relative hierarchy of importance.

In contrast to language-centred cultures, the perpetuation of Jewish ethnicity has been possible almost without the need of one special language to act as its carrier and preserver. Its three most fundamental components could be labelled as those of religion, people-hood and historicity. The linkage of Jewish religion to the concept of Jews as a distinct group held together by ties of common ancestry, strengthens both these core values. This special symbiotic relationship is seen, for example, in the fact that the teaching of Mosaic religion represents at one and the same time a religious instruction and a review of Jewish national history.

Language as a core. The existence of a language such as Yiddish does not appear to have been indispensable for the perpetuation of Jewish culture and tradition (Smolicz 1979, p.62). Jewish ethnicity has come to be linked in recent times with the concept of the nation-state through the creation of Israel as a territorial unit. A phenomenon connected with the establishment of the state of Israel has been the revival of the long extinct tongue: Hebrew. The important principle which the successful revival of Hebrew demonstrates is that ethnicity, when it has been preserved mainly through the means of value orientation other than language, may later cause the emergence or re-emergence of a special tongue associated with the group and culture concerned. Kloskowska comments on the example of Jewish culture and the will to survive through attachment to national values. She referred to Polish national history of the 19th

century whereby a nation continued to exist in the absence of any political and social institutions of its own:

> Another, even more remarkable, example is provided by the Jewish diaspora lasting for over two thousand years. This case proves that the bonds of an imagined community may be preserved, in spite of the lack of most factors usually constituting national unity (Kloskowska 1992, p.56).

Language re-emergence has not happened in the case of Erse in Ireland, linked to the fact that Irish Gaelic has not in modern times been in any special way linked with Irish Catholicism. The core values of the Irish ethnic group are centred in the Catholic religion. The home and family are important influences in transmitting this core value to the younger generation.

Dynamic core values. Core values, or pivots, are not to be thought of as immutable since even they may undergo a change in their nature as well as in the interpretation given to them by each succeeding generation. The evaluation of the Orthodox religion, in terms of its significance for the everyday life of Greeks, has shown fluctuations. Smolicz (1988, p.148) points out:

> However, such modifications may not alter the significance of the Greek language and the Greek Orthodox religion as hallmarks of Greek ethnicity and Greek national consciousness.

The concept of core values helps to demonstrate that a stage can be reached when modification of a given culture is so fundamental as to lead to its disintegration into residues.

Core values have been discussed in relation to minority ethnic groups. This is because identification of certain aspects of culture as its core can be most clearly discerned when a group is under threat and needs to defend its culture against external pressure e.g. the discussion of the Polish language as a core value and in Australia Latvians who cultivate their language and heritage. In contrast, the majority culture is hardly ever under threat - but this does not suggest modifications do not occur, as this thesis

proposes to argue, or are not necessary for maintaining its values. Its cores are reflected in the present overarching framework.

<u>Overarching framework</u>. The coexistence of two or more cultures in the same society does not preclude, indeed it necessitates, the evolution of a whole set of shared or overarching cultural elements (Smolicz 1984, p.11). In Australia, the process of cultural interaction has already proceeded far enough to permit the evolution of such a set of values that overarch most ethnic groups in society. These include legal, political and educational systems, the freedom of the individual and the conviction that the rules framed under them are 'ipso facto' fair to the whole population. The English language is accepted as the shared language of the whole community and is the special feature of the Australian overarching framework. Smolicz (1994, p.2) defines his concept of the overarching framework:

> Multiculturalism presupposes the existence of an **overarching framework of shared values** that acts as a lynch-pin of unity in a multiethnic state - a framework which is flexible and responsive to the various cultures of the ethnic groups that compose the nation. The term **nation** is then understood not in the classical Herderian terms of a monoethnic and monocultural body, but as a **multicultural entity** which exhibits a dynamic equilibrium between the shared values of the nation as a whole and the particular cultures of the contributing ethnic groups.

The overarching framework is conceived as an umbrella with the capacity for flexibility and stretchability to accommodate new core values or re-define the old ones with modifications, of both minority and majority ethnic groups. A Roman arch does imply stability within a <u>fixed</u> structure. The arch conceptualises a static construction which does not allow dynamism in the transformation and possible extension within the framework. In contrast, the possibility of a stable and lasting but dynamic multiculturalism emerging in Australia depends upon achieving a balance between shared and core values. Such an ideal stresses both the preservation of ethnic traditions through the maintenance of their core values and their adjustment to the overarching values of society as a whole.

In Australia, a dynamic equilibrium emerges between the overarching framework of shared values on the one hand, and the values specific to particular ethnic groups, on the other. This process of cultural interaction may lead to a gradual modification not only of ethnic values, but also of the framework itself by incorporation of cultural elements from more than one ethnic group. Smolicz writes (1989, p.11):

> Parallel to the process of intercultural exchange across different groups, we observe a phenomenon of cultural renewal within the value system of each group, as its heritage is evaluated by the younger generation for relevance to their current needs.

Interaction between cultures and within each culture overlap so that the significance of each heritage is assessed in the light of cultural inputs from other groups involved in the interaction process. Heritage and tradition as processes of sharing and adaptation need to be considered in detail.

2.5   Heritage and Tradition

Heritage and tradition are distinct concepts which have significance and sociological interest for this thesis. They cannot be viewed from an isolationist stance. In presenting a theoretical framework for analysis, I shall refer, among others, to the concept of tradition based upon the work of the Polish sociologist Jerzy Szacki (1971 and as outlined by Smolicz, 1974).

Heritage. The concept of heritage has been defined by Szacki (1971) as 'that aspect of actual behaviour which has been preserved from the past'. His subjective view complements Znaniecki's humanistic sociological approach and this study.

The concept of heritage is restricted to that which has in fact been preserved from the past. This does not include external objects such as works of art, scholarly publications or institutions. These are interpreted as correlates of the cultural heritage, but not its elements. Heritage itself is interpreted as certain patterns of muscular, emotional and

mental responses which shape dispositions of group members and which are transmitted as heritage of the group.

Long established heritage provides continuity and a link with the past. This heritage gives a society ability to develop and maintain stability under threat. It is the resource, or stock, from which elements of tradition are drawn. For example, Australia has a heritage which began before 1788. Its origins especially a literary heritage go back not only to England but to classical antiquity and maintains roots in Latin inscriptions. These links with heritage bind society and are reflected in tradition. Loss of heritage removes an anchor which leads to instability. Smolicz (1989, p.9) has remarked:

> Hence a *resilient society* is to be regarded as one in which tradition reflects its manifold heritage, while being modified in response to the creative needs and aspirations of the current generation ... Outright rejection of one's own heritage causes self-doubt and self-rejection and is counter-productive to resilience.

Australia has the opportunity, as a plural society, to draw inspiration from more than one heritage and Smolicz asks whether Australians are prepared to try. Commissions set up by governments to investigate Multiculturalism and Education have emphasised the importance of heritage. In a survey on Ethnic Schools (The Teaching of Migrant Languages 1976, p.65), the home and family was evaluated as a significant influence in maintaining heritage:

> * most ethnic schools consider the major reasons for the language maintenance are the preservation of family cohesion and cultural heritage.

> * the schools ... teach other subjects such as history, geography, literature, the aim being to preserve cultural heritage and a sense of identity.

In 1984, the report (Education for a Cultural Democracy 1984, p.11) to the South Australian Minister of Education stated that heritage not only is essential for a sense of ethnic identity but also for the well-being which comes from participation in the home culture. For young Australians:

> The use of their ethnic tongue with parents and older community members strengthens family bonds and reinforces their ethnic identity. But many increasingly feel that they have been deprived of the chance to develop their full ethnic heritage, especially literacy in their home language.

The awareness of the need to foster cultural heritage of different ethnic groups had wide implications for education.

Tradition. Szacki considered tradition as conceptually distinct from both culture and heritage. Tradition has its roots in heritage, representing a special kind of link between the past and the present. The concept of tradition can be defined as 'that part of the heritage which is being actively evaluated by those living today' (Smolicz 1974, p.76). It demands an active display of the sentiments of acceptance or rejection. This imbues the concept with vitality, one that has to 'move with the times' as well as retaining links with the past.

Adherence to tradition need not be viewed as a conservative but a forward-looking activity which builds upon the contribution of previous generations. There has to be a place in traditional values for youthful activity and resourcefulness. It is appropriate to accept Szacki's description of tradition:

> ... with its emphasis on those patterns of feeling, thinking and acting which, on account of their real or assumed origin in the social heritage of the group, are valued by its members either positively or negatively (Smolicz 1974, p.81).

A tradition arises from the crystallisation of those aspects of the heritage of the group which the current generation regards as indispensable for the creative growth of society. The words 'growth' and 'creativity' encapsulate the ideas of freshness and of internal innovation within tradition which has previously been associated with the heavy hand of the past. These concepts are essential for the resilience of society.

In his rational theory of tradition, Popper argues for two attitudes towards tradition. One is to accept a tradition *uncritically* as when traditions and values are not under

threat. On the other hand, a critical attitude may result either in acceptance or in rejection or a compromise. One needs to know and understand a tradition before one can criticize it (or evaluate it in a positive or negative way). One may wish to start with a clean slate but Popper (1963, p.122) points out:

> We could never free ourselves entirely from the bonds of tradition. The so-called freeing is really only a change from one tradition to another.

Szacki (Smolicz 1974, p.78) contends that a cultural item can be defined as traditional only when its valuation takes into account its ancient origin, i.e. the value in question must be seen by the group as residing in its common past. In this sense, tradition can be handed on from one generation to the next. Through a process of transformation the past can be adjusted to the present in changing traditions.

In Znaniecki's (1968, p.79) view, it is not easy to differentiate between a cultural item 'created' or newly discovered from an item that is a copy of an existing model. He asserts we must apply the concept of the humanistic coefficient:

> we consider the intentions, experiences and activities of the participants in a cultural system. It is the creation of a new system when it is intended to be such and taken as such, even if the new system is exactly similar to another already existing.

Tradition hardly ever occurs as a single evaluation. Customs may be valued positively or negatively because of their age, but generally an additional valuation based on experience is brought into play. To use a recent example: the ancient custom of beginning the Olympic Games by igniting the Olympic flame is still activated today as the torch is carried from Greece to the host country. This is an example of activating an ancient tradition because of its age and experience with successive games up to the present society.

Tradition, however, is a dynamic concept such that a 'living' tradition *must* be continually reshaped and revalued to meet the changing situation of the group. It is

essential for new developments to be accommodated within the framework of one's cultural heritage. Each generation can select some specific part of its heritage and evaluate, reformulate, and adjust it, as it judges appropriate to the circumstances in hand. In a modern context, one can look at changes in school uniforms which Independent Schools retain, and some State schools. The traditional school blazer, sometimes with the Latin motto, is still worn although with some variations in style and colour. The cap has disappeared but is now being replaced with hats designed to protect the wearer against the sun. This could be interpreted as the present generation's modification of their uniform and heritage. The constant change in hat styles worn by students in Girls' Schools can also be interpreted in this way.

Changing tradition in plural societies. In Ethnically Plural Societies, the concept of tradition applies both to cultural diffusion of innovation across national boundaries, and to transmission of cultural knowledge among a variety of groups within the same society. The latter type of internal cultural interaction is of great significance. From a theoretical perspective, in an ethnically plural society cultures of both the majority and minority groups constitute pools of cultural values upon which members can draw to formulate their own personal cultural systems. Members can thus select some specific parts of their group's heritage and juxtapose them with values from other groups, reformulating them all in the manner that they judge appropriate to the circumstances in hand.

Modernity, social change and innovation need not be restricted by the tradition of the society in question, since its members are free to activate only those aspects of heritage as tradition which fit their current needs. Aspects of long forgotten heritage may be artificially resurrected and attempts made to make them into a tradition through positive evaluation. Tradition, according to the humanistic viewpoint, can only exist in a society in which it constitutes a current value. In pre-literate societies, only those aspects of heritage are remembered and preserved which are deemed important to the group: all

the rest is irretrievably forgotten. It is in societies of this type that mere age is sufficient to explain why a particular tradition should be perpetuated. In pluralistic societies, groups do not possess just one tradition but a number of them. In modern society, different traditions are in constant competition with each other and a mere appeal to their oldness will no longer satisfy most of the group members.

A traditional rite or practice must be considered to remain part of the group tradition as long as the group continues to view it as such. From the theoretical perspective outlined, the re-shaping of ethnic tradition not only ensures its survival in interaction with other groups but the process is mutually enriching for all group members. As individuals modify their personal cultural systems, the heritage of the whole ethnic group is reshaped and revalued through its contact with the cultural values of other groups, especially those of the dominant one.

Znaniecki worked in his lifetime to outline a methodology which applied the humanistic coefficient. Interest in some aspects of his theories, in particular the formulation of laws of social becoming, has not been maintained by scholars. The humanistic coefficient in the use of memoir materials, however, continues to be a significant contribution to research.

3. MEMOIR METHODOLOGY

The cultural world is a world of values not things ... The data of the cultural student are always 'somebody's', never 'nobody's' data.
Znaniecki

In order to reach the actual human experiences and attitudes which constitute the basic data, Thomas and Znaniecki initiated the use of human documents. These are the primary sources for the analysis of the individual and social consciousness.

3.1 Advantages of Memoirs

The memoir approach as a method of humanistic sociology was originated by Znaniecki in Poznan in 1921 in order to interpret humanistic phenomena. This particular method of analysis has a number of advantages over other kinds of investigation and was the most appropriate for this thesis. This approach gives the writers scope to recall some events more vividly than others, select certain incidents, omit others, reveal the influence of people in their past life which they consider particularly significant. The authors have the chance to develop their stories as they want them to unfold with the added advantage of time for reflection.

Because respondents recall only <u>some</u> events, a memoir is not limited and incomplete. These events are part of their consciousness and so influence their current pattern of thoughts and actions. According to Znaniecki (1982, p.13):

> Every statement is valuable as a datum and ... the very concealment of a given aspiration usually has an interesting socio-psychological background.

As well as concealing experiences, exaggerations may be valuable as data. Grabski (1982, p.20) discusses exaggerations in the context of Memoirs of Peasants in Polish Rural Areas:

> They abound in exaggerations, but next to that there is much truth in them, and what is true suffices to let us see poverty and its various causes; and even what is exaggerated is not without value, because it allows us to infer what peasants think and feel.

The memoir is less structured by the researcher than the interview. Respondents are free to write their thoughts, feelings, aspirations and assessments. The interview technique involves a more formal situation with less time to consider questions which participants may be unwilling or unable to answer.[1] Adamski (1982, p.107) comments on how the method of personal documents is valued not only because of the authenticity of the sociological data but for the lack of contamination by interference from the researcher.

Memoirs preserve human experience so need not be sensational, striking or profound.[2] More importantly as written documents they provide a fuller context and richer source of concrete and cultural data than ticks and limited phrases of a questionnaire. In his appraisal of 'The Polish Peasant', Blumer (1939, p.40) discusses the special value of a life history:

> The life history may be of special value ... in enabling one to trace the career of an attitude and follow its evolution thru a series of experiences. Since the life history presents the person in the process of evolution, it permits one to see the emergence of an attitude as a result of a line of development.

---

[1] Bertaux (1981, p.8) makes the interesting comment on the interview technique:

> It seems to me that the invention of the tape-recorder modified, in a subtle but substantial way, the life story as a form of data. Instead of taking notes, the research workers could now record series of life-story interviews ... Although they read as first-person accounts, these texts had in fact not one author but *two*: the narrator himself, and the research worker ... While written autobiographies have only one author, tape-recorded life stories are the result of an interaction between two persons.

[2] Rosenthal (Josselson & Leiblich 1993, p.63) discusses the process of selection of life experiences in a memoir. It is not haphazard nor arbitrary:

> A life story does not consist of an atomistic chain of experiences, whose meaning is created at the moment of their articulation, but is rather a process taking place simultaneously against the backdrop of a biographical structure of meaning, which determines the selection of individual episodes presented ... This texture of meaning is constantly reaffirmed and transformed in the 'flux of life'.
>
> Reconstruction of experiences does not necessarily follow the linear sequence of the 'objective' time but rather conforms to a perspectivist time model of 'subjective' or 'phenomenal' time.

Adamski (1982, p.100) in discussing the advantages of a memoir-based sociology over statistical methods considers some 'convincing' possibilities:

> (i) grasping the attitudes which are not isolated or taken out of the social context, which may occur in the case of questionnaire studies, but are deeply set in the realities of the milieu in which a given individual lives; (ii) studying the evolution of the social attitudes of an individual and the factors that condition them; (iii) reconstructing the process of changes in human personality, treated as a social type.

This third aspect is queried by Smolicz and Secombe (1986, p.28) who:

> prefer to restate (it) in terms of understanding the types of responses which individuals make to their milieu on the one hand, and the subsequent effect of their actions on that milieu on the other.

This is the approach of my study. It is not my purpose to analyse the developmental aspect of personality.

Contributors to the first two volumes of the 'Sisyphus' (1981, 1982) series discuss the advantages of the memoir approach. The flexibility of the method encourages a variety of responses and variation of perspectives. For example, Grabski (1982, p.18) suggests that the organizers of the competition of 'Memoirs of Peasants' exhorted the writers to describe their poverty. Indeed poverty was a constant motif in the formulation:

> (Peasants) should not omit even a smallest detail from their life in poverty ... That description may make others become interested in your situation. The last-quoted formulation suggests that a glaring description of poverty may result in an improvement of the conditions in which the memoir writer lives.

The experience of writing a memoir is an opportunity to comment on the social and cultural experiences and express future aspirations. Memoirs enable minority individuals to write the way they wish to write, not the way Anglo researchers shape their questions. To draw an analogy with NESB individuals in Australia, I refer to Chalasinski who draws attention to these externalized manifestations of authors' attitudes. He questions the mass scale of written personal statements in Poland and links this response primarily to the emancipation of the peasants who felt the need of

becoming agents and not merely objects in social development. Chalasinski (1982, pp.109-110) wrote:

> Memoirs are valuable not only as pictures of the adventure of human life, but above all as a picture of the ways in which the personalities of their authors were shaped. These memoirs (poor peasants) show the process of emergence and development of their spiritual autonomy.

A similar interpretation is given by Jakubczak (1982, p.110) who asserts that the authors use memoirs to voice their opinions in writing as a form of their 'externalization'[3] and to manifest their full-fledged status in the new, egalitarian society:

> The phenomenon of the peasant memoir-writing ... is also an important factor of shaping the process whereby the cultural anonymity of those social strata, which former(ly) used merely to genuflect, pray and sing has been terminated.

In this thesis, the memoirs were not written specifically to externalize opinions or change the writers' status and living conditions but certainly writing a memoir provides the opportunity to voice opinions. This reflective approach could not be fully realized in the structured interview where individuals receive questions in a short space of time. The memoir methodology allows the individual writers time to re-consider their experiences and the researcher to analyse statements in the wider context of a written account.

The life story usually evolves around a theme established by the researcher. The topic provides a framework for selecting experiences to be included. How the writers interpret the topic, or orient their narration towards what they suppose is of interest to the researcher, are empirical questions which can only be answered in the individual case analysis. Rosenthal (Josselson and Lieblich 1993, p.65) writes that the life story:

---

3   For example minorities in a multicultural society. Freire (1972, pp.54, 56) writes that problem-posing education bases itself on creativity and stimulates true reflection and action upon reality, therefore responding to the vocation of individuals as beings who are authentic only when engaged in inquiry and creative transformation. This education strives for the *emergence* of consciousness and *critical intervention* in reality.

is a coagulate of the past and future and a creation of the lived present ... It also constitutes how the biographer perceives these experiences today.

Individual experiences are recalled in a thematically consistent pattern and embedded in a meaningful context.

Social Milieu and the Memoir. Memoirs are able to place individuals in their social milieu or cultural envelope in a more integrated way than a questionnaire, for example, which is separated into more specific questions. The individual and the milieu cannot be studied by a sociologist independently as 'the individual and his milieu form a single whole' (Chalasinski 1982, p.35). The interpreter studies individuals through their eyes as they participate in their own world. The sociologist is not interested in the milieu as such but only as it is experienced by the participant. This is a basic concept of the theory of humanistic sociology and a sound reason for the use of a memoir approach ahead of statistical methods.

An individual cannot experience life situations in isolation but only when s/he finds it. In analysing a case study, Rosenthal (Josselson and Lieblich 1993, p.76) refers to one participant who tried to repudiate the argument that he was forced to join the Hitler Youth. In his explanation:

> He also expresses that he is not able to set himself free from his life historical entanglements.

The quotation illustrates the relationship between the individual in the social and historical milieu.

Selection of Memoirs. It must be noted that in studying social change in the context of a group, the researcher does not have to collect as many documents as would correspond to the rule of statistical representativeness of a category of social facts.

Data from a relatively small number of memoirs provide useful sources as Chalasinski (1982, p.42) asserted:

> Several or a dozen autobiographies often form a sufficient basis for describing the structure of the authors' social milieu ... The sociologist, when he notes uniformity and similarity in the social behaviour of the various individuals, explains that by the impact of their common milieu, the impact of collective consciousness.

A selection, however small, is never isolated nor closed to the impact of various groups and social systems. This is the argument presented in this thesis comprising a small-scale memoir selection. Not all the hundreds of memoirs received for Polish competitions were used in one study. An analysis which is solely qualitative must ensure quality of understanding and social knowledge more than numbers and formulas. Not all memoirs are of the same value from the sociological point of view. There has to be some initial distinction made between relevant data. Individual writers (discussed above) select experiences or situations which form a background or horizon for the central theme. Memoirs are selected for the variety of the sociological data viz in which the experiences and recollections focus and highlight the central topic. The writing of an autobiography itself is a form of social behaviour which externalises thoughts and aspirations and has socio-cultural aspects. The attitudes and experiences of respondents may be contradictory but should not be discarded as 'negative' or 'not representative' but studied through the consciousness of the participants who thereby reveal their attitudes and aspirations.

Barbara Weber's Study. To illustrate the variety of responses, I refer to Barbara Weber's 1982 study on 'Selected Values of Traditional Culture'. The values discussed were social values connected with the social status of peasants and the socialization of peasant children in Polish rural areas before World War II. The changes in these values after 1945 were reconstructed on the basis of a second collection of memoirs. One aspect of the study revealed family conflicts which arose in connection with the children's aspirations to go to school:

> Parents who were peasants kept their children at home and did not want to send them to school because that latter *qua* institution was culturally alien to them (Weber 1982, p.172).

Weber draws on the reflections of Chalasinski in his study of Polish rural sociology. Chalasinski (1982, p.173) arrived at interesting conclusions viz the school as an institution imposing values from the outside which were those of the upper strata. These values were at variance with the traditional values of the peasant family:

> (School) was not useful to peasant children because it did not teach them the skills needed in the work on the farm and in the life of the village community. At the same time school aroused in the pupils, especially the more gifted ones, the aspiration to an individual success in life, which was essentially at variance with the traditional organization of the peasant family, of which the individual was only a small part.

The place of religion in the young people's system of values was also discussed by Weber. Transmission of religious values through the traditional ideological community of the parish and family were also disrupted by new forms of social life that came from the outside. A personally positive attitude toward religion was represented by a very small group of authors. More frequently Weber found impersonal descriptions of participation in religious ceremonies. One respondent reflected Chalasinski's phenomenon of 'the duty of piety' in the Polish family and the conflict with his changing attitudes:

> I was brought up not only religiously but in an almost fanatical fear of God ... The whole generation was being brought up in that way. But in spite of such an upbringing I arrived at having other ideas (Weber 1982, p.175).

Weber commented how the attitude of those authors who were non-believers was 'not uniform either'. Within the same ethnic group these respondents indicated the variations in responses to a traditional milieu and how attitudes and aspirations need to be studied through the reflections of the participants.

Researchers can have conflicting interpretations. The memoir has the advantage of providing cultural and concrete data which, once recorded, are always available for inspection by the critic who wishes to re-interpret the facts. Any analysis must interpret

the primary source and so re-interpretation is more difficult in participant observation studies where it is almost impossible for another investigator to retrace exactly the steps covered by an earlier researcher. This applies to the interview technique where the medium of another person recording data introduces an interpersonal variable.

Thomas and Znaniecki recognized the value of the human document in providing empirical data. Their approach for the study of human society, by always keeping an eye on human experience, involved both objective and subjective characteristics. In his critique of the work Blumer (1939, p.72) points out:

> The authors have faced the problem squarely. Their answer, as we have seen, is that the means are provided by 'human documents'. The human document as an account of human experience gives empirical data on the subjective factor. Further, it is an 'objective' record, enabling others to have access to the data and permitting one to return always to them.

The function of a human document would be to provide human materials which would yield to a sensitive mind insights and questions suitable for reflection, new perspectives, and new understandings.

In researching memoir material, sociologists take complementary roles, bringing with them their own rich and diverse life experiences. Blumer (1939, p.76) asserts that this is the method of work of Thomas and Znaniecki with their theoretical conceptions and their data:

> In the authors, we have two excellent minds with a rich experience with human beings, with a keen sensitivity to the human element in conduct ... with a lively curiosity and sense of inquiry with a capacity for forming abstract concepts - two minds approaching voluminous accounts of human experience, mulling over them, reflecting on them, perceiving many things in them, relating these things to their background of experience, checking these ... and charting all of them into a coherent abstract and analytical pattern. Perhaps, this is, after all, how the scientist works.

A sociologist can use her/his own experiences for study if the data is treated in an objective way:

> Even if a humanist studies his own experiences he must treat himself not as a pure cognizing reason, but as an empirical individual and a member of empirical social groups, and see his experiences not elements or representations of an absolutely real world, but objects given to someone's 'consciousness' (Znaniecki 1982, p.10).

In the Methodological Note, Thomas and Znaniecki (1958, p.44) stated the fundamental methodological principle of both social psychology and sociology as:

> The cause of a social or individual phenomenon is never another social or individual phenomenon alone, but always a combination of a social and an individual phenomenon.

Or, in more exact terms:

> The cause of a value or of an attitude is never an attitude or a value alone, but always a combination of an attitude and a value.

Thomas and Znaniecki (1958, p.1) discussed the importance of a 'conscious and rational technique':

> The results attained by a rational technique in the sphere of material reality invite us to apply some analogous procedure to social reality.

In the application of a humanistic theory, the authors were searching for an efficient methodology. They point out the fallacy of the former common sense approach based on the assumption that one knows social reality because one lives in it. The individual's sphere of practical acquaintance with social reality may be vast and diverse as compared with that of others but it is always limited and constitutes only a small part of the whole complexity of social facts. The authors (1958, p.5) state their method is anti-positivist:

> The individual selection (of experiences) is subjective and ... quite different from, and incommensurable with, the selection which a scientist would make in the face of the same body of data from an objective, impersonal viewpoint.

Another deficiency of the common-sense sociology is the implicit assumption that any group of social facts can be treated theoretically and practically in arbitrary isolation

from the rest of the life of the given society. In citing education as an example of a system being enmeshed in the whole complexity of social life, the quotation on page 31 underlines the relevance of the methodology applied in this thesis. Every single fact included under these generalizations needs to be studied in connection with the rest of the social world.

Theoretical reflection faces a dilemma if immediate solutions are the only outcome of actual situations i.e. if this is the view of reflection. An empirical social science must be ready for a test of applicability e.g. in government policies. However, creative theoretical reflection can provide the stimulus for further transforming ideas rather than immediate application in a pragmatic sense.

3.2   Application of Social Theory

The following discussion highlights concepts used in the thesis and as outlined by Thomas and Znaniecki. The main object matter of such a theory should be the actual civilized society in its full development and with all its complexity of situations. It is the control of the civilized society that is sought in most endeavours of rational practice. Thomas and Znaniecki (1958, p.17) assert that for a study to be a fruitful one or for the material to 'assume its full significance' comparison should be used freely:

> Fortunately social life gives us favorable conditions for comparative studies ... in the coexistence of a certain number of civilized societies sufficiently alike in their fundamental cultural problems to make comparison possible, and differing sufficiently in their traditions, customs, and general national spirit to make comparison fruitful.

How does the researcher begin this process? Before an institution such as an idea, a myth or form of art can be compared in various societies, it needs first to be studied in the whole meaning which it has in a particular society. The first stage of investigation is that of limiting the field to certain theoretically important data. For social theory to become the basis of social technique, it must include both kinds of data involved in them - the objective cultural elements of social life and the subjective characteristics of

the members of the social group - and the two kinds of data must be taken as correlated. The authors use the terms 'values' and 'attitudes' for these data (the definitions of these terms have been discussed in chapter 2). Attitudes and values must be considered together in any methodical investigation; there is no question of attitudes being subordinated to values, or the contrary.

According to Thomas and Znaniecki, social theory and social practice had not taken into account one essential difference between physical and social reality: the effect of a social phenomenon depends not only on the objective nature of this phenomenon but in addition on the subjective standpoint taken by the individual or the group toward this phenomenon. That is, a social cause cannot be simple, like a physical cause, but is compound, and must include both an objective and a subjective element, a value and an attitude.

In addition, the life-history of every individual is different. From the methodological standpoint, it is neither more nor less difficult to explain the greatest changes brought into the social world by a Napoleon or a Marx than to explain a small change brought by a peasant who starts a lawsuit against his relatives:

> The work of the great man, like that of the ordinary man, is the result of his tendency to modify the existing conditions, of his attitude toward his social environment which makes him reject certain existing values and produce certain new values. The difference is in the values which are the object of the activity, in the nature, importance, complexity, of the social problems put and solved (Thomas & Znaniecki 1958, p.42).

Social results of individual activity depend, not only on the action itself, but also on the social conditions in which it is performed and therefore the cause of a social change must include both individual and social elements. The same action in different social conditions produces quite different results. Social theory must take into account that the uniformity of results of certain actions is itself a problem and demands explanation exactly as much as do the variations. (Varieties and Variations will be explored in the memoir analysis).

In the past, social theory and reflective practice started with problems of political and legal organization and this dealt with relatively uniform attitudes and relatively permanent conditions. Physical force was supposedly the instrument for the production of social uniformity and stability whenever the desirable attitudes were absent. However, human attitudes are not absolutely and universally uniform and social conditions universally stable. For example, the following comment can be applied to the reproduction of culture in the education system:

> At every step we try to enforce certain attitudes upon other individuals without stopping to consider what are their dominant attitudes in general or their prevailing attitudes at the given moment; at every step we try to produce certain social values without taking into account the values which are already there and upon which the result of our efforts will depend as much as upon our intention and persistence (Thomas & Znaniecki 1958, p.52).

The sociologist, in developing a social theory, has the advantage of the long training in scientific thinking which has been acquired since the period of the renaissance. On the other hand, it is made more difficult by certain aspects of the social world as compared with the natural world - this includes the complexity of the social world. Complexity, according to the authors, is a relative characteristic which depends on the method and the purpose of analysis. If the social world is studied without any 'naturalistic prepossessions' but simply as a plurality of specific data, causally interconnected in a process of becoming, the question of complexity is no more baffling for social theory than it is for physical science.

3.3   Sources of Data

The humanistic coefficient. The distinctive characteristic of the phenomena of culture for the humanistic sociologist is their analytic connection with the phenomena of consciousness. Every cultural system is found by the investigator to exist for certain conscious and active historical subjects, i.e. within the sphere of experience and activity of some particular people, individuals and collectivities. As was emphasised in chapter

2, the data of the cultural student are always 'somebody's', never 'nobody's' data. This essential character of cultural data is called the *humanistic coefficient* because such data, as objects of the student's theoretic reflection, already belong to somebody else's active experience and are such as this active experience makes them.

Both humanistic and empirically oriented sociologists base their research on empirical data. Humanistic sociologists, however, seek to discover order among empirical data, which depends upon conscious human agents. Terms like 'flag' or 'stone' - if they are to possess the meaning which they have in the language of a humanist - cannot be defined without recourse to a form of consciousness.

If the humanistic coefficient were withdrawn and the researcher attempted to study the cultural system as s/he studies a natural system, i.e. as it existed independently of human experience and activity, the system would disappear and in its stead s/he would find a disjointed mass of natural things and processes, without any similarity to the reality s/he started to investigate. For example, languages exist only in so far as they are spoken and understood by the people using them. If the student eliminates the humanistic coefficient, the language then becomes an enormous and disconnected complexity of sounds.

Every element which enters into the composition of a cultural system is what it appears to be in the experience of those people who are actively dealing with it. The role of a flag or a stone in its respective system is determined not merely by the characters these elements possess as natural things, but also by characters which they have acquired in the experience of people during their existence as cultural objects. The student of culture can ascertain these characters in two ways: by interpreting (understanding) what the people whose cultural system s/he is studying communicate, directly or indirectly, about their experiences with these cultural objects, and by observing their outward behaviour with regard to those objects. For example, waving a school banner

on the sideline during inter-school sports can inspire participants to greater efforts and can be observed repeatedly by an onlooker.

Human Activity. The meaning of the term 'human activity' is the pivot of all humanistic research in the domain of culture. Experience is the only possible source from which scientific knowledge about any kind of human activity can be gained. The question is, how should one utilize this source? Apart from the naturalist, the other way of obtaining an inductive knowledge of human activity would be to use consistently the humanistic coefficient in dealing with it and take it as it appears to the agent and to those who cooperate with or counteract her/him. The humanistic point of view is the point of view of the active subject and her/his experience of activities.

Znaniecki (1968) expanded the discussion on personal experience. He argued there is only one way of experiencing an object: it is to *observe* it personally. There is also only one way of experiencing an activity: it is to *perform* it personally. Actual performance is the *primary* source of empirical knowledge about activity e.g. the student of religion tries to obtain first-hand experiences by sharing actively in religious ceremonies.

The researcher's experience of a coin or a religious myth may differ from other people's. The coin or the myth is sure to be the same if it takes the same place as an element in a system - economic or a religion - which is shared by both. One can identify these systems, either directly by sharing them, or by referring them to some wider system which one is sure of sharing. In a cultural system, the function of an activity is essentially independent of the individual subject who performs it, though different individuals may perform it somewhat differently e.g. when a newly appointed School Principal steps into the place of a predecessor. The function is one and continuous, though the functioning agents change (Znaniecki 1968, p. 53, my example).

As individuals have sensory perceptions, much of the content of cultural reality is non-material. Even material cultural objects have meanings which are empirically observable, but not sensually given. If one wants to know what any particular activity or activity in general really is, one finds that the humanistic approach is the only approach that brings one to the original source - the experience of the agent.

Psychology tries to explain why the agent starts to act and waives entirely the problem of the objective results of this activity. Its interest is confined to the active process not in terms of its results. For the cultural scientist, since s/he views activity not with reference to the agent but with reference to the system which it tends to construct, the results are what matters, just as they are for the agent. The researcher defines these results in the same way the agent does, in terms of the agent's values, with the humanistic coefficient, and not as natural processes; they are 'products', not 'effects'.

Data sources. Znaniecki (1968, p.154) maintains the sources which the humanistic sociologist can use for analysing the activities of human agents can be classified into:

1.   Personal experience of the sociologist. The only way actually to experience a social system at first-hand is to be active in its construction:

> Just as we cannot fully experience a sentence without speaking it, a game of golf without playing it ... even so it is impossible to experience fully the social actions of avoiding, helping, sympathizing otherwise than by performing such actions; or to experience a friendship without being friends with somebody, a conjugal relation without being married (Znaniecki 1968, p.157).

Reflecting about experience is different from experiencing. It is a specific kind of activity - the primary form of theoretic activity. Whereas original cultural experiences as they actually occur in life can be almost as easily tested as natural observations or physical experiments, their elements are objective values which preserve their content and meaning and are observable by anybody. These elements do not come in isolation.

They are components of actively constructed systems, and the activities constructing these systems can be formally repeated and functionally shared by anybody.

Besides experiencing personally a self-constructed system and observing as an 'outsider' a system constructed by others, the student of culture has an intermediary way of approaching the reality investigated. It is to reconstruct a real system constructed by others, not as a real participant but as an 'ideal' participant, dealing with the values involved not as with real objects, but as with ideas. This is called 'vicarious experience', for it is a substitute for the original experience of the agent who constructed the system. In it the agent reproduces formally and functionally somebody else's activity.

2.   Observation by the sociologist. Observation implies some kind of personal experience. In observing values it is indispensable to notice how other human agents deal with them, and interpret this treatment in the light of instances where we actively shared the experience of these or similar values with other agents.

Znaniecki emphasized the fundamental principle that in sociology, as in every other cultural field, the observer of cultural systems independent of oneself must use the humanistic coefficient and realize that s/he is observing values and activities, just as s/he is experiencing values and activities when constructing a system. Objects which are values to us are also values to other people, even before social communication is established through speech, because their activity modifies the content and meaning of these values for us.

3.   Personal experience of other people. In addition to facts directly given to the sociologist, there is another kind of objectively observable social data connected with the use of written language as an instrument of social activity. Verbal activities on higher levels of culture are often performed in writing or even in print, and the written

document remains an observable datum giving to anybody who knows the meaning of the written symbols a direct grasp of the values involved and their structural relationship to the given social system. This extends the field of sociological observation far beyond those social systems whose human elements can be sensually given to the observer. For research purposes they may be often more valuable than those which the sociologist finds when observing an activity for they can be investigated at leisure and, being accessible to all, their individual interpretation can be immediately checked by others. Here belong such materials as spontaneous or experimentally provoked expressions of desires, ideals, valuations as substitutes for full social action.

The autobiography written to order is the best kind of second-hand source for the study of active social experiences provided it is sufficiently comprehensive to give insight into details of personal activities. There is no bias imposed upon the writer in advance as in the case of the interview and the questionnaire and the writers are free to describe whatever they are spontaneously inclined to recall. Most statements of personal active experiences can be tested. There is the internal evidence of veracity obtained by comparing various statements of the same person. Today, oral life-histories have extended the use of biographic material.

4.   Observations by other people. As compared with other people's own active experiences, observations made by them as outsiders have only a limited importance as a source of sociological material. To observe and describe adequately systems in which one does not participate one must be free from one's own practical bias, realize the difference between one's own practical point of view and that of others, and take into account such characters as others ascribe to objects and facts. Even while observing the behavior of others, observers unconsciously interpret it in terms of their own habits, norms, beliefs or prejudices.

Underlying all these sources of data is the human capacity for memory.

<u>The importance of memory</u> as an aspect of the memoir approach has been underestimated in research.[4] Written memoirs provide time for reflection so that memory becomes a filter. Some memories are unimportant and are not 'recycled'. Other memories are trivial but important to the individual and significant in the context of a memoir. Some aspects of a memory may be highlighted and the variety of recollections illustrate how memory can be a 'treasure chest', a vignette of the past. With a written memoir, recalling cultural phenomena often brings into focus another value or experience which has been forgotten or re-evaluated. Negative memories are important as a source of sociological data. Memory is unique as a humanistic resource where biological differences are put aside.

Memory is selective according to values prevailing in society. The more educated authors are often able to synthesise values in memoirs and restrict a tendency to ramble. This was the case for the authors in this study, who, as higher degree students, encapsulated values and experiences in a succinct style.

3.4   Classifying Memoir Data

Chalasinski, writing in 1931, classified memoir data into two broad categories of 'attitudes' and 'facts'. Attitudes, or the personal aspects of social life, are expressed in the personal statements of thoughts and feelings of respondents such as 'I feel stimulated by the language classes'. Under the classification of 'facts', Chalasinski did not make allowances for the diverse nature of such statements and ignored the special characteristics of generalizations of respondents not directly related to their own experience. A distinction was not made between the factual (objective) details e.g. 'the school closes at three o'clock every day', and the writers' assessments and generalizations such as 'schools are unpopular institutions'. When respondents

---

4   To Professor Kloskowska (personal communication), I acknowledge this discussion of memory.

generalize on matters not related directly to their own experiences, the researcher needs to verify the objective fact component. The statement 'the band, which played on Saturday night in the town hall, was fantastic' shows indirectly the writer's positive attitude but includes an objective element that may need checking to come under the heading 'fact'. This supports the argument of Smolicz (1974, p.47) that this type of classification is simplistic.

In an early work, Znaniecki (1931) also makes a two point classification but with a refinement. He uses the term 'social facts' for personal statements about attitudes and values and aspirations. In his view, statements such as 'I think ...', 'I believe ...' express direct, personal attitudes and can be used as scientific source material. Znaniecki (1968, p.184) refers to responses which represent aspirations, tendencies and values as social facts:

> Every valuation, whether the object is or is not objectively such as the author claims it to be, gives evidence of what the author considers it should be.

The special characteristic of the Znaniecki school was the emphasis which it placed upon social facts. The importance of the memoir for a humanistic sociologist lies in the fact that it is usually a rich source for extracting such facts. The direct data on attitudes in a written document can be more valuable than those facts which the sociologist finds when observing an activity in the course of its performance. Znaniecki (1968, p.182) asserts:

> All such documents can be safely taken at their face value, provided the sociologist does not presume to conclude from them about anything but the very activities which they express.

Znaniecki distinguishes between statements of objective facts and assessments or generalizations. Generalizations have an attitudinal component, which indirectly reveals the writer's attitudes, but cannot be treated as first hand statements of social facts. It was argued that observations and social generalizations are not social facts but opinions about facts. These facts are not suitable as scientific source material on their

own but need checking. Respondents, in describing their own behaviour and that of other people, play the role of observer not of a social agent.

The following quotation from a NESB author illustrates how observations and assessments can be important in memoir analysis. In this case, the mother's assessment of prejudice towards minority group members reflects attitudes which were prevalent in Australian society in that period. The author recalled his parents' admonitions:

> Apart from it being the way our parents brought us up, to be on our best behaviour meant that, in the cultural climate of the day, we should be careful to avoid doing anything that would raise any criticism from Australians. To deliberate further, my mother's concern stemmed from trying to cope with something irrational about Australians' attitudes to migrants. Avoiding confrontation was the only way available to cope with prejudice. (23)

It also illustrates the attitudes of the Mother who had developed her non-confrontational methods of dealing with prejudice. The author's negative attitude to this can be implied from his description of such prejudice as 'irrational!'.

Smolicz (1974) proposed a three point classification to make a further refinement of Znaniecki's two point model. Smolicz recognised that some facts are not affected by the consciousness of the participants and therefore do not need to be interpreted with the humanistic coefficient. He first uses the term 'concrete facts' to distinguish social and economic facts which are abstracted by the respondent directly from daily life, are strictly objective and can be tested as in the comment:

My son leaves for work at eight o'clock in the morning.

In the current study, the table of concrete fact profile of participants (see end of chapter 4) is most useful in providing information on the social and economic facts of the social milieu in relation to each particular author.

The second heading 'societal facts' represents an attitudinal classification which can be expressed in direct personal statements such as:

I don't like migrants.

This statement expresses an attitudinal or direct social fact in Znaniecki's term. Such facts of social life have their origins in the values, attitudes, tendencies and aspirations of the respondents and reveal the subjective aspects of the life of the individual.

Smolicz distinguishes a third point termed social generalizations and observations. It is an important distinction from the previous two points and requires a different treatment. Generalizations are an assessment or evaluation of social life as in the remark:

Migrants are dirty.

This remark has two components: an objective component which needs to be clarified and an attitudinal component. The remark is impersonal and indirect and is not the same as the second point in respect to sociological data. The data cannot be used as direct social facts as they represent second order constructs. Smolicz (1974, p.50) notes the distinction between the first and third points:

> The writers' description of the routine of their everyday life is much more likely to be truthful and accurate than their observations made of cultural systems in which they are not direct participants.

In their survey of children in the Australian school, Smolicz and Secombe (1981) first used the terms concrete facts and cultural facts for the analysis of memoir data. These terms indicate a further refinement on terms used in the paper of Smolicz in 1974 whilst retaining the three point distinction. The concrete facts refer to the details given in a questionnaire for example as the authors (1981, p.27) explain:

> Such *concrete facts* can therefore be taken as constituting so-called 'objective' information concerning the more easily documented and material manifestations of daily living.

Concrete facts derived from information in the memoir with little or no comment may need to be checked. The concrete facts in the following statement may need to be verified if the context of the memoir does not support this information:

Following my Father's death, my Mother took in boarders.

Such concrete facts are needed for interpretation of the cultural facts, to know whose attitudes and values are being studied and what their social and economic situation is.

Smolicz and Secombe (1981) use the term Cultural Facts instead of Social Facts. In their study, cultural facts are subdivided into two classifications: Attitudes which are expressed directly through thoughts and feelings and Assessments which contain the attitudinal component expressed indirectly and an objective component. The terminology highlights the purpose for their study of attitudes and cultural activation in Polish homes and the Australian school.

3.5   Analytic Induction

In the Polish Peasant, and the thesis, the inductive method is used. Although a sociologist does not have to experience a situation for analysis, the authors note how their experience of Polish society had helped:

> Our acquaintance with the Polish society simply helps us in noting data and relations which would perhaps not be noticed so easily by one not immediately acquainted with the life of the group (Thomas & Znaniecki, 1958, p.76).

The general character of the work is mainly that of a systematization and classification of attitudes and values prevailing in a concrete group.

Znaniecki (1968, p.249) distinguishes two kinds of induction: the enumerative and analytic variations. He expanded the concept of the Inductive Method which he defined as:

> In analytic induction certain particular objects are determined by intensive study, and the problem is to define the logical classes which they represent.

Reality is an inexhaustible source of new knowledge. New knowledge does not supplement pre-existing knowledge but is related to the class already known. Analytic induction reaches general and abstract truths concerning particular and concrete data. It generalises by abstracting whereas deduction abstracts from generalising. The former abstacts from the given concrete case characters that are essential to it and generalises them, resuming that in so far as essential, they must be similar in many cases.

This method has been also called the *type* method or method of *typical cases*. A type originally meant a mould or pattern akin to the 'eidos' or 'idea' in the Platonic sense as prefiguring a class of real data. The concept of 'type' is important to this thesis. Znaniecki (1968, p.251) explains:

> Logically a typical case meant a case serving as type to a logical class, that is, serving to determine a class, to define it comprehensively; and not merely one helping to characterize a class already defined.

When a particular concrete case is being analysed as typical, it is assumed that those traits which are essential to it, which determine what it is, are common to and distinctive of all the cases of a class. To determine a class scientifically, it is not enough to characterise the kind of data belonging under it. It is necessary to show how data of this kind are related to other kinds of data.

Classification. The ultimate significance of abstraction and generalisation is that they lead to *classification* that is, to a systematic knowledge of a certain field of reality as a whole. Znaniecki (1968, p.256) writes:

> Whether, now, classification is merely one of many possible and independent views of the given field, or whether it can be recognised at the given stage of knowledge as being the only adequate theory of this field, depends on its inductive foundations.

There is another condition of adequate classifications viz power of mental creativeness, intellectual activity capable of building new theories which incorporate the results of analysis. Given a large mass of empirical knowledge, the researcher needs to create a theory which will systematize all the class descriptions into a logically coherent, unified body of scientific concepts.

No analysis will be thorough enough to be final. Reality must remain inexhaustible because it ceaselessly grows in wealth. Cultural data open new perspectives for different sociologists:

> The inductive scientist continually goes on investigating objects or processes already defined and classified, even though he does not doubt the validity of his former definition, for there is always something to be learned about individual data (Znaniecki 1968, p.250).

Classification is to organise knowledge intellectually. It is a logical systematisation. Among the characters defining the data of a class, there is a gradation of importance, if some characters are more essential than others, in that they determine in a larger measure the nature of these data.

Inductive method revisited - comparative views. 'Znaniecki on induction' was the aspect of Znaniecki's work chosen in the Commemorative Book on the Centenary of his birth by two American Scholars. Lüschen and Tibbetts (1986, pp.178, 190) discussed Znaniecki's Sociological methodology in a commemorative perspective:

> Znaniecki wrestles with the complex problems of theory and methodology in sociology all through his life.
>
> His method of analytic induction in some seeming contradictions is an instructive example of his strong adherence to procedure of an empirically based phenomenology and pragmatic reasoning ... and he is correctly listed as a representative of the school known as symbolic interactionism.

Lüschen and Tibbetts (1986, p.190) assert that Znaniecki formulated a theoretic discipline, not a technique of social reform and any applications to education, for example, must be based on theory:

> To be sure, most of his own writings ... are theoretical expositions; at the same time he conceives of sociology as definitely empirical, inductive.

Whilst the Polish scholar was concerned to address issues of a theory and methodology of sociology he did not intend the 'rigor of method' to overshadow the spontaneity and dynamism of the empirical materials. A balance needed to be maintained. Lüschen and Tibbetts attempt to link the Polish author to schools of thought viz epistemological thought, namely idealism, pragmatism and phenomenology. Znaniecki's application of ideal types had roots in idealism and pragmatism but it did not narrow the focus of the humanistic coefficient. The American authors (1986, p.191) state that developments in the lifelong career of Znaniecki 'appear not as crucial as they were previously made to be'. In reply, it can be said that Znaniecki recognised and contributed towards issues concerning sociology as a science. Some of these issues in the social sciences lack consensus today. For example, the debate between quantitative and qualitative methods continues unabated. Znaniecki, although he conceived sociology as definitely empirical and inductive, did change his stance on the inclusion of some statistical reasoning over the years. His definition of an attitude and a value (1968, pp.36-43) and the concept of the humanistic coefficient endowed the culture of science with a new theoretical framework outside the natural sciences. In reply to Blumer, Znaniecki (1939, p.93) refers to a modification of the concept 'attitude'. His insights and theoretical concepts have deepened the explanation and understanding of social reality which he recognised were never 'final'.

The debate on Znaniecki's contibution to methods of research in the social sciences continues today. To illustrate this argument I refer to two articles which discuss analytic induction. In this context the name of Znaniecki reappears used by Burgess (1984, p.179):

> It was Znaniecki (1934) who first used this approach in order that field researchers could attempt to come to terms with the problem of causal inference while remaining faithful to their data.

Burgess argues that the inductive approach to data analysis does allow concepts and propositions to be derived from data without engaging in pre-categorisation. The researcher is able to generalise from a small number of cases.

A Polish author, Giza (1987, p.6) joined the contemporary discussions on the biographical method initiated by Thomas and Znaniecki's work 'The Polish Peasant'. She points out that when they spoke of 'method' they had in mind analytical induction and argues:

> Analytical induction, as far as I know, has not been studied. The connection of this method with the utilization of 'qualitative' materials is a crucial problem for the empirical dimension of Znaniecki's theory of actions, though there is no discussion of its application in the 'Note'.

In the 'Note', Thomas and Znaniecki (1958, p.76) refer to the use of the inductive method and its application to the private letters[5]:

> We use in this work the inductive method in a form which gives the least possible place for any arbitrary statements. The basis of the work is concrete materials, and only in the selection of these materials some necessary discrimination has been used. But even here we have tried to proceed in the most cautious way possible.

In his book 'The Method of Sociology', Znaniecki (1968) devoted the final Chapter VI to a discussion of 'Analytic Induction in Sociology'. He was propounding a method which was methodical. Giza (1987, p.6) argues that the debate as to whether the biographical method can be methodical is only one amongst 'more fundamental problems that have accompanied sociology from its beginnings as an independent discipline'.

---

[5] Classification. The letters in *The Polish Peasant* were arranged in family series and classified according to the function of the letter. The authors (1958, pp.305-6) stated:

> According to the nature of these vicarious functions, we can distinguish five types of family letters, each of which is also and fundamentally a bowing letter.
>
> 1. Ceremonial letters.
> 2. Informing letters.
> 3. Sentimental letters.
> 4. Literary letters.
> 5. Business letters.

To refer to a more recent discussion of research methods, Krathwohl (1993, pp.324-5) continues the debate on induction. He writes:

> Analytic induction calls for finding commonalities in the data leading first to a description and then to an explanation of the regularity ... We gradually develop an understanding of the phenomenon and a theory or explanation of how it works that is grounded in our observations.

The quotation indicates that the inductive approach remains in the forefront of social research. A further link with Znaniecki's theory of Humanistic Sociology is perceived in the opening comment by Krathwohl (1993, p.324) on qualitative research:

> Qualitative point of view involves understanding how the world looks to the people studied and how they act on that information. It therefore allows multiple interpretations of situations, depending on how the various actors perceive it.

In conclusion Lüschen and Tibbetts (1981, p.191) attempt to place Znaniecki in the academic perspective according to his thinking over a lifelong career:

> We should not again pronounce him basically a philosopher. He soon and rather early in his career became a sociologist by choice who rightly belongs in the center of methodological concerns in our discipline.

The discussion above confirms the place of Znaniecki in methodological debate and, in particular, his argument for the understanding of data through analytic induction. Chalasinski (1989, p.6) observed:

> The question about the Polish and American aspects of his sociological activity and creativity is justified and sociologically interesting.

Blumer (1939, p.74) puts the crucial question as regards the use of human documents:

> What can be said on this point of their inductive character? How does one work with human documents? How does one analyse them and interpret them?

Memoirs in this study, with their detail and variations of sociological insights, provided ample qualitative data for an inductive analysis which could produce significant conclusions.

4.   THE STUDY

Does the interpretation produce understanding? By which is meant: "Do the elements which are interpreted coalesce into a meaningful whole?" Denzin.

4.1   The Memoir Authors

As the discussion of methodology and sociological data in the previous chapter indicates, memoirs are personal documents which can be regarded as comparable to the letters used by Thomas and Znaniecki in The Polish Peasant. Both forms of data involved the writers in reflection and sacrifice of time. This study uses human documents in the form of small-scale memoirs, or personal statements, which focused on specific aspects of the authors' lives.

Tertiary graduates in education who had returned to pursue Masters Studies in Education were given the opportunity to reflect upon their 'cultural becoming'. This exercise was undertaken as part of their involvement in a series of seminars which looked at the application of humanistic sociological principles to a study of multiculturalism and education. The researcher, too, had taken part in such seminars.

Over the decade 1980-1990, a number of these personal statements, or memoirs, were collected and, with the written permission of the authors, made available for research purposes and sociological analysis. This investigation focuses on thirty six of these memoirs, selected because of the scope and detail of the sociological data they provided and the fact that, as a collective, they covered a diversity of educational and cultural experiences. Sixteen were from English speaking backgrounds and twenty were from non-English speaking origins coming from various European, Asian and Aboriginal backgrounds. The writers concerned had all returned to tertiary study as adult graduates after a period in the work force as teachers or administrators. They brought both educational and cultural experiences with them. Authors had the literary skills to

express their thoughts and the capacity to write a comprehensive memoir in relation to the thoughts, aspirations and reflections discussed.

4.2 The Method Adopted

Participants were given guidelines for writing the memoir to provide a focus for their thoughts and reflections. What they were asked to write was:

> A Memoir giving an account of your educational experiences and the forces influencing your cultural development.

This approach gave the writers scope to recall some events more vividly than others, select certain incidents, omit others, reveal the influence of people in their past life which they considered particularly significant. The authors had the chance to develop their memoirs as they wanted them to unfold with the added advantage of time for reflection. It was not possible nor necessary to recall all of their life experiences. It was felt more significant that they should feel free to focus on some educational and cultural influences which were perceived as important to the respondents. Because a respondent recalls only some events, a memoir is not thereby unimportant or irrelevant to the researcher. These events are part of their consciousness and so influence their current pattern of thoughts and actions.

The depth of the memoir material enabled the researcher to trace a process of personal evolution or 'becoming' in individuals without detailing every life situation as Wladek did in The Polish Peasant. It was not necessary to write a strict chronological order of experiences although several writers chose to begin with the concrete facts viz Full name, I was born ..., date of birth and (in one case) even the hospital.

Memoirs were written as sociological data since participants were invited to focus on the social and cultural aspects of their lives, rather than intimate personal details. Two writers (identified by numbers at the end of all quotations) expressed some reticence at

first in recalling life experiences but having externalised these thoughts proceeded to write extensive memoirs:

> I cannot say that I welcomed the idea of writing a memoir enthusiastically. (25)
>
> Commencing one's memoirs is always difficult. How much does one give away about oneself, and how does one identify what information is significant. I want to commence by providing some background on my family and myself, in order to place my memoir in context. (27)

Another writer found reconstructing and reflection on his life a positive experience:

> The task of writing a memoir ... has caused me to think carefully, and critically about my life. Different periods of my life have influenced me, in different ways. (35)

Memoirs were not written as a source of information concerning a group of tertiary students. Respondents were conscious that their personal becoming was an evolving or dynamic process. As one memoir author concluded:

> My life continues to roll on at a steady pace ... I'm ready for the next challenge. (33)

Blumer (1939, p.44) remarked how the 'fuller context' of a life record increased the assurance of reliability of the researcher's judgement as compared with the interpretation of letters. The memoirs in this study provided both the concrete and cultural data which enabled the researcher to identify social processes.

4.3   Concrete Fact Analysis of Memoirs

From the memoir content, it was possible to identify a number of concrete facts (discussed in chapter 3, section 3.4) about the home background of the writers. These facts, which are distinguished from cultural data because they are independent of the respondents' consciousness, are important for placing respondents in the framework of their social and cultural milieu.

The first stage of analysis was to develop a profile of each participant based on the concrete facts which were presented in the memoirs. The importance of the concrete facts in providing a particular cultural context for the memoir was realised by several authors who began with the heading 'Beginnings' or simply 'Some Facts'. Author (4) gave a summary of his concrete profile as a foreword to the memoir using headings such as: Date of Birth, Country of Birth, Place of Birth, Parents including details of ancestry, Language Spoken at Home and Religious Affiliation.

The main concrete facts which were relevant for all respondents have been summarised and presented in Table 1 (pp.92-94). Birthplace was important for the exposure to the first set of cultural values and cultural origins especially for respondents born overseas. Parental birthplace was significant for all respondents as this knowledge reinforced cultural roots. Ancestry was discussed in some detail by most authors and gave an historical perspective or sense of the cultural past to the sociological data. Ancestry was important for some writers as the source of identity with a particular ethnic group and the knowledge of the group's heritage transmitted through older relatives. (For example, Anglo respondents were all aware that their ancestors had been immigrants).

Languages spoken and their domain of usage were mentioned as integral to the development of the individual's cultural becoming. There was little discussion about siblings and references to language came mainly from NESB authors in the context of transmission of languages and English acquisition. In relation to education, it was useful to know whether respondents had attended urban, rural or overseas schools at primary and secondary level. In the case of respondents educated in Australia, the system viz State, Catholic or Independent in which they were educated was also considered a concrete fact worth noting.

The concrete facts presented in Table 1 (pp.92-94) show that there were sixteen ESB and twenty NESB participants. Of the thirty six authors, twenty two were female and

fourteen male. Nineteen authors were married and thirteen were not married. The birthplace of authors was equally divided between Australia and overseas. Of the eighteen born overseas, four ESB authors were born in England, eight NESB in Europe and six NESB in Asia. Four (2,3, 5,18) of the NESB writers were studying in Australia on temporary student visas. In the case of parental birthplace (including both parents), twenty two were born overseas. Of this number, six ESB parents were born in England, ten NESB in Europe and six NESB in Asia.

In addition to English, there were thirteen different languages spoken by respondents. These were: an (un-named) Aboriginal language, Arabic, Armenian, Chinese, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Malay, Papua/New Guinean languages, Polish and Tamil. In regard to schooling, half of the memoir writers were educated overseas. Of those educated in Australia, two thirds were educated in the State system, one third in the Catholic system and two in Independent schools. At both primary and secondary levels, respondents attended mainly urban schools, the number being slightly higher at secondary school.

4.4   Cultural Fact Analysis: The Kloskowska Model

The other type of data, what Smolicz has called cultural facts (see chapter 2, section 2.4) is the most important from the perspective of humanistic sociology, but is more problematic methodologically. The problem of analysing cultural facts in personal documents or memoir type material has been highlighted by Bertaux (1981, p.5) in the Introduction to his book, when he asks:

What can be done with life stories?

Grabski, as Adamski (1982, p.112) recalled, had previously referred to the same methodological question:

> For Wladyslaw Grabski the issue of 'a skilful use of autobiographies is one of the most essential problems of sociological methodology'.

A recent article by Kloskowska has provided some practical answers to this problem of memoir analysis. Following Pike (1967), Kloskowska distinguishes two types of analysis.

The *emic* viewpoint approaches memoir analysis from 'inside the system'. The content of the memoir is interpreted in terms of the explicit statements and meanings embedded in the text. What the author says is accepted as the ultimate authority and is not challenged by the researcher. *Etic* analysis, in contrast, takes into account additional knowledge outside the immediate document. It places the explicit topics discussed in the memoir into a broader theoretical framework which provides an additional dimension to analysis. As Kloskowska (1994, p.87) points out:

> If the analysis seeks to clarify problems transcending the text itself, resorting to the etic approach is necessary to make use of additional data from outside the system.

Such additional data can include historical background or extraneous biographical materials such as literature and art created by the author. In this way theoretical and content analysis work together in a complementary process. Memoir content remains the primary or starting point for any analysis. The emic phase is given added strength and meaning within the broader concepts and scope of outside data from the etic phase.

An Emic Analysis. Thomas and Znaniecki (1958, p.77) outlined their methodology of dealing with their Polish Peasant data in the following way:

> The general character of the work is mainly that of a systematization and classification of attitudes and values prevailing in a concrete group. Every attitude and every value ... can be really understood only in connection with the whole social life of which it is an element.

As the means of activating this, the letters in The Polish Peasant were arranged in family series and more particularly were classified according to the function of the letter. In the current study, the memoirs were grouped according to the ethnic origin and birthplace of respondents. This provided four groups for consideration viz ESB

Born in Australia (ESB A), ESB Born Overseas (ESB O), NESB Born in Australia (NESB A), NESB Born Overseas (NESB O). Individual memoirs were given a number to protect the identity of the author.

An initial emic analysis of the memoirs led to the categorization of a number of educational and cultural factors which could be seen as influential in the cultural development of the respondents. The categories were named: HOME, SCHOOL (Primary and Secondary), TERTIARY STUDY, PROFESSIONAL LIFE, MARRIAGE/FRIENDSHIP, TRAVEL/MIGRATION, SELF-GENERATED ACTIVITY. These individual categories were not, however, treated in isolation. Internal unity was given to the analysis through references across categories, by comparing and contrasting attitudes and values from different memoir groupings, and later by focusing on individual cases that represented distinctive patterns of experiences and adaptations. However, these influence categories were useful in providing an overview of the patterns of cultural and educational becoming among the four groups of respondents.

Furthermore, following the discussion of chapter 1, the researcher divided these factors into two groupings - those related to Guided[1] Education influences (Home, School and Tertiary Study) and those that were self-generated (Professional Life, Marriage/ Friendship, Travel/Migration and Self-Generated Activity). Within each influence category, aspects discussed by respondents in the four groups were identified and arranged in sequence. The intention of the sequence was to highlight the interaction of influences and ideas more than strict chronology. For example in the 'HOME' category a discussion on ancestry across the four groups was followed by a consideration of the influence of grandparents and then the influence of parents. Each of these aspects was then analysed in detail and questions raised by this analysis were put to the memoirs. These included: What was the variety of responses? To what extent was there some

---

[1] I acknowledge the chapter heading used by Znaniecki (1936, p.189) as the source for this terminology: CHAPTER VII, EDUCATIONAL GUIDANCE.

commonality, and what was the range of diversity? Were the main differences within groups (intra-cultural) or across (cross-cultural) groups? Were there surprises or inconsistencies? Which aspects were not discussed?

Using this framework, the significance of the educational and cultural influences could be identified against the background of the writers' social and cultural milieu in the expectation of isolating patterns of cultural transformations. The results of this analysis are presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7. This emic analysis was followed by a second stage of etic analysis in which the theoretical concepts of cultural valence and national identification (Kloskowska, 1993) were used as the basis of identifying a number of ideal types among the respondents. Chapters 8 and 9 report the findings of this analysis.

TABLE I

CONCRETE FACT PROFILES OF PARTICIPANTS

NO.	SEX	BACKGROUND CLASSIFICATION†	ANCESTRY BIRTHPLACE	PARENTAL BIRTHPLACE	LANGUAGES SPOKEN R = RESTRICTED	EDUCATION BACKGROUND P = PRIMARY S = SECONDARY	MARRIAGE STATUS
1	M	ESB A	ANGLO/CELTIC AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA	ENGLISH	P: STATE RURAL S: STATE URBAN	MARRIED
2	F	NESB O **	CHINESE SINGAPORE	F: STRAITS M: CHINA	CHINESE- TEOCHEW MANDARIN (R) ENGLISH	SINGAPORE URBAN	NOT MARRIED
3	F	NESB O **	INDIAN SINGAPORE	F: INDIA M: SINGAPORE	TAMIL ENGLISH	SINGAPORE URBAN	NOT MARRIED
4	M	ESB O	ANGLO RURAL ENGLAND	ENGLAND	ENGLISH	ENGLAND URBAN	NOT MARRIED
5	M	NESB O **	NEW GUINEA NEW GUINEA HIGHLANDS	NEW GUINEA HIGHLANDS	WIRU, KEWABI PIDGIN ENGLISH	PAPUA NEW GUINEA RURAL	MARRIED
6	F	ESB A	ANGLO RURAL AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA	ENGLISH FRENCH (R)	P: STATE RURAL S: STATE RURAL INDEPENDENT URBAN	MARRIED
7	F	NESB A	POLISH AUSTRALIA	POLAND	POLISH (R) ENGLISH	P: STATE URBAN S: STATE URBAN	MARRIED
8	M	NESB O	POLISH POLAND(SILESIA)	POLAND	POLISH GERMAN ENGLISH	POLAND URBAN	MARRIED
9	F	NESB A	ITALIAN AUSTRALIA	SOUTHERN ITALY	ITALIAN (standard, dialect) ENGLISH	CATHOLIC URBAN	NOT MARRIED
10	F	ESB A	IRISH AUSTRALIA	RURAL AUSTRALIA	ENGLISH	CATHOLIC URBAN	NOT MARRIED
11	M	NESB A	GREEK AUSTRALIA	GREECE	GREEK ENGLISH	STATE URBAN	NOT MARRIED
12	F	ESB O	IRISH IRELAND(S)	IRELAND	ENGLISH	P: IRELAND CATHOLIC S: SCOTLAND CATHOLIC	MARRIED

NO.	SEX	BACKGROUND CLASSIFICATION†	ANCESTRY BIRTHPLACE	PARENTAL BIRTHPLACE	LANGUAGES SPOKEN R = RESTRICTED	EDUCATION BACKGROUND P = PRIMARY S = SECONDARY	MARRIAGE STATUS
13	F	NESB A	ABORIGINAL/ ANGLO CELTIC AUSTRALIA	RURAL AUSTRALIA	ABORIGINAL DIALECT GREEK ENGLISH	STATE RURAL	MARRIED
14	F	NESB O	ITALIAN BELGIUM	ITALY	FRENCH ITALIAN ENGLISH	AUSTRALIA STATE URBAN	NOT MARRIED
15	F	ESB A	ANGLO/IRISH AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA	ENGLISH	CATHOLIC RURAL	NOT MARRIED
16	F	ESB O	ANGLO/IRISH SOUTH AFRICA	ENGLAND	ENGLISH	AUSTRALIA CATHOLIC URBAN	NOT MARRIED
17	F	NESB O	INDIAN N. MALAYSIA	INDIA	TAMIL MALAY ENGLISH	P: MALAYSIA RURAL S: MALAYSIA CATHOLIC	MARRIED
18	F	NESB O **	GREEK GREECE	GREECE	GREEK ENGLISH	GREECE URBAN	NOT MARRIED
19	M	ESB A *	IRISH/GERMAN AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA	ENGLISH	P: STATE RURAL S: —	MARRIED
20	F	ESB A	ANGLO/ AUSTRALIAN AUSTRALIA	F: AUSTRALIA M: ENGLAND	ENGLISH FRENCH (R)	CATHOLIC URBAN	NOT MARRIED
21	M	ESB O	ANGLO/CELTIC SCOTLAND	SCOTLAND	ENGLISH	SCOTLAND URBAN	—
22	F	NESB O	HUNGARIAN HUNGARY	HUNGARY	HUNGARIAN GERMAN ENGLISH	P: HUNGARY URBAN S: HUNGARY CALVINIST	MARRIED
23	M	NESB O	ITALIAN ITALY	ITALY	ITALIAN ENGLISH	AUSTRALIA CATHOLIC RURAL	MARRIED
24	M	NESB O	EUROPEAN/ ARMENIAN EGYPT	EGYPT	FRENCH ARMENIAN ARABIC ITALIAN ENGLISH	EGYPT CATHOLIC	MARRIED

NO.	SEX	BACKGROUND CLASSIFICATION†	ANCESTRY BIRTHPLACE	PARENTAL BIRTHPLACE	LANGUAGES SPOKEN R = RESTRICTED	EDUCATION BACKGROUND P = PRIMARY S = SECONDARY	MARRIAGE STATUS
25	F	NESB O	POLISH POLAND	POLAND	POLISH ENGLISH	POLAND RURAL	MARRIED
26	F	ESB A	ANGLO/IRISH AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA	ENGLISH	STATE URBAN	—
27	F	NESB A	LEBANESE AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA	ENGLISH ARABIC FRENCH	STATE URBAN	MARRIED
28	F	NESB A	GERMAN AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA	ENGLISH GERMAN (R)	STATE URBAN	MARRIED
29	M	ESB A	ANGLO AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA	ENGLISH	P: STATE RURAL S: STATE RURAL/URBAN	—
30	M	NESB O	CHINESE E. MALAYSIA	MALAYSIA	CHINESE DIALECTS MALAY ENGLISH	MALAYSIA CATHOLIC	MARRIED
31	F	ESB A *	ANGLO/GERMAN AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA	ENGLISH	CATHOLIC URBAN	MARRIED
32	F	NESB A	ITALIAN AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA	ENGLISH ITALIAN	CATHOLIC URBAN	NOT MARRIED
33	M	ESB A	ANGLO/IRISH AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA	ENGLISH	STATE URBAN	MARRIED
34	F	NESB O	CHINESE S. CHINA	CHINA	CHINESE DIALECT MANDARIN (R) ENGLISH	CHINA URBAN	NOT MARRIED
35	M	ESB A	ANGLO AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA	ENGLISH INDONESIAN (R)	STATE RURAL	MARRIED
36	M	ESB O	ANGLO ENGLAND	ENGLAND	ENGLISH	ENGLAND URBAN	—

* 19 and 31: Classified as ESB A on the basis of cultural activation in the memoir and despite a German great-grandfather.

** Writer was studying in Australia on a temporary student visa.

† The classification used here was: ESB A English Speaking Background, born in Australia NESB A Non-English Speaking Background, born in Australia
ESB O English Speaking Background, born Overseas NESB O Non-English Speaking Background, born Overseas.

5. ANALYSIS OF GUIDED CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCES: THE HOME

Both my parents had used Education to change social status - my mother had the added asset of being from England. ESB A (20)

Under the classification of 'Guided Education' as opposed to Self-Generated, (see Section 4.4) it was possible to identify three important categories: Home, School and Tertiary Study. The aim of this chapter is to analyse the writers' statements about their homes for the purpose of identifying the transmission of values in the home and the ways in which authors have subsequently transformed these values. A further aspect of analysis aims to clarify from which cultural stocks values are drawn or whether values came from one cultural stock. This chapter does not represent an exhaustive or comprehensive content analysis. Only those aspects which were discussed by the majority of the respondents, and those aspects which impinged directly on the second level of analysis involving the correlation of national identification and cultural valence (to be discussed in Chapters 8 & 9) have been included. The numbers in brackets after the quotations below refer to the number given to each author (see Table 1, pp.92-4, chapter 4).

5.1 Ethnic Ancestry

ESB A. Among the ESB respondents the ones who identified most closely with a particular ethnic ancestry were those of Irish origin. Writers in this group were second or third generation Anglo-Australians. Those who felt a strong sense of identity with the Anglo strand were those with Irish ancestry who activated resilient Irish values of religion (10,12,15,19,26,33) viz Catholic. According to one author:

> My mother's family were Irish. The Catholic religion they brought with them has survived so, to that extent, I can certainly claim to have been influenced by my Irish background. (15)

In this home Irish Catholic values were the dominant link with Celtic culture but no allusion was made to 'ethnic' ancestors or the fact that the families were once

immigrants. Another writer whose home was strongly Catholic and went to a Catholic school opened the memoir by identifying with her Irish ancestry:

> My ancestry was very solidly Irish. I was the fifth-born of seven children born to third generation Australians whose entire ancestry had been Irish and of course Catholic. (10)

In contrast, one writer recalled some distant Irish ancestry but as his home activated Anglican religious values his Irish strand was not in his personal cultural system. His comment was: 'So I guess I am of Irish-English background' (33). A similar comment came from another author who had maternal ancestral links with two ethnic groups viz German and Irish. Religious Catholic values and language had not been maintained across generations but only the awareness remained that:

> None (of the ancestors) to my knowledge spoke German or Gaelic. My grandparents' home ... gave no indications of any German or Irish ancestry or culture. (19)

Another author whose Anglo-Catholic mother was born in England, felt a different evaluation of Anglo and Australian values in the home:

> I became aware that the Australian way of life really was inferior to the British way. England had traditions, history and a culture that couldn't possibly be replaced by anything in this 'New' country. (20)

ESB O. Respondents in the ESB group who were born overseas retained strong and direct links with the Anglo strand of their Anglo-Australian identity. For example, parents and siblings who had lived in England before migration had internalised Anglo values, as one remembered:

> We arrived in Australia with a fairly deeply entrenched British outlook on life. The transition made little conscious impact on me ... I was a baby. (16)

On reflection, she is aware of the 'impact' of the Anglo values in her personal cultural system transmitted in the home: two strands - migration from the homeland strengthened by the activation of Irish Catholic values (maternal). These religious values were activated when as a young adult she became a member of the sisters of St.

Joseph - an Australian religious order to which she still belongs and thus maintains her Irish heritage.

Knowledge of ancestry was a strong influence on the Irish strand in the cultural identity of this participant:

> I regard myself today as an Irish-Scottish-Australian. I am Irish because I was born there of Irish parents who themselves came of Irish grandparents and so on back for four hundred years. (12)

NESB A. NESB writers born in Australia (13,27,32) discussed their ethnic origins at greater length than the ESB group. Links with ancestry were important in establishing and strengthening a sense of identity and maintaining the ethnic strand before the Australian strand e.g. as being Greek-Australian.

The significance of and knowledge about one's ancestry in establishing one's present identity was realised by one participant who opened her memoir by claiming:

> I want to commence by providing some background on my family and myself, in order to put my memoir in context ... I identify as a woman from Lebanese-Druse background ... this identification has not always sat so easy with me. (27)

Through her step-mother (who spoke only Arabic) she spent time learning about her culture and sharing information until she felt 'there was something about being Lebanese which was special for me'. Cultural interaction with the step-mother nurtured her sense of identity. Later activation of the Druse religion and Arabic language (to be discussed later) strengthened her Lebanese-Druse identity.

Memoir 28 also commenced with a detailed discussion of German ancestry on both sides and how German values had been transmitted across generations:

> Johann ... emigrated to Australia in 1844 ... As a Gruenburg Lutheran, he accorded the church and school his first consideration ... Much of the heritage that constituted the culture of Johann is still actively employed by group members in their thinking and acting. (28)

The writer recalled how many descendants remained in the vicinity of her grandfather's settlement and so she experienced a close knit family of German origin.

NESB O. Having lived in and migrated from their homeland, respondents in this group identified directly with their ancestral land. For example, three participants (24, 30, 34) provide practical expression of the close link between land and ancestry and cultural identity. Using headings, writer 34 refers to China (Hong Kong) as 'My Homeland' and Australia as 'The New Home'. The first heading identifies her origins and the past of her ancestors; the second identifies her present and a culture acquired. Headings in her memoir are written in both Mandarin Chinese characters and English and this device underlines her dual cultural system.

Identifying with the Land. **ESB A.** Three ESB A (1,19,29) participants grew up in isolated rural areas and felt a strong identity with the land as a value rather than with a distant ancestor. One writes that ancestry never motivated 'more than idle curiosity' and 'it has no cultural consequence for me and little or no significance for my sense of identity'. His early years were 'socially isolated in a scenically idyllic environment' where he was exposed to Anglo values. Identity with the land was reinforced by physical separation from urban life and values as he recalls:

> Born on an island ... with the 'mainland' visited only occasionally by sea or by air for holidays. (1)

German and Irish strands in his ancestry are discussed in some length by another respondent (19) who positively evaluated his heritage. The ancestors 'assimilated quickly' (the German language used only in the home) and for him the core values remain in the past. His rural childhood instilled an identity with the land:

> I believe I hold two particularly strong residual impressions of those early years. I have an awful affection and respect for the land ... as itself. The land is. There is a harshness and permanence pervading the inland

Australian landscape which defy the temporary efforts of man to civilize it. (19)

An innate affinity with one's ancestral homeland was the experience of respondent 10 on 'returning' to Ireland:

> At the moment I walked off the ferry, I felt 'at home'. It was as though I had some prior knowledge of what Ireland would be like. As I walked along streets in Dublin or in villages I observed people and noticed how similar they were to the appearance of relatives on both sides of my family. (10)

This sense of belonging through being there made the writer conscious of symbolic values as distinct from activating cultural and religious values.

ESB O. Three respondents (16,21,36) in this group did not identify with the Australian landscape as a value, having been born overseas. One indicated in her opening comments that her feeling for the land is attached to her birthplace and residence. For herself this was not a personal experience as she migrated to Australia from South Africa a year after her birth and writes:

> My two brothers and my older sister spent their early childhood in England and got to know my birthplace in a way I never have ... and never will. (16)

Author 12 identified with her Anglo/Celtic origins in Ireland with which she felt strong bonds:

> I miss the people, the fine buildings and the diversity of landscape and cultures available within relatively small distances. (12)

NESB A. These respondents felt a strong pull to their homeland as a sense of emotional connection. Writer 13 names the two groups of Aboriginal 'peoples' from whom her mother was descended and firmly links herself with her ancestry. A sense of identity was clearly connected with a feeling for the land as a cultural value as indicated in the comment:

> My parents left ... to live near my mother's people in the country that my mother loved along the Murray River. (13)

Memoir 32 opens with the heading 'The Family' followed by a lengthy discussion about the migration of her Italian 'Patriarchs' from Italy - revealing the significance of this migration on her personal cultural system. Her ancestral links were also tied to regional ties in Italy as an extension of her family and forming direct bonds in Australia. She explains:

> The pull of the village was strong. When the families were reunited, most of them bought land ... in one area. The Campagna families bought up around Campbelltown and Athelstone. (32)

Families from the same region were referred to as 'paisani' - brothers and sisters in the sense of hailing from the same village. Families living in groups strengthened ethnic and ancestral ties in Australia and maintained the activation of cultural values.

NESB O. Having lived in and migrated from their homeland, respondents in this group identified with a firm feeling of belonging to the land. For example, four participants (24,25,30,34) provide practical expression of the land of ancestors and cultural identity.

A Polish respondent (25) grew up with a strong sense fostered in her of patriotism for Poland as the homeland and the home of her ancestors. Patriotism was amongst her earliest memories and it was said of her parents' generation that patriotism came with their 'mother's milk':

> The first songs that I learnt were connected with Poland and Warsaw. (25)

The text books of the Polish Language reflected emotional ties with the land of the ancestors as the titles suggest:

> Our Language - Our World; In Our Homeland; The Mother Tongue; This Land Is More Precious Than Others. (25)

From the whole group of participants only one included a Family Tree. His ancestry includes three different ethnic strands viz Italian, Yugoslav and Armenian from which

he traces his language acquisition as multilingual. There is reference to the Tree in the memoir and the influence of a complex ancestry on the development of a sense of identity is a theme throughout. He perceives a strong sense of identity with one's own land and compares his situation with the Australian Aboriginal in trying to consolidate his own identity:

> As I walk along my suburban streets ... I often wonder what the place was like before the arrival of white man. I have held the original inhabitants of this land with some form of affection. The importance of having a place of one's own and to have lost it forever is a feeling I can identify with. (24)

Although he left Italy as a small child, author 23 recalled the difficulty in accepting a changed geographical milieu from that of his ancestry:

> (My father) had rented a tin shack, with masonite walls where the bathroom was supposed to be. It lay at the back of a block overrun by saltbush a metre high. The first time I saw it I remembered Trieste, with its picturesque coastline and I asked myself: 'We came all the way for this?' (23)

His comments reflect the feeling of dislocation from the homeland felt by many political emigrés from Eastern Europe.

5.2   Influence of Grandparents

From the two groups of memoirs the influence of the grandparents was twofold. Firstly they were a strong emotional bond for grandchildren and were associated with many happy memories of childhood. Secondly writers recognised the significance of their role in transmitting cultural values and traditions across generations.

Influence of one Grandparent. **ESB A.** In this group born in Australia the following quotation illustrates the warm relationship with a loving grandmother associated with regular visits to her home. The visits have significance in the recollection of a happy childhood and mutual enjoyment:

> I delighted in visiting my grandmother ... She was lovely to me and we always liked going for walks around ... Park. (33)

Other writers (1,6,10,19, 20, 35) recalled with pleasure regular visits from grandparents and especially school holiday visits.

> Each school holiday we went to ... and stayed with my mother's parents. Less frequently we travelled on to Adelaide and visited my father's parents. (19)

Unlike the NESB group, grandparents did not live in the home so holiday visits were important in strengthening emotional and family ties. Memoir 1 discussed how he lived with grandparents in the city when attending high school.

ESB O. These sentiments were repeated in the other ESB group. One grandfather was more remote to a respondent but much respected and admired as the centre of the Saturday family gathering. He was a link with the past and adventure:

> One look from my Grandfather was enough to make us sit up straight. Whilst the rest of the family played cards, he would sit and smoke his pipe and stare into space, no doubt recalling the years he spent sailing up and down the China coast. (21)

The pleasure and emotional security of living with grandparents as a collective unit was remembered by writers 36 and 4:

> I stayed with my grandparents until my parents were able to find their own accommodation ... Moving to that house was my first conscious memory; it was summer 1949. I was three years old, and did not want to leave my grandparents' house. (36)

NESB A. The role of the grandmother as a nurturing influence was a repeated theme in the NESB memoirs. Naming a child has both cultural and emotional meanings. The writer of memoir 13 felt she had special links with a grandmother for this reason. The general discussion of visits as a bonding of family ties and transmission of cultural values appears throughout this group:

> I spent a lot of time with my grandmother for whom I was named. She lived in the nearest town and it was a treat to stay in town with her. It was during these visits that she told me about her life and her father's life. (13)

Other participants (7,9,11,28,32) provide clear vignettes of large family gatherings, the pleasure of grandparents and older relatives. The quotation from memoir 32 indicates not only cultural transmission across generations but respect for collectivist activities shared with grandparents. The hush when Italian songs were sung:

> ... followed by a sudden clamour for the 'Tarantella' when all the oldies would get up and with a show of gaiters and garters teach us how it's done. (32)

NESB O. For NESB respondents born overseas grandparents also played a nurturing role in a family crisis and activated collectivist values. A Polish author recalled that when her mother became ill the grandmother took her sister in:

> When I was five my father was arrested ... Soon after my grandmother took my sister in. (25)

Another Italian writer who lived in Belgium with her family recalled:

> We spent our summer holidays in Italy with my paternal grandparents. (14)

I have referred specifically to grandparents as do the respondents in the context of close family ties. In a wider milieu older relatives such as aunts and great-uncles were part of the extended family.

Influence of both Grandparents. **ESB A.** ESB respondents did not see the influence of grandparents as crucial to the transmission of cultural values as NESB respondents.

Three writers (1,6,20) gave a more detailed account of the influence of grandparents in the transmission of culture across generations. Personal interaction was significant as one wrote:

> In terms of cultural influence however, the past two generations would seem to be of significance since it is within my grandparent's families, that my parents grew up and through personal contact in my childhood, I was also directly influenced by their value systems. (1)

More specifically, religious values were transmitted in the home by grandparents and the influence was sometimes indirect. A writer whose ancestors had transmitted Lutheran religious values on the father's side recalled the influence of Lutheran values:

> Although just 5 years old at the time, I can recall distinctly such statements from my father as: 'No child of mine will ever go to a Catholic school!' (31)

One grandmother activated the two strands under discussion; a nurturing role and the subtle transmission of Anglo social values as the grand-daughter wrote:

> My mother's family were initially more involved in daily living; afternoon tea with Nanna was usually followed by story time, sometimes with books written and illustrated by her sister. As well as introducing literature and the rudiments of etiquette an interest in music was encouraged. (26)

Grandparents were an important influence in the transmission of religious values.

ESB O. In the second ESB group a similar pattern of influence was noted. One grandfather and other relatives played a disciplinary role in the loss of a father:

> My Grandfather in fact, provided my Mother with leather straps which he normally used for honing his open razor ... 'Spare the rod, spoil the child' was the guiding rule. (21)

One participant remembered Christmas gatherings but not for cultural influences only increasing numbers of family members:

> The only differences being that the family became larger as my aunts and uncles married and had their children. (36)

Memoir 4 includes also early memories of a grandfather and holiday visits. His recollections reinforce the social role of the Anglo grandparent and discipline:

> Other early memories of my social circle include the need to be quiet and well-behaved in my grandfather's house when visiting. My brother and I developed a healthy respect for this very large, stern man who in later years took us on holidays to seaside towns. (4)

NESB A. Grandparents in this group also had two roles . Their first role was the social role of a nurturing and loved older relative. The second role was of special importance for this group who grew up away from the homeland i.e. the transmission of cultural values across generations. Memoirs 9,11,13,28,32 discuss the importance of grandparents as 'cultural carriers' particularly in language maintenance. One Aboriginal writer illustrates the deep significance of a grandmother's influence on the development of her cultural identity:

> My grandmother was an important person in my life. She has a lasting influence on my outlook on life ... I was very proud to be descended from an old and proud race as my grandmother had taught me to be ... I knew I was different from other Australians; however due to my grandmother I was proud and strong about it. (13)

The same writer was influenced in a different way by a grandfather and uncle. With pride she recalled the transmission of group values and traditions through stories which strengthened her sense of cultural identity:

> We slept outside on camp beds with mosquito nets and these two great Australians would tell us five children about their lives. My grandfather was a great horseman, and a drover. He drove sheep until he was 84 ... My grand uncle was very creative and musical and also well travelled with his work. (13)

The transmission of cultural values across generations was not always positively evaluated. One Italian writer (32) felt that older relatives and friends had exposed her to inferior forms of Italian culture and values which showed more conservatism on migration than those activated in the homeland. She became critical of the 'peasant' forms of culture:

> 'Culture' that was Italian was always presented to me in its most inferior forms. I heard the most peasant forms of dialect and observed the most peasant forms of behaviour - superstitions, antique customs ... The outer threats on the Italian community - social, political, cultural - seemed to make my people even more dogmatic about their values and rigid about their customs. (32)

Grandparents felt pride in their dialect and ancient traditions which created some tension when grandchildren positively evaluated Standard Italian as one remembered:

> Having learned to speak Italian correctly elicited a strange ... reaction from my maternal grandmother. She was quite unhappy with my speaking this 'posh' Italian to her and I felt unhappy speaking the rough dialect to her. (32)

Other aspects of culture e.g. the Italian wedding is discussed in detail by the respondent (32) as a deep cultural influence with the mixing of older and younger generations.

NESB O. As with the previous group transmission of linguistic values was an important influence of the grandparents from the first years. For example writer 24 whose ancestry had several strands grew up in a multilingual milieu as he depicts:

> At home, my Armenian grandmother ... taught me at a very young age to speak Armenian. My paternal grandparents aunties and cousins greeted me in Italian, and it did not take long before I could converse in Italian. (24)

In the context of the home and the influence of grandparents a further comment of the writer highlights the significance of the interaction of both. There was a Yugoslav strand on the father's side:

> Note how Yugoslav ... had almost disappeared from usage, since my paternal grandfather who could speak the language ... did not use this language at home, but spoke instead Italian/Arabic. (24)

Another respondent (14) in one sentence brings together the two roles of grandparents viz the pleasure of holiday visits and the transmission of linguistic cultural values:

> My fluency in Italian was due mainly to the fact that we spent our summer holidays in Italy with my paternal grandparents. (14)

Other writers e.g. 5,30 did not mention grandparents specifically but the memoir indicates their presence and influence were felt in the references to large gatherings of the extended family.

5.3   Influence of Parents

This aspect of the home will be discussed in two strands: parents in a nurturing role and the evaluation of education by parents.

Influence of One Parent. **ESB A.** Respondents recognised the influence of parents on the shaping of their early development and the formation of their personal cultural systems. Some (1,6,10,19,20,31,33,35) felt one parent had been a dominant influence in the home. For example, one respondent felt her mother provided the caring role in the home, having a 'good ear' to listen to anything the children had to tell her. This influenced the decision of the writer to return to study part-time when a mother herself in order to give the nurturing role to her children (mentioned above). The dominance of the mother is indicated in the reference to the choice of schools:

> As was usual, my mother 'won out'. (31)

In this discussion of parents it is worth noting that the mother (above) had been left an orphan at the age of four. Her concern for a caring home can be seen in her experience of a nun's compassion:

> She and a younger brother were reared in a catholic orphanage. Her experience here had been greatly enhanced by the caring shown to her by one of the orphanage nuns. (31)

One mother (19) had been a rural school teacher who 'was immediately dismissed' when she married. She remained the pivot in the rural family, an evaluation of the role transmitted from her mother:

> My mother today would like nothing more than to provide, for my and my brothers' and sister's families, the same focal point as her mother did for us. (19)

The family was now dispersed but gathered for 'special occasions', such as the mother's seventieth birthday. The mother held the family together.

In contrast, another participant did not recall the warmth of his father's personal qualities but the awareness of his 'categorisation' as working class.

> My father fitted neatly into the picture that I now have of a 'worker' i.e. he earned the average income supplemented by part-time work, lived in a rented house with five children, didn't go out much with his wife or family and preferred social interaction at the pub to entertaining friends at home. (29)

One author was aware that her mother's return to work was not by choice but economic circumstance which created some tension within the (Anglo) family over conflict in the caring role. This is explained:

> My mother, who was a qualified nurse returned to work when my young brother was two. This was interpreted, on the one hand, as a selfish disregard of the requirements of motherhood and as a failure on my father's part to make adequate economic provision for the family. (26)

ESB O. The influence of one parent is recalled in this group. The mother of writer 21 was a widow and deaf. Not because of but in spite of this circumstance the son was influenced in a special way and was the only respondent to describe physical features:

> My Mother[1] was a beautiful woman, intelligent looking with large expressive eyes. She was twenty years younger than my Father and completely deaf. (21)

As an only child the respondent had different experiences from other writers but the memoir clearly indicates he led a 'very full' life. Communication with his mother was free and fulfilling:

> I was taught the deaf and dumb alphabet when I was four years old so that I could speak to my Mother on the fingers. My Mother never used the sign language ... She was very good at lip reading ... I never spoke audibly to my Mother ... Most of the time however, she spoke quietly and therefore seemed quite normal whereas I 'spoke' with my fingers. (21)

---

[1] It is of interest to point out that in this quotation and throughout the memoir the writer uses a capital 'M' for Mother. This was rare in the memoirs: the device may be due to school linguistic training (in Scotland) but it gives the added impression of deep respect and dignity for his Mother which is sincere and not a compensation for a disability.

Migration to Australia brought out qualities in one father needed for re-settlement as the daughter recalled:

> My father heard there were better job opportunities in Perth and, en route to ... stopped in Adelaide. He was a man of energy, decisiveness and vision. He sent for us and ... he set up an earthmoving firm. Dad at this time was a man of fifty ... but he had 'drive', good sense and experience that meant success. (16)

Financial success in the new country brought security and 'our sense of being at home here'. As with the mother (above) the parent was held in much respect for personal qualities and the motivation to get ahead in a new country.

NESB A. NESB (13,27,32) respondents had a theme in common with ESB writers viz the loss of a parent in childhood and the response in the home. The collectivist family values of the NESB group filled the gap in the home in a more 'natural' way than the enforced movement of relatives in the ESB home.

The loss of a father and the emotional trauma is recalled by one writer:

> My father's death ... had a devastating effect on my life ... I was the eldest child and missed his presence very much. It seemed to me that nothing would ever be the same again. (13)

A lasting effect was on her schooling as she 'left school as soon as legally possible which was at 15'. The extended Aboriginal family looked after the siblings (discussed above).

A Lebanese-Druse respondent lost her mother in her first years. Her step-mother ('chalita' in Arabic means Aunt) came from Lebanon who spoke 'only Arabic'. The writer and her siblings were exposed to Arabic 'continuously' and also a different culture from the Australian-Lebanese up-bringing:

> The arrival of my mother heralded a whole new world of strange sounds and utter confusion ... She came from a very different culture. (27)

In an informal way the new mother was the dominant influence in replenishing and revitalising the Lebanese cultural stocks of the daughter. She commented:

> I spent more and more time learning about my culture and sharing information with my mother. (27)

As her mother was a native speaker and had recently left the homeland her influence was a stimulating cultural interaction. This was the aspect of the mother which was positively evaluated.

Because of her (natural) mother's death the writer perceives how her father buried himself in his work and retained a distant relationship:

> My father was rarely around, spending most of his time at work. He signed our papers when necessary, and occasionally talked about our studies, but for the most part was oblivious to certain aspects of our childhood. (27)

It is useful to compare memoir 28 in which a widowed mother re-married from a different ethnic group (German spouse to Anglo spouse). Cultural interaction was a negative one for the respondent whose German ethnicity was suppressed and was dormant during the school years.

Memoir 32 has been analysed in the context of the Italian family. In a specific reference here to the widowed mother, the daughter realised that her mother's aspirations for the siblings were unrealistic and beyond the Italian values:

> My mother's ambitions knew no bounds ... She wished to enter a prestigious locality, then reserved for the up-and-coming wealthy Anglo Australians. (32).

The daughter comments that she was being prepared for a society 'in my mother's head' and one that was inaccessible to her - of different Anglo mores. The respondent rejected these new values.

NESB O. NESB respondents remembered the influence of one parent in the home. Memoir 30 recalled his Chinese mother with much respect as the nurturer and focus in the patriarchal family but not the dominant parent:

> My mother ... was the gentlest of all women. I feel she was too over-powered by my father. (She) was in her gentle ways the backbone of the family. She spent all her time looking after the family - cooking, sewing, washing. On Christmas and Chinese new year she would cook big meals ... and bought or sewed new clothes for us. (30)

The parents presented a united front in the activation of religious values:

> My parents observed the Catholic faith to the fine letter. (30)

The writer of memoir 34 perceived how her parents' ready acceptance of Western forms of customs and ideology had a bearing on the upbringing of their children. The writer implies that this influence made her receptive to Western culture and the formation of a positive evaluation in her personal cultural system. Her parents experienced the upbringing of the traditional Chinese family but had internalised Western values e.g. in marriage:

> My parents' marriage was one of personal choice rather than that of arranged marriage by personal consent which was typical of traditional Chinese marriage arrangement ... They even adopted the western form of wedding ceremony on their wedding day. (34)

The Chinese father of writer 2 was a dominant influence for stimulating acquisition of the English language. She recalled that as Editor of a Chinese newspaper:

> He taught himself Malay and English so well that he produced a Chinese-Malay-English dictionary ... He could have provided the stimulus for my learning Mandarin but he died when I was only five. (2)

The loss of her father (and Mandarin) weakened the bonds with her Chinese heritage. This alienation was intensified on starting school as that experience increased her 'attraction' towards the English language.

The parents of memoir 5 were subsistence farmers in New Guinea. Theirs was the traditional way of life. They taught their son the basic farming skills (in keeping with Znaniecki's concept of Educational Guidance) following the use of their own land:

> When my parents brought me up I was made to realise that good gardening skills plus the skills required to raise enough pigs ... were two basic requirements I had to have if I were ... to become a respected member of the community ... Life has not changed much for my family twenty years after. (5)

The parents are still subsistence farmers but have modified their farming traditions by replacing banana trees with coffee trees. The son 'was disappointed' that 'good gardening' land had been lost to the banana trees but the parents asserted influence over their (student) son maintaining:

> Their argument has always been the same; that is coffee trees never run out, they continue to produce money even in bad times. (5)

The quotation is of interest as it gives two perspectives. It illustrates the authority of the parents for economic reasons. Their argument was strengthened by collectivist family values viz there were more coffee trees in the maternal uncle's garden.

Language maintenance in the home will be discussed in detail in section 5.5. As a connecting link it is significant to quote two memoirs where parents played an important role in the positive evaluation of a NESB language. For example, one Italian writer was motivated to matriculate in two languages. Her motivation reinforced the efforts of the mother to become a translator:

> So great was my enthusiasm and conviction that I even influenced my mother's return to study - she decided to take out a Translating and Interpreting certificate in both French and Italian. (14)

The positive evaluation of a second language in the home is explained in one sentence from a Hungarian memoir:

> My parents had the daily paper delivered in the German language; which was their way of keeping in touch with a second language learned. (22)

5.4   Education of the Parents[2]

ESB A. Memoirs 1,6,10,19,20,31 in the ESB Australian group indicated a positive evaluation of education for different reasons. Parents came from a variety of educational backgrounds. For example, the parents of one writer had left school by the age of fourteen and become factory workers. Education and opportunities 'denied' to these parents, were strongly encouraged in the home as is clearly stated:

> My parents always regretted their lack of formal education; they determined to provide their children ... with those opportunities which had been denied them. (31)

Their great emphasis on the enormous importance and value of education in their perception was due to:

> among other things ... as providing status for its recipients - people look up to you, and when you have a 'good' education - (it brings) financial rewards, guaranteed employment and access to the 'best jobs', meaning the professions. (31)

Education for the children was in another sense fulfilling their lost education. Neither parents were Catholic but the choice of a Catholic school was influenced by the childhood experience of the mother who had been orphaned. The choice of school was not for academic or religious values transmitted in the school but for the caring teachers and the fact it was a 'private school'.

Education was positively evaluated and activated in another home where both parents were Primary teachers. Education and especially teaching skills pervaded the home milieu of the writer: home and school were virtually the same milieu with the same

---

[2]   In his book, Szczepanski (1979, pp.149-50, No.5) writes that Polish Society has essential, or core, traits which are basic to the national culture in the sense given to this term by Znaniecki. The author concentrates on the aspects of the culture that are peculiar to the Polish national society. Under the heading of 'Traditional Values of Polish National Culture', The Value of Education is discussed:

> Education was linked with the image of higher social strata and was regarded as an essential way up the social ladder. The absence of middle classes and the tradition of ennoblement as the most important way up was reflected in education itself being regarded as some kind of ennoblement, leading to higher strata and prestige.

transmission of values in the one teacher school. The influence was a deep one but not imposed as the informal tone indicates:

> School, with my father as teacher, was a friendly affair. My brother and I often taught younger students to read and write, and helped them learn their multiplication tables. Each day we formed two almost straight lines in the single roomed school. To our father's 'Good morning', we all, including my brother and I, sang back a hearty 'Good morning, Mr ...' (19)

Society and in particular 'financial constraints of the depression' were the reasons given why another father 'left school at fourteen years of age' (1). The home gave education a neutral evaluation: the parents did not feel they had been denied opportunities. Academic success was not actively encouraged but was reflected in the personal pride felt by grandparents and relatives.

A neutral influence was adopted in the attitude of parents who let their daughter 'follow my own inclinations' (15) and encouraged the Anglo value of independence. At the same time the parents made 'tremendous sacrifices' to provide opportunities denied them and gained satisfaction from this:

> School was always enjoyable and gratifying to me; I worked hard and achieved well. To my parents, deprived of much schooling, this must have been very rewarding. (15)

The mother negatively evaluated education for girls whereas the father's attitude encouraged achievement and self-fulfilment rather than education for a job.

Negative Evaluation of Education. Education and academic achievement for a professional job was negatively evaluated in several homes (29,33,35). This evaluation was indirectly transmitted in one home where the respondent recalled:

> There were few books in the house. (33)

A direct evaluation of education was his father's 'stress' that I 'move into a trade'. The son had a 'vague' desire to enter teaching and concludes on reflection that 'many of the

teachers had influenced' his career choice - not the attitude of his parents. He was free to pursue his academic interests, without resistance from his parents, and was encouraged and stimulated by the teachers.

The two writers from a rural milieu (29,35) experienced a negative evaluation of education for academic achievement in both the home and school. Both milieus reinforced the attitude that the students would remain in their local communities and take up apprenticeships or be involved in local industry e.g. fishing. As one writer commented:

> From my parents, overt praise and encouragement to succeed academically were virtually non-existent. My mother was too busy with a job and her housework while I was in high school and my father did not discuss education with me much at all. My homework was done in my room before the evening meal and in the absence of either parent. (29)

He perceived that few teachers had 'an academic bias'. Having been exposed to negative evaluations of education in the home and school, the writer reflects on how he came to place a high evaluation on academic achievement:

> Looking back, it seems strange that this particular value of the school system should have survived in my personal set in the face of so many clashes with other group attitudes. (29)

Memoirs 29 and 35 indicate that individuals exposed to similar influences in the home and school can respond in different ways.

ESB O. Memoir 16 implies but does not state that the Catholic religious values in the home were the dominant influence in the evaluation of the Catholic school education. The writer became a member of the Sisters of St. Joseph and academic achievement was not discussed in the memoir, but rather the religious ethos of the school.

In the home of memoir 21 academic interests were positively evaluated (on the Anglo model) but activated through shared interest in reading more than academic rigour. For

example, the Father had 'a large collection of books' and the writer shared an interest in reading with his Mother:

> My Mother was also a great reader and we made great use of local library which was very well equipped. I often read her books as well and we would discuss them later. (21)

In order to make ends meet, the Mother took in boarders one of whom was a Nigerian medical student. He remained for some years and enriched the life experience of the writer through cultural interaction. His influence as a medical student would have been a positive though indirect evaluation of education in the home. The positive evaluation of education in the home was activated by the writer who won a 'competitive bursary' for three years of secondary schooling, and resolved the economic dilemma of education.

The parents of respondent 36 did not evaluate education for academic achievement but for job opportunities. Their concern was for paid employment in the family. This attitude conflicted with the son's positive evaluation of education:

> My gripe was that instead of finishing school my parents wanted me to find employment and contribute to the family. (36)

<u>Positive Evaluation of Education</u>. Academic achievement in the ESB groups was evaluated in different ways. ESB parents positively evaluated the academic content of education. A positive evaluation was transmitted in homes where the parents had received tertiary education (10,20). Parents who felt education and access to a profession had been denied them e.g. for economic reasons, aspired to academic success for their children (31). These parents stated that education gave opportunity for social mobility and status but this was not the general pattern for the group. Parents from the lower socio-economic background did not positively evaluate the academic content of education but transmitted the attitude that to have a trade one would always have a job.

NESB A. Memoirs 9 and 11 indicate not ambition but a clear perception of one's abilities and the choice of a career through education. Whilst the homes did not actively encourage academic success they were most supportive of the opportunities which could follow.

The difficult home situation influenced the early education for respondent 13. As the father died and the mother was sick (mentioned above) she left school at the 'legal' age of 15. This enforced decision was not a conflict at the time in her family milieu where paid employment was a priority. Later in her first marriage the writer had the opportunity to study years 11 and 12.

The parents of writer 27 did not negatively evaluate education but felt the large cultural gap between home and school. The Lebanese mother who did not speak English did not attend the parents and friends meeting or parent teacher nights and so was unable to understand the school system. Her father remained aloof and 'signed our papers' but did not participate in school activities.

One mother had aspirations in educating her children which were perceived as unrealistic by the daughter. Through her children the mother was fulfilling the educational opportunities which she perceived had been denied her. The daughter queries the expectations which the experiences aroused:

> She thought music, elocution and dancing lessons would make (the Anglo society) available to her through us. I, for one, came out with very unrealistic expectations. The real world was very different from the one my mother was imagining. (32)

Education is clearly evaluated for social mobility and status in the majority group. The respondent did not accept this evaluation of education.

NESB O. In this group education was encouraged and evaluated not for academic success but for a job. For example, the parents of writer 5 were subsistence farmers

(discussed above) in New Guinea. Their problem was school fees when their son won a place at high school. The extended family activated collectivist values to co-operate with payment of the fees. The writer indicates that the job opportunities could be seen to have mutual benefits:

> My relatives felt that paying school fees was a cause worth paying something towards. Their reason for offering such help was clear; that I might one day return their money with good interest. (5)

Education was evaluated as a means for paid employment and a means to move away from the traditional subsistence farming.

As a contrast, both the parents of respondent 34 had been qualified teachers and both came from a tradition of 'well-to-do' intellectual Chinese family. They did not have the opportunity to practise teaching in Hong Kong but transmitted a positive evaluation of the academic content of education in the home:

> The school success boosted up my self confidence. Both my parents placed strong emphasis on urging us to attain success. (34)

The father actively encouraged an interest in traditional aspects of Chinese culture and transmitted a love of learning and scholarship through his own involvement:

> (My father) used to make us memorize Chinese literature, poems and texts in our early age. He told us stories of Chinese historical past (to) which I enjoyed listening. Such knowledge of Chinese classics proved to be useful in my later school days of the Chinese language. He also taught us some scholastic skill in Chinese calligraphy, painting and even in martial arts. (34)

As in other memoirs the mother took a nurturing role but also encouraged education through 'helping with homework'. This was a common pattern:

> Mum's approach was more liberal and permissive, understanding and supportive. She often allowed us to play and do what we kids fancy after school before father came back from work. She often encourages us and helps us with our school work. (34)

A Polish respondent recalled how in her pre-school years her mother actively encouraged and nurtured an interest in reading. She started school conscious of a positive evaluation of education in the home:

> My mother dedicated all her time to me, reading books, telling me stories, pointing out the literature which I should read, discussing all my problems with me - those 'intellectual' ones, as well as the ones from daily life ... I learnt to read very early. At the age of 5 I already read and wrote well. Before I began my school education I had already read many of the books that were intended for children much older than me. (25)

The two examples from Chinese and Polish memoirs reveal the high evaluation of education for the sake of learning. In Australia, NESB homes gave education the added dimension of access to professional work.

5.5 Language

ESB A. At the time of writing these memoirs ESB respondents recalled experiences of a monolingual Anglo home which was reflected in the school curriculum. As parents and grandparents came from an ESB background the assumption was that everyone could speak English in any domain of life. It came as a shock for one writer to realise that some (NESB) individuals could not speak nor even read and write English:

> As a five year old ... I recall my father borrowing my grade one 'primer' to help two 'Bolts', as they were known, to learn to read and write English. Two migrants from the Baltic region were working with my father and it was of interest to me that adults should require the same learning materials as myself in my first year of school. (1)

The father displayed tolerance and understanding towards the acquisition of English by another individual. This cultural interaction was superficial and did not stimulate the aspiration to learn LOTE but the suggestion is the cultural interaction was a positive influence in his home experience. This cultural interaction had 'no particular cultural theme other than the variety itself'. There was no positive evaluation of meaningful communication:

> Influences on my attitude towards myself and towards others have included some significant interaction with others of different ethno-cultural background. (1)

This interaction was at the level of cultural 'recognition'.

Respondents in this group, when languages were studied at school, were exposed to traditional languages viz French, Latin or German. Memoir 20 discussed a positive evaluation and activation of French in her home. It was more usual for respondents to study a traditional language for two years and then 'drop' it for a Science subject reflecting a low evaluation of language in the monocultural home and school. One writer recognised that the monocultural and monolingual attitudes in the home were reinforced by the conformist pressure of group values in society:

> I believe I held many 'ocker' attitudes, conferred on me by family and society and reinforced through both schooling and tertiary education. (15)

Another writer stated strongly the dominance of Anglo Monism in society when she grew up during the fifties:

> Predominating images of these times evoke the tenor and style of an hegemonic cultural system whose formative and dominating core values were derived from the ideological, linguistic and historical imperatives of an aggressively British tradition ... So confident was the dominant culture that the prevailing belief in the continued development, retention and perpetuation of Anglo Monism seemed neither strange nor arrogant. (26)

However, having written her personal recollections and articulated them within a sociological framework, the respondent asserted that her formative experiences had the beginnings of change. For example, the neighbouring families were not all ESB background and cultural interaction reflected linguistic and cultural diversity. This was a change in the local milieu which reflected the wider society:

> A ... social group influence which was of significant proportions were the families in the flats and houses in the long street. There, as large numbers of children invariably stimulated social interaction between adults, a whole polyglot world was available, ranging from new settled 'displaced persons' and refugees from middle-European countries and 'proper' immigrants from Italy and Greece. By the time school was pending most of us could at least follow simple household instructions in a range of languages and were at home in whatever kitchen it was baking day. (26)

Outside the home the neighbourhood reflected the 'hallmarks of change' in society and the opportunity for a two-way cultural interaction. Inside the home English was the only language with the expectation that it would be the only language spoken.

ESB O. Two domains of language use are also discussed by one writer in this group. The home was monolingual with the expectation transmitted that NESB individuals would speak English in the process of assimilation:

> There were some men who worked for my father who were Italian and German. I cannot recall tensions at this age, just a consciousness that these people spoke English falteringly or not much at all. (16)

Outside the home domain the respondent grew aware of linguistic diversity. One assumes the influence was cultural interaction with Italian children at the Catholic primary school. Her positive attitude towards linguistic diversity was tolerated in the home:

> The aspect of language really mystified me. On trips to town I would often try to mimic the languages of other people by babbling nonsensically. Speaking a different language was something I wanted to copy and although the opportunity to do this did not arise, no one belittled my childish attempts. (16)

Her childish attempts indicate a willingness and openness to biculturalism from the early years. The opportunity was not provided at school and the comment reflects some regret. Other respondents (12,21) do not mention loss or 'dropping' of a language with any regret, which reflects the attitudes in the home.

In these two ESB groups no one aspires to learning LOTE from the home influence. The two other writers in this group (21,36) who spent their childhood in England during the 1950's did not mention LOTE in any context.

NESB A. All respondents in this group were bilingual activating at a competent level. In the memoirs analysed, bilingualism did not imply that the authors were balanced bilinguals. There were variations in linguistic competence. For example, two (7,28) whose homes had limited cultural linguistic stocks activated bilingualism at a restricted competency level. The home was the domain of the mother tongue where the tenacity to maintain the home language and activate it was a dominant influence in transmitting a positive evaluation to the respondents.

Language and cultural transmission of her Aboriginal ethnicity was recalled by writer 13. Visits to her grandmother were an important influence in language acquisition and the development of her identity. Gatherings of the extended family provided cultural interaction with the linguistic values of her Aboriginal group. Apart from special occasions regular family social meetings strengthened the transmission of linguistic values by older members of the group:

> It was common for us to have some 30 relatives on Sundays and other special occasions gathered together for meals. (13)

Naming a child (as discussed above) has important links with one's culture and identity formation. With pride, the author gives the Aboriginal name of her grandfather 'Baradep' as well the Anglo name. The name 'Baradep' encapsulates the meaning of Aboriginal culture without which self-identity would be incomplete.

The writer's second marriage to an Aboriginal spouse has strengthened her 'Aboriginality'. In the present home one assumes the activation of dialects and language as aspects of the 'Aboriginality'.[3]

An Italian participant discussed a peasant form of dialect which was the language of the home. The dialect was positively evaluated in the home especially by older relatives. When the participant started to learn the 'pure Tuscan' Italian she perceived the dialect as an inferior form - and negatively evaluated other aspects of, what she viewed as, peasant culture.

Italian culture as a whole was not rejected only some forms:

> I looked-down on the peasants - those Italians who wore such gross clothes, spoke so crudely and had such rough, ugly hands. Yet I never felt inclined to ever deny my Italian name or looks. (32)

The significance of the home in the transmission of language and culture across generations is well illustrated in a comment by the same author. Her grandparents

---

[3] In a discussion on the significance of language for identity, it is useful to refer to Miodunka's (1988) study of the development of identity of the siblings from the second generation of Polish Australians. Miodunka made a case study of one Polish family (three children) to answer the question how the process of children's upbringing may influence their cultural and ethnic identity. The research found the experiences of the siblings were different but there were some common points viz the mother tongue of the siblings was the spoken version of their parents' language (p.18). There was found to be a strong link between language and the development of identity. Home was the primary language domain. Home/School interaction has relevance to the findings in this thesis:

> The Z siblings learnt the Polish language from their parents during the process of the primary socialization ...
> The role of the language in the process of identity development has to be emphasized once again. All who use the same language are those who live in the same reality. 'A' wanted to reject Polish reality so he stopped speaking Polish. It was a long process which probably started at school where he had some problems with his English. As a result, his identity has changed (Miodunka 1988, pp.19-20).

One aspect of my thesis reveals the variety of responses to one milieu e.g. the Australian School. Siblings in the same family vary in their development of identity which Miodunka (1988, p.44) points out:

> The data ... proves the close relationship between the types of identity and the model of family or upbringing. Particular families may create specific conditions conducive to (the) formation of a certain type of identity ... The observation of the Z siblings proves that in the very same environment in the same family, different types of the identity may develop. The development of identity is a long and complicated process in which the social and psychological factors are also playing an important part.

brought back some 'old' 78 records from Italy. The records transmitted culture through words, music and emotional links across the past and present Italian community as the author yearned:

> The rhythms and mournful melodies and poignant words affected me deeply.
> It seemed they contained and elicited the 'collective' in me. (32)

A Lebanese-Australian respondent had the unusual experience of being exposed to English as 'the only language I heard until the age of five'. Her paternal grandparents lived interstate. It was not until her step-mother's arrival in Australia that she was continuously exposed to Arabic. The writer recalled how the family was important in the development of her sense of identity. Through the language of her step-mother in the home domain she came to evaluate the language as being special to her identity as both Lebanese and Druse.

Her home chose not to access ethnic schools for Arabic 'because they were linked with political parties'. The writer attended Arabic classes through the community ethnic school when studying at tertiary level. The influence for this participation is not stated but the cultural influence of the mother in the home stimulated an aspiration to learn Arabic language and help her confusion at being from both Lebanese and Australian background:

> It was a continual struggle to belong somewhere, yet both of these cultures
> until recent times were seen as mutually exclusive. (27)

Language, the extended family and religion were the core values in identifying as Lebanese.

NESB O. These respondents acquired their mother tongue in the home milieu. All respondents acquired English as a second language.

The approach of Memoir 14 is on language as a core value of culture and the link between language and identity. The trilingual writer perceives she 'must contend with three, perhaps very different, ways of seeing the world'. In the Belgian home she was exposed to a bilingual milieu: the Italian and Belgian languages were 'heard around me'. The respondent reflected this was a distinct advantage:

> Having the uncommon opportunity of being born in Belgium of parents who had originally migrated from Italy I have always been aware of the way in which each language has its own purpose and is related to a specific area of my cultural make-up. (14)

Fluency in Italian was maintained during summer holidays in Italy with the paternal grandparents (discussed above). Her mother spoke a Neapolitan dialect with her parents but gave this dialect an inferior evaluation in the milieu of Franco-Belgian culture.

In Australia the home was the dominant influence in maintaining Italian and French:

> My parents made a conscious decision to speak French to me because they felt that it I didn't keep up my French with them I would surely lose it, whereas I was bound to be able to practise my Italian with my great uncle and his family ... who had been living in Australia for about fifteen years. (14)

Later the influence of relatives encouraged the revitalisation of their Italian language. As the writer was bilingual in the home and had a grounding in literacy in French she had 'no difficulty in picking up English' when starting school in Australia.

The writer and her family replenished their Italian cultural stocks over the years. The home was the important influence in this re-vitalisation of Italian culture but the home needed the sharing of values with the group as the respondent was aware:

> No matter how much I wished to restate my identity as an Italian, I couldn't have done so on my own. It had to be, and was, a family effort. I feel that my persistence in the search of an identity that was acceptable both to myself and the people around me had in some way also helped me to grow and to adapt to our new Australian life. (14)

The formation of one's identity through the language and culture of a group was also the experience of writer 24 who grew up in a multilingual home milieu (in Egypt). This was an advantage:

> It was normal for conversations amongst our peers, and our parents to contain sayings in a variety of languages simultaneously. Our daily language seemed that much more richer and colorful than the English monotone one hears in Australia, because by speaking those different languages, we had insights into different cultures. (24)

In the home French was the 'lingua franca' with Armenian, Arabic and Italian spoken according to the situation. He depicts the 'normal' situation of multilingualism:

> At home, my Armenian grandmother ... taught me at a very young age to speak Armenian. My paternal grandparents, aunties and cousins greeted me in Italian, and it did not take long before I could converse in Italian. Arabic was spoken at home with the servants and trades people, when shopping ... My friends and neighbours also spoke the same variety of languages. (24)

Outside the home the respondent was exposed to multilingualism in daily life e.g. French shop signs, daily newspapers in French or English, French and Italian movies. English was acquired at school as a 'foreign' language and with ease as his fifth language.

Writer 5, from New Guinea, grew up in a multilingual community where he was exposed to several dialects viz Pidgin, Wiru and Kewabi. When he started school the participant was exposed to English instruction. Language acquisition was not the problem as much as the fear of corporal punishment for spelling mistakes in the grammar tests.

Memoir writer 25 wrote that (in Poland) 'it was the home that indeed awakened my interests and shaped my opinions and outlook on life'. A core value of the home was the Polish language. When the writer and her family migrated to Australia the Polish language continued to be a core value in the Australian home:

> From the first day abroad ... their Polish language continue(s) to be cultivated. Firstly only at home, and later also in the 'ethnic' schools. (25)

The Polish home positively evaluated the Polish language and maintained it as the home language. When the family arrived in Australia the two daughters (aged 9 and 6) had literacy in Polish. The mother commented: 'This made it easier for them to learn English' (25). The daughters had an ESL teacher at school. The acquisition of English was reinforced and facilitated in the home through the efforts of the parents who 'spent many hours every day' reading English books using the dictionary:

> During this sessions we pointed out to them the different ways of expressing the same thoughts in English and in Polish. (25)

The acquisition of English by two Chinese participants (30,34) was a process of self-education and rote learning in the overseas milieu. (This process will be discussed in Secondary Schooling). It is interesting to compare the evaluation of the English language in the home of these two respondents. Writer 30 recalled English was evaluated for future success in life; it was associated with education and the means of rising out of low socio-economic origins:

> The English language held a very respectable position in our lives. All my father's bosses were English and all the English that we saw around were very important people ... It was definitely a language of great authority and a language which anybody who wanted to be somebody tried to speak in with much air and pride. Not knowing it was equated with not having education. (30)

The home of respondent 34 also encouraged the acquisition of English for a job and its association with status. The writer did not evaluate English positively at first:

> My first impression of the English language came from my father who often complained that the main reason why he couldn't get a better job was his lack of knowledge of the English language ... My parents sent us to private tuition lessons to make sure that we were not left behind. I was not particularly keen to learn English, then, even though I could sense the power and the status of the English language in the Hong Kong society. (34)

English was not a core in her personal cultural system. She would prefer to learn her cultural language viz Mandarin.

All respondents had acquired their mother tongue in the home overseas. English was acquired as a second language and accepted in Australia as a value in the overarching framework of values.

5.6   Religious Values

ESB A. Anglo respondents chose not to discuss religious values in depth. Religion was felt to be an individual and private concern. Within this group the assumption was that ethnic ancestors came from 'just a normal, rather poor Australian family who were English and Church of England' (15) or Church of England 'of course'.

<u>Transmission of Catholic Values</u>. Catholic religious values as an integral aspect of home and school life were discussed openly by two writers 10 and 20. Both homes activated a deep commitment to Catholic religious values as author 10 reflected:

> In our home, Catholicism was a dominant feature and was continually reinforced by the practice of going to Mass, not just on Sundays but on birthdays, anniversaries, first day of school terms and for special intentions. We also prayed together daily and sang sacred songs in three parts as we were all quite musical. (10)

Memoirs 15, 26 and 31 came from Catholic homes where the transmission of religious values was activated through one parent. The activation of religious values was not such a deep sharing and commitment within the family. Respondent 15 recalled the Irish Catholic values on the maternal side had survived and were activated by her mother:

> Through living with a staunchly Catholic mother, my sister, brother and I were suitably indoctrinated with Catholic dogma. My father must have accepted all this - I cannot recall ever hearing any arguments about our Catholic upbringing. (15)

The phrase 'suitably indoctrinated' reveals the respondent felt these religious values were imposed on her. She had resisted these values in a search for independence but asserts that ' I can certainly claim to have been influenced by the Irish background'.

Memoir 26 opens with the recognition: 'An Anglo-Irish-Australian cultural history that begins'... This is the only reference to the Irish background of the respondent and suggests Catholic religious values in the home which are not discussed. The father was a 'lapsed' Catholic. Remnants of Irish religious values, the most resilient in Australian society, were activated by sending the siblings to a Catholic primary school. In the home the memoir indicated religious values were not part of a living tradition nor an active sharing of values.

Religious values which were activated in different ways in the home created a complex milieu for one participant (31) for whom activation of religious values remains a conflict situation today. As the mother was reared in a Catholic orphanage, she aspired to have the writer educated by a caring nun. The daughter attended a Catholic school and, in a significant repetition of her Mother's experience, was deeply influenced by the teaching and nurturing of one particular nun. The home did not transmit Catholic religious values as 'neither' parent was Catholic.

The parents positively evaluated the teaching and nurturing role of the nuns but did not account for the influence of religious values transmitted in the school. Much discussion is devoted in the memoir to the resolution of the writer's religious conflict. The discussion is open in the spirit of working out a harmonious solution. For example, the respondent wrote:

It is appropriate ... to pursue the role of religion in my post-school life. (31)

She was baptised a Catholic which evoked much anger in the father who had rejected the Lutheran religion in his youth. The memoir reference is used as a different example of the transmission of religious values in the home in a group where religious pluralism is tolerated.

<u>Transmission of Protestant Religious Values</u>. Memoir writer 6 does not discuss her personal religious beliefs. At tertiary level she studied Christian scriptures indicating a personal religious commitment but chooses to keep this aspect of her personal cultural system private.

There was a variety of responses to the transmission of values in the home. Two respondents (1,33) mentioned religion in their homes and values which were transmitted but not internalised in their personal cultural systems. One can evaluate their attitude today as a neutral or tolerant one towards religion and a perspective which is not revealed in detail. For example, the respondent 1 recalled his father's family was 'moderately religious' (Anglican) and the mother's 'Methodist'. His family followed the 'religious ideology' of my mother's family in the home. It was activated as a family tradition but not a deep commitment at a personal level. The other writer claimed:

> I was not in a religious home. My parents rarely attended church themselves
> ... I was taught to be 'virtuous'. (33)

Religious values were recognised but not participated in at a deep level.

From this neutral stance a negative evaluation of religious values came from writer 29. The home did not activate or positively evaluate religious values, an attitude which is made clear in the word 'introduction' in the following quote:

> My introduction to religion also occurred at school with Religious Instruction
> classes. (29)

The respondent recalled his awareness of the lack of this religious base in the home and the fact that 'I did not value the New Testament much then, or since'. Future educational and cultural experiences alienated him from a positive evaluation of religion:

> I was short on religious facts because my family did not attend church or read from the Bible. By the time I was clipped over the ears by a priest in high school for not handing up my Religious Instruction homework, the last vestige of interest in religion had disappeared. At university I was readily attracted to philosophical arguments against the presence of a God. (29)

In this group writers did not discuss their personal commitment to religious values. They had always lived in Australia and the attitude of religious tolerance was expressed by author 35 who grew up in a rural town:

> The majority of the population was dormant Protestant. (35)

ESB O. Absence of discussion of religious values is illustrated in memoir 16. After leaving school this respondent 'became a member of the Sisters of St. Joseph - an Australian religious order'. Her personal commitment to Catholic religious values are 'taken for granted' and her decision and influences leading to this commitment are not revealed. This is a private aspect of her life. She stated at the opening of the memoir that 'my father is English and my mother is Irish'. The only reference to home transmission of religious values is activated in attendance at the schools of St Joseph - primary and secondary.

Two writers (21,36) provide a contrast in the transmission and activation of religious values in the home. Writer 21 attended Church regularly in Scotland with his (widowed) Mother. He gives the impression this was not a duty but internalised as an accepted Sunday activity:

> I also always attended Church Communion with my Mother. Even though she could not hear the service my Mother always made a point of attending Communion. (21)

The writer, also, does not discuss religious values in his personal cultural system but gives the impression of a positive attitude. As an only child the church was the influence of both religious values and social group activities. He recalled the latter participation as being important for his social development:

> The other activities which had a bearing on my development over the school years were the Church, Sunday School, Bible Class, Junior Choir, Live Boys and the Boys Brigade. I was particularly keen on the latter and acquired an array of different badges, medals and cups. I also used to play soccer for the Boys Brigade on a Saturday afternoon. (21)

These church involvements are recalled with as much enthusiasm as participation in school extra-curricular activities. Life was full and stimulating and the writer understood how this was a means to cope with difficulties to 'make ends meet' in the home milieu:

> I sang a solo in church and I took the lead part at different concert party shows and yet I felt awkward at times in company. My socio-economic background made me self conscious of frayed cuffs even when they were not frayed. (21)

Participation in the group life of the church as a daily routine was a satisfying experience. In contrast writer 36 devoted much space in his memoir to an analysis of his search for a religious affiliation. He accepted the Protestant religious values transmitted in the home during childhood but finally accepted a new set of religious values from another group cultural system to fulfil a gap in his personal cultural system. Christmas in his English home was a social not a religious occasion:

> It was a time when unusual foods were brought out. I had no idea what it was about as we never went to church or had any religious celebration. (36)

His view was that 'Protestants who never went to church or had any spiritual practices or beliefs' instilled attitudes of religious prejudice in the young minds. His search for religious values not transmitted in the home and interest in different religious systems began at primary school. He was aware a neighbouring friend went to a different school - a Catholic school. The extent of his curiosity unusual at his age perhaps was activated:

> I discovered that there was a Catholic church not too far away from the school so I decided to investigate it for myself during my lunch break. When I entered, it seemed just like the church my aunt and uncle had been married in so it did not seem that mysterious. (36)

A support of the family and group is needed for the transmission of cultural values. His search to embrace religious values 'has culminated in my embracing Buddhism'. He has internalised religious values from a different cultural system but does not reveal from where the influence came for this conversion.

NESB A. In contrast, writers 9, 11, and 28 devote much discussion in the memoir to the transmission of religious values in the home and participation at group level. These three participants stressed the link between language and religion as core values of their culture.

A Lebanese respondent felt the Druse[4] religion was integral to her identity:

> I identify as a woman from Lebanese-Druse background. (27)

She can be singled out from the other writers for expressing her personal feelings and emotions towards the meaning of the Druse religion for her. Her feelings were private and individual as she recalled the years of tertiary study:

> Being Druse at this stage in my life also gave me an inner direction. I could hang my spiritual needs upon a hook and explore them. I enjoyed the very private nature of prayer, the fact that I didn't have to attend a place of worship, but could pray where I felt most safe. Above all I liked the fact the Druse religion is in fact a philosophy of life, and I felt comfortable with many of the spiritual aspects of such a religion. (27)

Whilst religion was activated in private her re-vitalising the Arabic language reinforced religion as a core value.

---

[4] Smith (1991, p.7) comments on the historical significance:

The Druse, a schismatic Muslim sect founded in Egypt but persecuted there, removed to the fastnesses of Mount Lebanon, where they welcomed Persians and Kurds as well as Arabs into their ranks for about ten years in the early eleventh century. But, with the death of their last great teacher, Baha'al Din (d. AD 1031), proselytization ceased. Membership of the community became fixed, largely because of fear of religious foes outside. Entry to, and exit from, the community of the faithful was no longer permitted. Soon the Druse became as much a community of descent and territory. To be a Druse today, therefore, is to belong to an 'ethno-religious' community.

An Italian writer described Italian religious festivals as an important influence in her family and cultural life. Participation in these group festivals was participation in the transmission of group values and religion as a core value. The writer recalled the social not the religious aspects of these group activities with a negative evaluation:

> Social events consisted of religious festivals ... All those Sundays ... in that stuffy, wooden church, hell-fire and brimstone raining heavily down ... My love of church music and opera certainly didn't start with the local church. It was a huge bore. (32)

Religious values were transmitted in the family as a core value of culture with different evaluation by members.

NESB O. In contrast a Greek writer describes religious celebrations in the Greek community which she attended soon after arrival. She identified the group celebrations with those in the homeland and the positive evaluation of religious values by families:

> Unlike most Australians the Greek community certainly made its presence felt on this Christmas and New Year's Day with attendance at churches and with visits to each other's homes ... I can still remember on Easter Friday as well as on Saturday and the Sunday of Resurrection - how people stood outside the church paying attention to the holy service protected from the rain with their umbrellas. (18)

The home and family was an important influence in the maintenance of these traditions. One Polish (25) writer reinforces the importance of the home for the transmission of religious values as a core value of Polish culture. In the Polish home her daughters received the Catholic faith and in Australia did not have trouble in maintaining their Polish identity rooted in the language and religion. On arrival in Australia the local church was the first point of contact - activating religious values with the Polish community and reinforcing their cultural identity:

> On Sunday morning we attended Mass in the parish church. The parish priest (of Irish origin) ... greeted us publicly as the 'new Polish family in our parish'. (25)

Religious values as with the Greek writer gave access to the group. Another respondent found he could not modify the activation of Catholic religious values after migration to Australia. In Egypt the writer was brought up as Roman Catholic. The Catholic values transmitted in the home were reinforced by attendance at a 'Roman Catholic French school'. He positively evaluated the religious values and internalised them in his personal cultural system as he reflected:

> (Through the influence of home and school) I received a strong dose of le catechisme and Latin Mass. I grew fond of the Latin Mass with French or Italian sermons. (24)

Migration to Australia disrupted the transmission of Roman Catholic values in a multilingual setting. In Australia he could not modify nor accept the transmission of Irish Catholic values together with assimilationist attitudes transmitted by the clergy. He has rejected the religious values of his home and now considers himself an atheist.

Memoir 30 recalled his devoutly Catholic Chinese home in which religious values were transmitted daily by both parents. Catholic religious values infiltrated every aspect of family life:

> One of the most sacred values in our family was the Catholic religion...They attended Sunday mass faithfully and made their confessions weekly ... My mother used to wake me up from sleep to say the family night rosary. I hated it. (30)

In his large (14 children) family some siblings - two brothers and two sisters - joined religious orders thus activating devout religious values in the home:

> They wrote home very frequently and sent numerous religious articles to the family. My mother framed up these holy pictures and hung them around the house and attributed powers to them. (30)

The writer himself joined a brotherhood after high school where he remained for six years. This was the expectation in a home where the religious life was highly evaluated:

In our faithfully observed nightly rosary, we prayed fervently for the perseverance of my brothers and sisters in the religious life. (30)

After years of marriage to a Buddhist wife, the writer has modified the traditional Catholic values of his family. He has modified his spiritual needs through Buddhist chanting and meditation which he feels are compatible with his Christian values. This was 'the biggest cultural change' he experienced in Australia.

The NESB group were more open in discussion of their evaluation of religious values. Activation of religious values in the Australian home were important as a core value of the group and cultural identity.

5.7   Family Structure

Evidence of Anglo nuclear family. **ESB A.** Memoirs in this group illustrate the nuclear family structure which encouraged Anglo values of independence and individualism. Anglo values of independence in the home and impressions of contrasts were described by one participant. The nuclear family was left with infrequent contact with the wider family group. The author recalled the different worlds and habits belonging to each side of the family:

> Transplant a Queensland border farm boy (lapsed Catholic, socialist) in the city, marry him to the bright daughter of a Melbourne silvertail family (ad-mittedly not well off) and the nonexistent, so we are told, class structure and religious prejudice suddenly emerges...(My parents) were faced with the constant need to compromise, if not for their own sakes, for the sake of peace in the family. (26)

One writer (15) remembered how her parents encouraged her to be independent and 'experience life'. When she migrated as a young adult it caused a rupture in transmission of her value system which was the price for freedom and experience. This is an extreme expression of independence activated in the absence of the bond of collectivist family values and one which is recalled with regret:

> Had there been any strong ethnic traditions in our family I doubt that this extremely independent and individualistic personality could have developed, as those traditions would have enveloped my generation too. (15)

Yet after years of travelling and teaching in Canada, where her personal cultural system developed in unexpected ways, the 'importance' of her family was one of the two factors that brought her back to Australia.

In contrast another author activates the positive evaluation of the family transmitted through the mother during her childhood. Her mother didn't ever work outside the home as both parents were 'strongly' of the opinion that 'a woman's place is in the home'. This writer activated the positive evaluation of the family in accordance with her parent's attitude on return to tertiary study as a mature-age student:

> I chose to study part-time as, like my mother, I placed considerable importance on 'family', and particularly what I saw as my role in child care. (31)

Her parents were most encouraging and supportive of the return to tertiary study and activated this support through 'baby-sitting'.

For writers (1,19,29) who grew up in isolated rural areas independence came naturally through freedom to wander in the bush:

> From as early as I can remember, my brother and I wandered the countryside. Images which slip uncalled into my mind are those of bush and scrub, aged hills, small settlements with scattered buildings and distant neighbours, of open spaces and distant blue-grey horizons. (19)

In this isolated milieu the nuclear family had the warmth of emotional bonds but needed to reinforce and re-vitalise links with other relatives during school holidays i.e. it could not exist in total isolation but needed cultural interaction with the extended family. In this home the mother encouraged family ties:

> A value held particularly strongly and demonstrated by my mother was that of 'family' ... It was firmly based in the strong bonds between my mother and her parents and her sisters, cousins and aunties and all their families. We stayed ... with my maternal grandparents or with my aunties; they in turn made occasional visits to us. (19)

This example illustrates that family ties were warm and lasting but not extended beyond the immediate relatives as the NESB group (to be compared).

Examples of collectivist values in the Anglo family. Not all Anglo families activated strictly independent values as examples illustrate. School holiday visits were important influences in maintaining ties with relatives in a different rural/urban milieu:

> As a child ... in my early teens I lived for several weeks each year at harvest time on the family property with my uncle and his family. (1)

He reflected that a separation from the nuclear family encouraged a sense of personal independence which was 'strengthened' by the enforced absence from the close family environment by study in Adelaide. The respondent boarded for four years with a maternal grandmother during High School years, returning home for week ends and holidays and so maintaining family ties.

The warmth of a large family was an important influence for another respondent (29) who also lived in a small country town:

> I had many relatives ... as my father had been born in the area and we saw a lot of the families of his two brothers and three sisters. (29)

When his father was transferred in employment he felt a sense of 'disruption' in the extended family:

> Gone was the influence of the larger family group and I was more easily affected by values held by groups outside the family. (29)

The larger family was a closed or insulated unit such that respondents felt vulnerable when separated. The quotation indicates the Anglo values were confined or limited to their nuclear family and does not give impression of values transmitted and shared through interaction with the wider cultural group. Large family gatherings were also the experience of another respondent who recalls social values of her family:

> Our house was filled at different times of the year (Easter and Christmas) with the 'Boys'. Friends of my father and his family would arrive from the bush to 'do' the show or other attractions of the smoke ... Family picnics taught the rudiments of billy boiling and outdoor cooking. (26)

This does not mean that the Anglo family had no collectivist values but that they were activated in response to necessity. For example, one writer recalled:

> Marrying, with two years of study remaining, my wife and I lived for those two years with her parents and younger sister. (1)

Anglo values of independence activated at primary level can be tied to a sense of individual identity linked to the land and the freedom to wander in the bush. When writer 15 considered what it meant for her to be Australian she 'kept coming back to the environment - the sunny climate and the wide open spaces and the freedom they represented.' The land was evaluated above the cultural communication with group members.

ESB O. Perhaps one participant best expressed the Anglo value of independence 'enforced' on him at an early age viz starting school:

> I started school at a little younger than usual. I was four and a half. My school was a twenty minute walk away; my mother took me on my first day; she never took me to school again. (36)

This is one example but not the overall view. Memoirs in this group also indicate that the Anglo family activated collectivist values as well as those of independence and individualism.

Anglo values of independence and individualism were enforced on participant 21 due to the early loss of his father. Through economic circumstances he had to supplement his mother's income which he willingly accepted.

> I was nine years old and an Aunt got me a job going with milk ... This meant going out at 5.30 every morning with steel cans of milk. I quite enjoyed the excitement of being up at that time in the morning ... I was assured of milk and rolls in the morning. (21)

Due to the circumstances some collectivist values were activated in the family e.g. a grandfather and uncles shared in providing 'fatherly discipline'. His own father 'shared' family resources (compare NESB memoirs) to finance a younger brother through Medical School and later migration to Australia. This activation was due to changed family circumstances rather than group values but it did happen in response to a crisis.

The difference between the limited ESB circle and NESB collectivist family values connected with ancestry and ethnicity is succinctly expressed in memoir 16 from the Anglo perspective. She observed a different culture:

> My teenage years held a fairly rigid circle of friends. My friendship with two Italian boys showed me ties of family life which I did not understand. My own family was close and sheltering but in a different way. (16)

The most sensitive comments of differences in cultural values amongst the ESB memoirs come from authors who have interacted with members outside their own group and who have become aware of differences and able to 'see the world in a new light'.

NESB A. In contrast writers across this group recount family collectivist values and the concept of the extended family. For example, the Italian wedding combines the transmission of collectivist family values in the milieu of the extended family or group, as well as religious values:

> The weddings were what you went to after the ceremony. I particularly loved the Italian songs, the nostalgic words about the 'montagni' of home, 'paese' and the foreignness of the new country 'terra staniera'. There was always a hush when these songs were sung followed by a sudden clamour for the 'tarantella' when all the oldies would get up and with a show of gaiters and garters, teach us how it's done. (32)

The next generation may modify these traditions but the above quotation brings out the importance of older relatives especially grandparents and their role in the family for the

transmission of culture across generations. The reality of these cultural links and the family bonds are expressed in the 'hush' which falls on the group.

Sharing of duties among family members was the expectation in one Greek family. The memoir provides an empirical example of the collectivist ethos:

> From the time of my younger sister's birth ... I was expected to help my mother take care of her by bathing, changing, and baby-sitting her. In addition, I was responsible for both sisters, when playing, going to and coming from school, the completion of their homework, helping them read Greek, and the achievement of good grades. (11)

Another participant (13) recalls the sense of security of the extended family and the transmission of the family traditions and oral history by older relatives in a wider concept than the ESB recollections:

> Most of their stories were about their work and their travels, the places they had been and people they had met. At these times though our family life was in crisis we felt very secure with the network of aunts, uncles, cousins, and the maternal grandparents and grand uncle and aunt. This group totalled some fifty people and in the good times ... it was common for us to have some 30 relatives on Sundays and other special occasions gathered together for meals. (13)

The strength of these collectivist values was activated by the writer on the death of her father:

> I refused to leave and maintained a room in the family home (with other relatives) so I stayed within the family confines. (13)

This comment highlights her strong ties of family solidarity and sense of security within the family (compare footnote p.144 on Polish culture and bonds of solidarity).

NESB O.[5]   Collectivist family values are a thread in the memoirs of this group. A

good practical example of sharing duties and activating the collectivist ethos of the

Italian family was expressed by author 23:

> When my Father became seriously ill over an extended period of time I was
> engaged in vacation employment with a large local company and I felt it
> entirely natural that my mother used my income to keep the household
> running when my father's sick pay gave out. (23)

The family, by combining individual resources, were able to 'face life as a united

group' during the period of illness.

Memoir 5 discusses the activation of collectivist values in the context of education. His

father accompanied him to school daily (there was an element of danger involved) - it is

useful to compare the experience of memoir 36 and his early independence:

> In my first year my father would escort me to and back from school each day
> because the school was located in the heart of our enemy tribe's hunting
> grounds. (5)

This writer, who lived in New Guinea, recalls how the extended family banded together

to help provide fees for High School (refer to quotation Section 5.4.). This positive

evaluation and activation of education as a value was a communal decision. Later when

the writer had to decide whether to continue onto tertiary study he did not make an

---

[5]   It is helpful to compare NESB collectivist family values as discussed in the memoirs with reference to
traditional Polish family values according to Szczepanski (1970, p.182). The author considers the
essential traits of traditional family types. First of all, there was a class-determined differentiation ...
its special type of family life culture e.g. the peasant family life, the nobility ... In spite of all the
class-determined differentiations, there were certain common elements which could be found in all
social classes:

> A strong patriarchal tradition.
> A strong influence of religion on family life.
> The importance of the economic function of the family: the peasant family life was
> determined by the farm work cycle, by the fact that the farm was a family institution and not
> an enterprise.
> Strong ties of family solidarity.
> Three-generation families, and the pronounced influence of grandparents. Even if
> grandparents were not living with their married children, they exercised a strong influence
> on the conduct of family affairs.

individual decision but referred to the extended family for both a financial and academic evaluation:

> But first, I had to return home over the Christmas holidays to find out what my parents and relatives felt about my plans to take up a degree studies at U.P.N.G., the following year. All agreed to it that I should not terminate further studies, just for the sake of getting a job to pay back their money. (5)

The phrase 'all agreed' sums up the collectivist attitude. The respondent fulfilled his obligations to the family by returning home before making a decision. Compare this quotation with ESB memoir 15 in the context of making life choices:

> As with many other things, they (my parents) let me follow my own inclinations. (15)

Another Greek author, a visiting advisor on ethnic schools from Greece, gives her perceptions and observations of the extended family in a collectivist sense within the Australian community:

> Many Greeks who come from the same city, town or village in Greece have formed their own associations ... They do not necessarily meet in order to celebrate something but often quite simply to merely sit and eat together, to dance and to enjoy each others company, in a wholly Greek atmosphere. This does not necessarily hinder them from participating actively in the broader society they live and work in. (18)

In this milieu participants not only transmit Greek cultural values but share values as a group.

To compare collectivist values from another ethnic group memoirs 30 and 34 provide further illustrations. Writer 30 reflected:

> I am the twelfth child of fourteen children ... Everybody seemed to belong to big families where poverty ruled ... I spent my childhood in a closely knit family with numerous Chinese children in the neighbourhood. (30)

These shared experiences are recalled with nostalgia by certain flower fragrances and animal smells. The family was part of the neighbourhood:

> These smells formed a permanent impression on me ... Wherever I am, whenever these smells blow through me, my mind swiftly switches back to Sibu where I grew up and where my heart still dwells with many memories. (30)

Author 34 from a Chinese family mentions that she taught evening classes in order to contribute to the education of younger brothers and sister. It was the expectation in the family for the older sibling to contribute to education as a collective value. This writer also positively evaluated education and resolved:

> Yet I promised myself then: one day with my own hard-earned money I am going to study at the university. (34)

The impression of NESB family structure is always relating to more than one individual and the warm feeling of belonging to the extended family and ethnic community.

Position in the Family: Relationship with Siblings. It was common across ethnic groups to mention that one was the eldest child in a family. This position had a special importance for the respondent. From the perspective of grandparents the eldest child had particular importance when the eldest child was a son.

ESB A. This (patriarchal) relationship is explained by one writer from the ESB group who felt he had some responsibility:

> As the eldest grandchild, on both sides of the family and achieving 'academic' success at school I was made very aware of the pride with which the grandparents and uncles and aunties regarded me. (1)

It was the pattern to mention other siblings in the family and whether they were older or younger. Sometimes this relationship was given as an aside in the context of the memoir but the comment had significance in putting the respondent in the whole social milieu of the family. These are some examples:

> My parents brought to me (and my younger brother) the political ideology of my father's family ... (1)

> My father, the youngest of four sons, left school at fourteen years of age ...(1)

> My parents ... determined to provide their children - I have two older sisters - with those opportunities which had been denied them. (31)

> In the context of the whole family: My sister, brother, and I were suitably indoctrinated with Catholic dogma ... (15)

The above quotation has significance in respect to the transmission of Irish Catholic values in the family. The importance of the relationship with the siblings comes out in a detailed discussion. The family situation for this writer made her feel like an only child and nurtured her desire for independence:

> My sister had gone off to boarding school, leaving only my brother, who was so much younger he scarcely counted. Hence I was in many ways like an only child and learnt very early how to be independent and to enjoy being alone. (15)

Memoirs did not indicate close relationships between particular siblings. The warmth of feelings between siblings was in respect to family bonds.

ESB O. This pattern of relationships was repeated in the other ESB group born overseas. For example the 'importance' and responsibility of being the oldest child and a son:

> I realised later that I had a special position. My grandfather was an eldest child and so was my father and so was I. This didn't mean that I would get any special treatment but I was to be loaded with a fair amount of responsibility as I became older and more able. (36)

Later in the memoir there is reference to 'three sisters and brother' but no discussion.

One participant was an only child - due to the loss of his father when he was two years old. In other respects he had different experiences as a child from other memoir authors as his mother, whom he greatly admired, was deaf (refer to the quotation Section 5.3.). In his situation the 'gap' in his family was filled by older relatives who took on a paternal role and he experienced the warmth of family bonds at regular (Saturday night) gatherings. The absence of siblings was, in a sense, filled as a result of the

impecunious financial position. The mother took in one or two boarders who were tertiary students and who filled the home with laughter and youthful vitality. The respondent never felt a 'loner' as an only child but was surrounded by a close primary system of relatives and friends.

The impression from the ESB memoirs is of families with two or three siblings who 'belonged' to the same family but were individuals and did not closely interact.

NESB A. Respondents in the NESB families, which activated collectivist values, felt themselves to be one of a 'group'. Family size tended to be larger than the ESB family. For example, an Italian respondent (32) who was one of six children refers collectively to her mother's 'brood' of kids. It was not as important to be the eldest in the family but one of the family as a whole. The father died when the children were young and according to the Italian culture the second generation viz her brother and sisters 'had some rights to my father's land and decided to sell'. The phrase 'decided to sell' indicates a collective decision by the siblings and older relatives to sell land. Later in the memoir another comment 'We all learned Italian at some stage' reinforces the impression of a 'brood' of siblings who activated core values of the group as a family unit not as individuals.

An Aboriginal writer (13) mentioned she 'was the eldest child'. This position had a different cultural significance for her from the memoirs of ESB respondents. Her father died when she was 'just aged 12'. In time the siblings were cared for by different relatives. The family unit was ruptured but not the strength of family bonds.

The example of memoir 11, where the respondent as the oldest child in a Greek family had a cultural role to play in looking after younger siblings, has already been discussed.

NESB O. NESB writers born overseas mentioned being the eldest child in the family as having importance for cultural reasons. In the context of the Chinese family (34) it was revealed that the respondent as one of the older children in the family deferred her tertiary education in order to help work and help pay for the education of a younger sister. Another Chinese participant (30) provides cultural insights into the relationships of siblings in his family and the evaluation of sons over daughters. He pointed out the activation of this value:

> One of the very obvious points my mother unshamefully put across to us was the superiority of sons over daughters ... My younger sister, for example, who was barely ten then had to wash my clothes for me. (30)

One writer 5 came from a large family of six 'with me as the eldest' (in New Guinea). He was conscious not so much of his position as the oldest child but of a cultural meaning to his name which gave him a cultural identity. This naming opens the memoir and illustrates how language encapsulates culture:

> My given name is Pole. In my mother tongue, (wiru) Pole means 'dawn', those few hours before sunrise. I was born at dawn outside a small hut, so my mother decided to call me Pole. (5)

The name was embedded in his cultural identity.

NESB writers also referred to siblings in a collective way. In one case there was strength in numbers when one writer recalled Saturday morning Ethnic School classes:

> My sisters' reactions to Italian were the same as mine; they much preferred the French classes because they excelled in French but were rather hopeless in Italian. (14)

One writer (24) was an only child but in his (Egyptian) household he was always surrounded by two sets of grandparents, numerous aunties and cousins and servants. He grew up in a milieu of the extended family of relatives and household help. His home illustrates the concept of the extended family which according to memoir 27 means 'extended well beyond the immediate family'.

Memoir 27 perceived that her Lebanese identity was reinforced and strengthened by the collectivist value of the family. Her feeling of being Lebanese was strongest when surrounded by the family as she recalled:

> There was something about being Lebanese which was special for me. Maybe it was the family, the fact that each child was important to all Uncles and Aunts, and they took an interest in you as if you were their own child. This was very special for me, to be surrounded by people who loved you, and above all valued you. (27)

5.8   Socio-Economic Background

ESB A. In this group, several authors (1,6,19,29,31) were more conscious of working-class origins than ethnic ancestry. One whose home highly evaluated education recalls her ancestors were:

> of the working class; this fact ... certainly worked against any educational opportunities beyond a basic level. (31)

Another does not mention ancestry but the fact that his family was 'of the low socio-economic background':

> My family background up to the time I left home is readily categorised as working-class ... Class distinctions were obvious in the railway's society. (29)

This respondent was not comfortable with his working-class origins and values and since leaving home has modified these as he writes:

> We are continually re-evaluating traditions passed on by our families. (29)

He positively evaluated the family as the milieu through which traditions are transmitted across generations but negatively evaluated his family's working-class values.

It is useful to compare this evaluation of the above memoir with the writer who played with the 'railway children', not the children of graziers. His father was a rural school teacher:

> Today I retain a strong impression that we all knew our places ... The attitude may have been egalitarian but the tendency was class division based upon land ownership, land management and occupation ... Teachers were respected in the 1940's but poor. (19)

ESB O. Two writers (21,36) migrated from England as adults. Their memoirs included little discussion on Anglo cultural heritage in the home, where it was taken for granted, but more relevant was their socio-economic position. The memoir of one participant has pervasive recollections which are 'happy ones'. He positively evaluated and accepted his low socio-economic position:

> My only problem was that money was scarce and I was an only child. My Father died when I was two years old leaving my Mother in a somewhat impecunious position ... We moved to a room and kitchen in a tenement ... It was an exciting experience to sit at these windows for there was always something happening in the road below. (21)

The early loss of his Father meant that knowledge of that side of the family was 'tenuous'. The suggestion that ancestry on the maternal side was connected with the building of The Forth Railway Bridge is dismissed as 'fostering my illusions of noble traditions and fine connections'. Instead, he describes the reality of their somewhat straitened financial circumstances made explicit through clothing:

> Times were pretty tough financially and one day I was sent off to school wearing a pair of my Mother's low heel shoes because my one and only pair of boots needed repairing. I was the subject of mass ridicule with everybody pointing and laughing and shouting names. (21)

His response was not frustration at his impoverished situation but the resolve never to wear his Mother's shoes again.

In contrast, a negative evaluation of his low social class origins is given in memoir 36 with reference to the early years as having 'much to recount of those days of relative

poverty'. He was conscious also of clothing being a marker of social class origins at school which he found unacceptable:

> Our headmaster tried to tell us that our parents could afford to buy us school blazers with the school badge on it. What a joke. (36)

It was during the 'Eden years' - the reference is not so much intended to put the above comment in the context of British history and traditions as to underline the writer's point that, in reality, his social class still 'never had it so good'.

In drawing contrasts between the two memoirs one can quote repeated phrases from the first which indicate a positive attitude to his socio-economic background and a belief that:

> I led a very full and unspoiled life. (21)

The daily routine provided much 'excitement', 'carried out with lots of laughter' and 'lots of new friends'. In contrast memoir 36 felt that being 'poor and hard up' was unfulfilling and dreary most of the year:

> I remembered liking Christmas as everyone was happy and in a good mood. (36)

NESB A. There was little discussion in this group relating to lower-class background. Two markers of class origins were mentioned viz moving suburbs and clothing, but these topics were not expanded.

Two respondents (7, 32) were conscious that their family had moved to a 'better' suburb as one remarks:

> By moving ... and taking us away from (a lower socio-economic area) mother was reinforcing this sense of superiority ... The schools matched the suburb. (32)

Author 7 attempted to 'improve' her English accent with school peers:

> It was not difficult to make the transition from a working-class sociolect to a middle-class one because just after I began high school we moved from the city into a cream brick three bedroom house in an aspiring middle-class suburb. (7)

Another participant, not unhappy with her home background, was conscious at school that clothing indicated low socio- economic origins as she writes:

> The other thing which occurs to me is that many of the NESB children at primary school were poor. Our clothes although neat were shabby compared to the Anglo Australian students. We sometimes ate strange bread for sandwiches and rarely had money. (27)

Clothes and food were perceived as markers of minority groups.

NESB O. Two writers (24,34) recognised high socio-economic backgrounds. Growing up in Egypt during the 1940's and 1950's was a significant cultural experience for one participant (24). At this young age he was conscious of socio-economic backgrounds. It is interesting to note how he uses the Anglo terms 'upper, middle and working' in reference to class distinctions indicating the influence of the ESB minority group. The following quotation gives his perception of his family 's place in the society in which the minority cultural group was European and the dominant one was Egyptian:

> The Egyptian upper class certainly copied European traits and mannerisms in the way they dressed, in the languages they spoke, in the way they lived and entertained ... The working class, either urban or rural, was made up extensively of Egyptian Arabs on subsistence level, who could ill afford to attend the private schools of the Europeans, or mix-in with their upper class Egyptian cousins. My family could be categorised as belonging in the lower middle, respectable class. (24)

Aware of the values transmitted in a 'traditional Chinese family' from her ancestors, respondent 34 was conscious of two aspects viz the social position of her family 'clan' including a landlord and the intellectual expectations of the upper Chinese class:

> Both my parents came from well-to-do intellectual Chinese family. My mother's family included an influential landlord among its clan. (34)

Purity of ethnic ancestry, socio-economic background and corresponding intellectual evaluation also came together in another Hungarian memoir:

> Back in Hungary both of my parents came from the ranks of the lesser nobility, a landowning class in pre-industrial times. Their family tree shows a pure Hungarian ancestry. They both came from the country to Budapest as tertiary students, got jobs after graduation, settled there, met, and married. (22)

One memoir (30) provides a confluence of all these factors discussed above. The author included a photo of the house where he was born (Sarawak) and to which he has strong emotional ties. Underneath the photo the following inscription symbolises pride in his family, cultural values and ancestry:

> The house I was born in ... years ago. Although time, work, inheritance and life's opportunities have changed my external looks, I am very much anchored onto my humble beginnings. (30)

He lived among a 'relatively poor community':

> Of course I didn't realise that back then. (30)

The author has been influenced by 'life's opportunities' but retains firm roots in his humble origins from where he has moved on to interact with different cultural groups in Australia.

In conclusion all respondents realised the importance of establishing a sense of identity with their own cultural group and developing a positive self-esteem within the home milieu before interacting with other cultural values.

Summary. The influence of the home was dominant for the intergenerational transmission of culture. Ancestral links were seen as important across the four groups for a sense of the cultural past and an individual sense of identity. ESB A respondents were conscious that their ancestors had migrated as indicated by a detailed history.

Grandparents, as well as having strong nurturing bonds, played an important role in maintaining and transmitting core values across generations.

The home was the domain for establishing and internalising the first set of cultural values. For the two ESB groups, writers internalised the values of the dominant Anglo group with little interaction, or even awareness of minority group values. For NESB A participants, it was crucial to be exposed to core values of their minority group in the home as the first set of values. The home was the domain in which individuals internalised a pride in their culture and core values, developed a positive self-esteem and confident sense of identity.

The NESB home transmitted and activated core values of culture through parents and the extended family. For example, the home positively evaluated language as a core value and used the mother tongue in the home and continued to do so after children started school. Where the home activated core values such as language and religion, individual respondents developed a strong sense of cultural identity and showed determination to be accepted because of their ethnic differences in the mainstream school and wider society. NESB writers, educated in the monocultural Australian school, depended on the home as the domain for the maintenance of core values.

Analysis highlighted contrasts between ESB nuclear family values of independence and individuality and NESB collectivist values. Family structure and interaction of values was one area which had a two-way interaction: ESB writers enjoyed the interaction and warmth of the NESB extended family which they experienced. On the other hand, siblings in NESB families wanted more independence than older relatives and parents would permit. Position in the family was mentioned by most respondents but rarely discussed. Gender had more significance in respect to education of boys in some NESB cultures. Education of the parents influenced the transmission of positive attitudes towards education and its evaluation in the home. This was a pattern for the four

groups. It was the expectation of professional parents that their children would complete secondary school and enter tertiary study. Professional parents positively evaluated the academic content of school and tertiary study for being enriching and fulfilling in an intellectual sense as well as providing opportunity for a professional career. Some ESB parents who had a trade for a vocation did not positively evaluate the academic content of the school curriculum. Their attitude was: a trade always provided a living and this was sufficient for their children. There was a large group of ESB and NESB parents who had little secondary education or whose primary education had been disrupted e.g. through war. These parents felt they had been disadvantaged in job opportunities through lack of educational qualifications (they had missed) for a professional career. Education was positively evaluated for a career and social mobility in the homes, especially, of low socio-economic background. All NESB memoirs, and in particular one ESB author (20), discussed how visits from relatives in the homeland strengthened and revitalised heritage and traditions transmitted in the home.

In some overseas memoirs, education was highly evaluated in the culture of the homeland for intellectual status. This aspect of culture was transmitted by parents in the home especially through literature written in the home language. For all authors, the home was the primary domain of educational guidance with parents and older relatives as educators.

6. ANALYSIS OF GUIDED CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCES: THE FORMAL EDUCATION SYSTEM

Success in academic and sporting activities lead to success in social circles, but I was never taken by the 'sporting mentality', so I was content with what I achieved. NESB O (23)

This chapter aims to discuss the Formal Education System as one of the fundamental influences on the cultural becoming of the participants. In this analysis, the formal education system was subdivided into Primary School, Secondary School and Tertiary Study. As all authors were engaged in Higher Degree studies, the category of Tertiary Study was perceived as a pivotal influence for all respondents. Memoir analysis aimed to unravel the transmission of values in these systems of formal education and to distinguish from which cultural stocks these values came. The purpose was to analyse how close ESB and NESB authors had moved towards each other in cultural terms as an outcome of educational experiences in a multicultural Australia. Not all respondents discussed all the same topics. Those aspects which were discussed as being important to the majority of respondents and were reflected in the second level of analysis (Chapters 8 & 9) have been included in the discussion that follows.

6.1 Primary School

6.1.1 Influence of Teachers

ESB A. Most authors in this group depicted primary school as a sheltered and enjoyable environment. It was not too demanding:

> Looking back at my ... Primary School days, a very happy and beneficial time, I am aware now that there were at least some Greek, British and Aboriginal children in my class. (1)

This evaluation was echoed by writer 15:

> School was always enjoyable and gratifying to me: I worked hard and achieved well. To my parents, deprived of much schooling, this must have been very rewarding. (15)

Starting school was a vivid memory for two writers (21,33). One was taken by surprise when he entered a local primary school:

> I was not quite prepared for the experience. When I attended the school, enrolments were about 1200 which fully taxed the accommodation. (33)

Memoir 10 remembered a close association between the nuns who were teachers and her family. She lived opposite the Catholic school and the nuns became close friends with her mother and the whole family sharing family celebrations and Christmas festivals. This close synthesis of home and school values was unusual. In the primary years only two (19,31) writers discussed the influence of individual teachers. There was a general reference to teachers whose influence was significant. One recalled the influence of teachers which was imposed on him at the start:

> When I first attended school I began writing with my left hand, but changed to my right when forced to by my teaching staff and principal. Even the teachers were perplexed whether ... it would be wiser to allow children to follow what appeared to be their natural bent. (33)

It appears the writer changed to his right hand and did not resist although aware that the teachers were uncertain.

One writer (19) devotes the entire memoir to 'early childhood memories' indicating the important influence these years had on his early development. In the remote rural communities, his father was the only teacher in the one-teacher primary schools. The milieus of home and school were closely interwoven:

> My very early years were spent in the company of my mother and older brother. We did wander in and out of my father's schools, increasingly so as we approached school age. School, with my father as teacher, was a friendly affair ... If Mum wanted us urgently she went to the school gate and blew loud and often on her Acme Thunderer pea-whistle and, unless the wind was absolutely against her, we heard the strident peal and made our way home. (19)

Another respondent (26) also recalled primary school years as a sheltered environment where students received individual attention:

> In hindsight (grammar school) was definitely a protected environment where teachers and other resources were available so that each child could be taken at her merit and extended in academic and other spheres according to individual ability and developing inclinations. (26)

Her comments focused on the fostering of individual achievement and its less desirable social consequences:

> In both the Catholic and state primary schools I attended the individualist direction became an immediate source of conflict ... Because I was able to do the work required with little difficulty I was frequently the 'example' held up for other children to emulate - hardworking, compliant, respectful of teachers and all the other et ceteras valued by teachers who taught towards the cultural mainstream. My 'success' within the system became carrot and stick as I enjoyed doing well but doing so separated me from the other children. Frequently I was awarded the teacher's pet or 'clever girl' status (definitely not a status position to any child) and a wedge was driven between me and the other children. (26)

Comments reflect the monocultural, monolingual milieu. Two writers (1,33) recalled an individual teacher in a special context. Writer 1 remembered a different accent which was of Anglo origin:

> Also in that year, my teacher, of English origin and with a broad accent, caused me some consternation in spelling tests as she pronounced 'hat' as 'hut'. (19)

Writer 33 recalled the teacher in a different role outside the classroom and suggested but did not express surprise at the change in his image of a teacher:

> Playing football and cricket for the school gave me some insights into school politics then. I can remember my class teacher, who was also the footy coach, talking to the principal about 'gutsy' efforts required to beat such and such a school, and the principal replying 'go for it'. (33)

Writer 31 devoted much space in her memoir to the dominant influence of one teacher at primary level. Her experience was unusual amongst the group of memoir writers as

the influence of one teacher has shaped her present professional work. The teacher, a nun in the parish school, taught the respondent for four years of primary education. There was a close synthesis between home and school educational values:

> In my school experience, I have strong recollections of the influence of one of my teachers, who held and expressed views on education very similar to those of my parents. (31)

On reflection, the writer analyses the qualities of the teacher which influenced her - her human qualities as a caring nun rather than academic skills. The influence of this teacher continues to be a dominant factor in the writer's career in teaching and counselling of which she is aware:

> I refer here to my primary school experiences, and particularly to the positive manner of relating to students of the teacher ... It now seems possible to me that these early learning experiences and the attitudes which have been shaped in me through them, feature strongly among those factors which influence my approach to teaching. (31)

As these lines conclude the memoir they indicate the life-long influence of one teacher during primary education as an educator.

ESB O. In contrast, participants in this group did not refer to teachers at all. Writer 21 gives one oblique reference to teachers and corporal punishment which was reinforced in the home:

> In fact if I got punished at school, I got punished at home as well for having misbehaved at school. I doubt if schools have such support these days. (21)

The son did not mind getting the 'belt' but was more disturbed when reminded how disappointed his Father would have been. For this writer school was only one influence but a central one in his participation in many group activities viz delivering milk and groceries, several church groups, boarders in the home from a variety of backgrounds. He concludes his memoir:

> These facts together with the fact that ... was an exciting place to grow up in, ensured that my school years were not only happy years, they were also very stimulating. (21)

Writer 4 recalled incidents in his primary school years in detail, particularly the first pleasant years spent in a local Anglican parish school. Memoirs 16 and 36 do not mention teachers but references to peers indicate this group was the dominant influence. Intercultural communication was not an integral part of the monocultural primary school.

NESB A. This group of writers had different experiences in the Australian school from the ESB group, for example feelings of being 'different' for cultural reasons from peers; the expectation to conform to monocultural attitudes and values; wanting to belong to the group but also wanting to be valued for one's ethnicity. The writer of memoir 11 enjoyed the later years of primary school as his teacher positively evaluated his cultural values and included material on his ethnicity in the school curriculum.

Primary school for writer 13 was a time of a growing awareness of being 'different' for cultural and racial reasons. Her new experiences in the monocultural school made her uncomfortable in respect to her Aboriginal ethnicity which she had positively evaluated from older relatives and family. She recalled her first cultural interaction with the ESB group at school:

> I went to a small rural school in the ... which had forty students, two teachers (who were a married couple) living in the school house. Each row made up a class up to Grade 6. (13)

This rural milieu can be compared with memoir 19 (above) whose father was the only teacher. His primary years were enjoyable and contrast with the experience of writer 13:

> It was at this time in my life I was made aware that I was different. We were the only Aboriginal family in the district ... I found this difficult to understand as we owned our farm, we were dressed similarly to others, there was another family who were very poor and even dirty. (13)

The discrimination she experienced did not lessen her pride in being descended from and old race 'as my grandmother had taught me to be'.

Another writer recalled entry into primary school as a time of 'reinforcing' her feelings of being different as a Lebanese Australian:

> My educational experiences reinforced initially a number of things ... that I was different because my mother didn't speak English and therefore didn't attend the parents and friends meetings or parent teacher night; that I was different to other 'Australian' children. (27)

Her feeling of not belonging was rooted in cultural differences which were not recognised nor evaluated in the school. The writer remembered her feelings of confusion and aspiration to belong:

> People continually asked 'What are you?' - needless to say I was perplexed. 'I am Australian' I would reply - after all I was! 'No, but what are you really?' was always the response. It didn't matter what your personal belief was you never belonged ... It was a continual struggle to belong somewhere. (27)

One respondent began school in a small Catholic parish milieu. For some NESB parents compulsory schooling was not recognised and highlights the lack of understanding of the Australian school system for NESB parents:

> For those migrants who could afford the little it cost to send their children to the small Catholic school, there were many who kept their children at home. (32)

The experiences of these students should be viewed in the context of the reproduction of the Anglo culture in the school as ESB writer 26 illustrated:

Educational expectations and aspirations of the school were congruent to the aspirations and expectations of our cultural world. The school reinforced the cultural capital which we were already equipped with and confirmed our place in the hierarchy of the monistic culture. (26)

For NESB students, the expectation was to conform to the values reproduced and transmitted in the school. Writer 27 wrote:

My primary years were the beginning of what was to be an accumulated effect of being told you are different and somehow inferior. (27)

NESB O. Writers in this group (2,3,5,8,17,18,22,24,25,30,34) attended primary schools in their homeland. Their experiences were different from the previous group. For example writer 5 recalled the complete autonomy of his teacher in New Guinea who imposed authority on parents and students. This was an unexpected introduction to school:

A few weeks after I had started school, I realised that what I feared most was not the enemy tribesmen, but corporal punishment ... My terrifying moments I remember so well is when I made 5 spelling mistakes in one of his weekly grammar tests. (5)

The teacher, who had an Anglo name, imposed his authority on parents who were helpless on these matters. This teacher dominated the early years. In the upper primary school students were advised to 'seriously consider our futures'. This was not the usual comment in the memoirs during primary school experience. The respondent was influenced by the attitudes of his parents who were very much against their son returning to the village and continuing in the tradition of their village life. In spite of the first teacher, the parents positively evaluated the role of teachers and their way of life:

They kept on reminding me that life in the village was tough. To be like one of them (our teachers), to live in better houses or to go to new places (towns or cities), which they had not been able to visit themselves; I needed to get into high school. (5)

The writer accepted this advice and negative evaluation of the traditional life:

> I disliked the idea of returning to the village to make new gardens or to raise pigs. (5)

He was motivated to succeed at school for social mobility and economic security which was more usual at secondary level.

In contrast, a Chinese memoir writer was influenced by the religious values transmitted in his primary Catholic school. His home (30) was a devoutly Catholic one and his recollection of early school is a synthesis of religious values between home and school. He remembered that the Catholic religion was taught to all students including the Malays. The priest, who heard confessions on Saturday mornings, was held in higher esteem than the nuns 'who made [a big ado] out of our first holy communion'. For this writer religious values had a deeper significance at school than academic success.

As a general statement of primary education, the comment of Chinese writer 34 provides a good summary:

> If my educational experience at primary school can be said as a taste of honey, that of the secondary school may be described as a winding rugged path up the hill. (34)

6.1.2 Curriculum Content

Monocultural. Details of the curriculum are rarely expanded on in the memoirs during primary years. Comments enable the researcher to analyse values transmitted and reproduced in the school curriculum.

ESB A. It was taken for granted that the monocultural curriculum reproduced the dominant Anglo values in society. These values were accepted without question. It is significant that two ESB writers (19,29) from a rural background recalled having to

recite the Oath of Loyalty at school and how it felt remote and irrelevant to their milieu. It indicates clearly the British bias of the curriculum which was imposed on these rural students:

> Once a week we recited the Oath of Loyalty as my father ceremoniously unfurled the Australian flag ... Who was this King whose laws we pledged to obey? We did not know. It was just something we did at school. (19)

These values were questioned with some surprise but accepted as part of school life. The second writer (29) recalled the same tradition which he 'strongly' associated with school. However, he 'did not accept whole-heartedly' these values:

> The Oath of allegiance, uttered and performed each Monday morning before the rising flag contained words to the effect that 'I honour my Queen and salute her flag'. (29)

His negative evaluation of royalty was realised during a Royal visit which 'failed' to stir emotions expressed by the rest of the gathering.

ESB O. Two writers (21,36) who were educated in England did not discuss the curriculum and this reflects the monocultural and monolingual content which was taken for granted. Writer 21 recalled the methodology of learning:

> The emphasis was on rote learning and I remember memorizing multiplication tables. I also remember being taught how to write, light stroke up, heavy stroke down. (21)

His clear memory of school was not the curriculum but the first day in the playground where he 'was somewhat overwhelmed by the number of children'. The location of the school in a middle class area was remarked on and noted again when he changed schools:

>This school like the previous one I attended, was situated in a middle class area. (21)

Socio-economic background was important as the writer was conscious of his 'straitened financial circumstances'. His experiences mirror a curriculum exclusive of cultural diversity.

NESB A. The memoir of writer 27 devotes more discussion to primary years than any other writer. They were not the relaxed and enjoyable years experienced by most writers but were recalled as 'the beginning of what was to be an accumulated effect of being told you are different and somehow inferior'. Never at any stage was it considered an asset (see Section 6.1.1).

The monocultural curriculum was slowly changing to include LOTE and a culturally inclusive curriculum. It did not positively evaluate her ethnicity. Cultural differences were studied at a superficial level and did not include her Lebanese culture:

>I learnt German at primary school, but otherwise most of my learning experiences about other cultures were based on stereotypes and project work. There was very little in depth look at cultures. We mainly concentrated on rainfall, crops, environment and basic aspects of lifestyle. (27)

The home positively evaluated education but understanding the curriculum was difficult because of the lack of communication between home and school. For example, the father went alone to parent teacher nights as her mother had no English. Education in the home was evaluated for opportunities:

>My parents insisted I study hard, as they never had such an opportunity and they wanted me to have the best. When I had no homework, I had to read, there was certainly no such thing as television. (27)

For this writer the values transmitted and reproduced in the Australian school confirmed her view that 'being a migrant and being uneducated was the worst lot possible'. The respondent worked hard at primary school but the curriculum created cultural conflict in the adolescent years as she established her Lebanese/Australian identity.

NESB O. Memoirs 2,3,17, recalled education in their homeland where English was imposed as the language of instruction. Writer 17 experienced a curriculum based on traditional Anglo values in her Catholic school.

For respondent 30, the English language was also the language of his education and was evaluated as 'the powerful means' of opportunity to rise above his 'miserable situation'. Doing well at school gave hope of future success in life and this depended on acquisition of English:

> I remember feeling so frustrated because I could not understand many of the English textbooks and had to learn many things by rote, just for examination purposes even up to high school level. (30)

If the textbooks were in English one assumes his frustration was increased by the transmission of Anglo values in the culturally exclusive content. The superiority of the 'Whites' dominated the society. The respondent recalled the preparations at school for a visit from Royalty. His confession - 'I didn't even know who he was' - echoes the response from two ESB respondents (19,29) towards allegiance imposed at school:

> The school took weeks to prepare for it - making lanterns for the night procession. A few days before his coming all the school students lined up ... each with a British flag in hand, under the fierce tropical sun, shouting 'Welcome' ... There was so much ado and talks about that day and I didn't even know who he was ... I kept that secret very much to myself. (30)

His attitude reflected the submission of his father, teachers and students to the dominance of the Whites.

<u>Culturally inclusive curriculum</u>[1]. **ESB A, ESB O.** At primary level, ESB groups did not experience LOTE or the introduction of LOTE into the curriculum. Three writers (10,16,20) who attended Catholic primary schools mentioned the growing numbers of Italian students in particular in their classes. The expectation was for these students to assimilate into the Australian school. Writer 20 discussed the introduction of Italian at secondary level Year 10 for native speakers and able students of French. At primary level the curriculum did not evaluate cultural differences.

---

[1] During the 1970's in Australia, government reports reflected changing attitudes to multiculturalism. Report of the Committee on 'The Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools' March 1976. Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

Introduction: p.3 (1.1) Australia is now a cultural mosaic. (1.2) This changed composition of the Australian population has affected the nature of Australian society. Immigrants of non-English speaking background have brought with them their language, their cultural heritage, their social structure and their value system, and these differ not only from the dominant culture but also very considerably among migrant groups ... Both the social changes resulting from migration and the concentrations of certain language groups in schools have implications for school programs.

Chapter 6. Conclusions.

p.102 (6.1) The background to this enquiry is in the developing image of Australia as a multicultural society, and in frequent expressions of the need to ensure that this continuing change is adequately reflected in the educational provision in schools.

p.103 (6.4) The Australian population now presents a diverse picture linguistically and culturally.

p.104 (6.9) Primary Schools. There is a need for all children to understand the nature of Australian society, and that consequently some form of multicultural emphasis should be part of every child's education ... Such programs could well incorporate language study, to begin as soon as the child enters primary school.

p.108 (6.19) Social and cultural factors in Australia present a strong argument for studying the language of one's group or of the people next door. When languages are offered in secondary schools, they should be open to choice by any students in the school.

p.108 (6.20) So that students from bilingual homes can achieve dignified awarenes of their social and cultural origins ... schools should give explicit recognition to the cultural background of these students.

p.109 (6.27) Recognition of a language for matriculation purposes is an important factor in students' study decisions ... Another important factor affecting student demand for a particular language at the secondary level is its availability at the tertiary level.

These recommendations were followed up and even strengthened by

(1) The Galbally Report, 1978.
(2) Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs Review, 1980.

NESB A. In the Australian school, participant 27 perceived that cultural differences were 'irrelevant'. As a Lebanese-Australian, her first language was English (discussed above) but she was exposed to Arabic in the home from grandparents and mother. Arabic was not offered at primary school but she would have learnt Arabic had it been offered:

> If I had been able to access Arabic at school I would have studied it. As it was I took the next best thing which was French, as most of my mother's family learnt French as a second language in Lebanon. (27)

French was studied at secondary level and has been maintained as the writer now teaches French in junior secondary school. She recognised different evaluations of NESB culture from home and school. The monolingual school was exclusive of LOTE although this attitude was changing. In contrast the home positively evaluated linguistic pluralism:

> I was always viewed with pride for studying two languages because they were considered important in our culture. Most Lebanese students would learn a minimum of three languages and many learn five. (27)

The writer is at present very proud to be trilingual and has activated this positive attitude through language teaching.

NESB O. Writer 14 came from Italian background and migrated to Australia as a young child. Having lived in France she was more fluent in French than Italian. At primary school formal Italian lessons were given weekly from a native speaker. Her enjoyment of Italian lessons was diminished through the high expectations of the teacher:

> This reaction came about only because the teacher expected me to know everything just because I was 'Italian' and would growl at me whenever I made a mistake. (14)

The opportunity to revitalise her Italian had an unexpected effect - 'they forced me into denying my Italian background'. Another reason could be the more positive evaluation

of French over Italian in the home: The parents 'didn't consider Italian to be necessary' at that stage. In this case, LOTE was offered at school in a limited way but was not reinforced in the home indicating a synthesis of home and school values is needed for language learning. As writer 18, an advisor in Greek ethnic schools, asserted in the context of language teaching and learning that:

> There needs to be a collaborated effort for the Greek language to remain alive. Let us not limit it so that it withers and shrinks into a language of the kitchen ... a language of restricted meanings. (18)

One writer recalled the primary school curriculum in her homeland Hungary. The school reflected the cultural pluralism in society in the student mix. In particular the structure of religious education reflected religious pluralism in society where the state religion was Roman Catholic:

> Religious instruction was part of the curriculum in those days ... The Calvinist, Lutheran, Greek, Catholic and Jewish members of the class had to file out, and sit in the staffroom ... Teachers of our respective religions came to the school the same day, but in the afternoon. (22)

Religious pluralism was accepted and tolerated amongst peers.

6.1.3 Influence of Peers

In a sociological context, respondents spoke more about the influence of peers at primary school than the curriculum. Across the four groups writers wanted to be accepted by peers; the NESB participants wanted to be accepted with recognition of their ethnic differences. A general comment was the aspiration to 'belong' to a group and the acceptance of 'being different' for cultural reasons or making new friends from a rural to an urban milieu. As one ESB writer remarked:

> It seems to me that children all want to be like their friends. (16)

Having friends was important not only for the enjoyment of school but for cultural interaction through peers as a dynamic experience and a significant influence on attitudes towards cultural diversity.

ESB A. Feeling different was the experience of author 1 who changed rural schools. In this situation academic success and especially sporting prowess enabled him to gain acceptance by peers:

> I was excelling at school work and I could run faster than my fellows. (1)

In the new rural school were students from different ethnic backgrounds including Aboriginal children. He was aware of markers which identified them as 'different' viz Greek surnames and English accents. The children were accepted with a positive attitude as 'interesting in their own right' indicating a lack of deep cultural interaction but an initial interest in cultural differences. However, the author makes the comment that children are more ready to accept cultural differences across friendships:

> Something perhaps easier to achieve as a child but to which I would aspire as an adult. (1)

Primary school provided an early experience of cultural diversity which laid seeds for a positive attitude and the possibility of future activation.

As was more usual in this group, writers were more conscious of differences in socio-economic background and chose friends from the same social background. This was the experience of a respondent who grew up also in a rural milieu where all children were from an ESB background. His father was the school teacher. He was conscious of class differences amongst peers as he recalled:

> The 'railway children' were our fellow students and friends, more so than the children of the neighbouring graziers on their relatively small holdings. The owners and managers of the sheep stations, sent ... their children to private boarding schools. (19)

The respondent was conscious of being one of the 'teacher's kids' who played with the children of local farmers at the cricket matches. At a deeper level he noted class differences and attitudes of the parents:

> We children often played together but rarely entered each other's homes. (19)

In a different example, the father was a railway employee and so the family moved regularly. The moves disrupted the formation and development of close friendships which was seen as a disadvantage:

> Of course I had friends, but none very close in those early years. (15)

The absence of close and lasting friendships prevented the development of primary social values and fostered a desire for independence:

> The fact that I attended three different primary schools may have contributed to my becoming a loner well before I entered high school. (15)

Although the author wrote that she 'enjoyed being alone' this situation was imposed on her at primary level and there is a strong feeling of aspirations for a close friend. Primary students did not choose to be peripheral or lonely and the desire was for 'lots of friends'. Through peers there was some cultural interaction at a superficial level through Greek and Chinese girl friends. She was fascinated by the exotic backgrounds indicating a positive attitude towards cultural pluralism could have been activated at school had LOTE been offered. Such memoirs indicate that ESB writers were often responsive to cultural diversity when they encountered it amongst peers.

Changing schools meant a change in ethnic composition of peers for writer 26. The first Catholic primary school was a protected environment where Anglo values of 'individual ability' were encouraged. NESB peers, if present, were not mentioned in a school which confirmed the monistic culture. When the family moved house and changed suburbs, the writer was conscious both of class differences amongst students and NESB peers. The changed milieu away from a monocultural ethnic composition was recalled as 'no longer a homogenous' context:

> The other children at the schools were predominately from 'working class' (Australian and English) backgrounds or the children of Southern European immigrants. (26)

Although the writer's experience did not include close friendships with NESB peers, the memoir indicated a positive attitude towards NESB students and some understanding of their difficulties in the monolingual classroom. For example, it was noted Italian girls were punished for failing spelling tests - 'girls who hardly spoke English'. She was aware that the assimilationist policies disadvantaged NESB students and mentioned that these early experiences could have influenced her career choice:

> Probably these reasons and experiences directed me into teaching and then more specifically towards teaching 'disabled', disadvantaged' and 'poorly-functioning' children. (26)

In the ESB groups it was taken for granted that close friends were ESB peers. Home, school and the neighbourhood were sometimes in close proximity meaning interaction with the same peers and synthesis in the transmission of cultural values:

> Many of the children I played with at school lived on the same street ... In fact the school was on the same street so we often used the school oval for our playing arena. It was a great time for me. (33)

In another context, home and school were perceived as having a complementary nature in the transmission of educational and religious values. Reference to 'my best friend' by participant 31 indicated a special friendship. Both attended a Eucharistic Congress in Year 7 where the writer was 'different', being chosen to attend as a non-Catholic. She did not feel strange but reveals the religious significance of the friendship as her best friend became a nun in the Josephite order.

ESB O. Respondents remembered similar situations and responses on entering school. Writers recalled a variety of markers which made them feel different on starting school - clothing was a repeated theme (discussed above). Respondent 16 entered her parish Catholic school and felt 'more newly arrived Anglo-Australian' because of the contents of her lunch-box. This was a shared response:

> I guess that accounts for the general rush that was made by all of us on Vegemite sandwiches in the canteen. (16)

There was a mix of Australian and Italian children in the school. Cultural interaction made her realise that cultural differences for Italian children meant more than sandwiches and were deeply felt:

> I became aware at this time that the Italian children felt their cultural difference far more than I did. (16)

Writer 21 (educated in Scotland) opens his memoir by repeating the theme introduced in memoir 1 viz that one is accepted more easily by peers if one is successful at sport - and study:

> My recollections of school are happy ones. I was fortunate in that I enjoyed study and I enjoyed sport. (21)

His memoir reveals a consciousness of socio-economic location of his schools which was reflected in the student composition:

> (His first) primary school was situated in a middle class area and catered for a fairly broad socio-economic range of students from the surrounding neighbourhood. I enjoyed the time I spent there and made lots of friends. (21)

A similar comment refers to the next primary school e.g. socio-economic area more than the ethnic diversity of students:

> This school, like the previous one I attended, was situated in a middle class area. It was a good school and I made lots of new friends. (21)

It cannot be assumed that all students were English speaking: ethnic differences were not recognised in the monocultural school. Only one student is singled out for being different because of an English accent.

From a different perspective, memoir 36 started school and expected to find his close neighbourhood friend:

> What a shock it was when I found out that he had to attend another school because he was Catholic. What was this Catholic thing that separates friends at school? I had never heard of the term nor did I know what it was. (36)

This was his first experience of religious differences. Peers who attended Catholic schools were discussed as being 'different' in the early years of writer 1.

The language of instruction in school which was accepted by her peers facilitated a second language acquisition for one memoir writer. Author 12 recalled that her early education in the south of Ireland was in Gaelic even though everyone at home spoke English. As English was established as her first language, instruction in Gaelic as a second language was facilitated at this young age:

> I feel it is important for me to remember that as a five year old I was not the least concerned by the fact that school had a different language from the one I spoke.[2] To read and write had to be learned and whether it was in English or Gaelic did not seem to be important. (12)

This early experience has influenced the author's attitudes to language acquisition in her present role as 'Headmistress'. She believes a child will read in 'two or three languages' when 'ready' and given the opportunity.

NESB A. Writers in this group felt 'different' where they did not conform to peers in the Australian school. In the milieu of the home and extended family the writers felt comfortable and accepted and valued. Entry into school was the initial experience of feeling different as one Aboriginal participant recalled:

---

[2] Macdonagh (Jupp 1988, p.554) discusses the decline of the Irish language and with it aspects of culture. The great famine in Ireland during the 1840's hastened two trends: changes in traditional agriculture and British industrialisation. He explains:

> All this 'modernisation' also contributed to the rapid decline in Irish-language culture between 1800 and 1850. In 1800 at least half the population were monolingual Irish speakers, and at least three-quarters would have been fluent in Irish. By 1851 only 5 percent were monolingual Irish speakers and less than 25 per cent could speak Irish at all. The loss of the native language was of course matched by the weakening or disappearance of other features of the traditional way of life. This phenomenon was of considerable importance in the history of Irish emigration which, generally speaking, took place from the more 'anglicised' counties or areas within counties during this period.

> (Another family) did not attract the same attention that I did in my first years at school. I was experiencing discrimination on the basis of race. (13)

The influence of transmission of values in the home and a positive evaluation of her identity was stronger than the 'given' social identity at school.

Language differences made communication difficult with ESB peers when writer 32 began her education at a parish Catholic school. It was the expectation in the home for NESB friendships to be formed and whilst the writer interacted with ESB peers these friends were not welcomed in the home. It is not clear who disallowed this interaction.

Memoir 27 wrote how educational experiences reinforced the attitude that cultural differences were not recognised nor valued by peers. For example her parents were stricter then Anglo ones and she should stand up to them. The writer felt separated from the mainstream as cultural traditions of her Lebanese mother were not understood or perhaps modified through teacher/parent interaction. This became clear as at primary and secondary school the writer never attended camps:

> My mother could not understand the concept. In her country girls did not sleep outside of the home, and certainly not at a strange place in mixed company with people whose family she didn't know, and a location she'd never heard of or seen. (27)

Her feelings of cultural difference increased as those students who attended camps developed bonds which she had not shared. Feelings of alienation as an outsider were strengthened by being left at school to do work sheets which were regarded as a punishment.

Friends at school were from NESB background 'either Greek or Italian'. Within these ethnic clusters her friends could share or understand some cultural differences from ESB peers viz strict parents. Primary school experiences created a negative evaluation

of her NESB culture when at school. At home the writer enjoyed her culture, being able to share it with minority ethnic peers in a positive evaluation:

> I only enjoyed (my culture) when I was home with other Lebanese children my age, then it was marvellous. Many of my peers who were NESB, played together and formed strong friendships. There was a distinct cultural bond that existed between us, which is difficult to define, it was I guess safety and common interests. (27)

In the school cultural interaction was not a two-way process nor a sharing of ethnic differences in an enriching experience. Friendships were formed in cultural clusters.

NESB O. Primary school and relationships with peers was a continuing theme in this group. This special relationship was indicated by writer 5 (in New Guinea) who used the pronoun 'we' or 'us' in referring to his classmates. He felt the common bonds of a collective group and understanding. School was a serious situation for the writer and his peers with no mention of play. Only in grade 5:

> We were told to seriously consider our futures, especially those who were thinking of going onto high school. This meant doing well in class tests ... For some of us corporal punishment had already seen to that. (5)

There was no competition between peers for academic success. It was up to the individual effort but the feeling came across of belonging to a whole class. Academic success was a priority for the writer. This was strongly encouraged by his parents (discussed above). Academic success for another respondent brought a mixed response from her peers making her feel 'different'. On starting school in Australia the respondent had literacy in French and some oral Italian skills. This bilingual situation enabled her to study English without difficulty:

> In fact I was so proficient that by the end of grade one I had already gone through all of the grade three reading books. This was quite contrary to the other students in the class whether they were 'Australian' or 'migrant'. (14)

This academic success which she describes as 'my rather strange success' made her feel different from both ESB and NESB groups. Her feelings reinforce the comments

throughout the memoirs of the dilemma: students aspiring to be accepted by peers and being the 'same', but wanting acceptance for their ethnic background. Feelings of alienation were stated:

> I always felt that I was never 'really' like the other migrant kids (the majority of whom were of Italian descent) nor was I like the 'Australian kids'. (14)

Peers and school did not positively evaluate bi- or even trilingualism. Success was not as helpful as it should have been in that Australian environment. Contrast the multilingual primary experience of a writer where a bilingual situation was normal:

> In addition to French which was the language of instruction, Arabic and English were taught as foreign languages in primary school for children enrolled in the European stream. (24)

The writer reflected it was a 'normal' situation for conversations amongst peers to contain sayings in a variety of languages simultaneously. Cultural and linguistic pluralism was an integral part of daily and school life. Cultural, linguistic and religious pluralism was the milieu of another writer (22) who grew up in Budapest. Her family tradition was Calvinist Hungarian. For a few years the writer and her brother were taught by Austrian governesses so that her childhood experience was submerged in two cultures. Surnames of her peers at primary school reflected the cultural pluralism of the metropolis e.g. Salzmann, Bogner. Many children had bicultural parents, and many monocultural children became multilingual exposed to cultural pluralism.

A Chinese respondent focused on the religious values transmitted in his Convent school. These values were in close synthesis with religious values transmitted in the home. School peers are not mentioned but one can suggest that peers were an extension of his large extended family and whole neighbourhood where everybody seemed to belong to big families where poverty ruled. The impression is of one large family. The importance of friends in his personal cultural system is given evaluation by the inclusion of a photo of a colleague and their families in his present home.

Another Chinese writer was educated in the home (Hong Kong) for the first few years by her mother who was a trained teacher. This meant that she was put into the same class and the same grade with a younger brother when she entered a primary school. She does not mention being teased but was aware of her position:

> Only one thing which might have marred my early pleasant schooldays: I was always conscious of the fact that I was a bit older that my peers in the same class. (34)

Many writers wanted to have a close friend and, sometimes, one for life. Friendships were formed on common interests and most often in the same ethnic group as one Polish writer depicted:

> To the company which I chose for myself at school, they were girls from homes similar to mine. The friendships which began in grade one of the primary school survived until this day. All of us lived in the same small town, had similar interests opinions and ideas. All of us were of opinion that any normal person should complete higher education. (25)

Primary School Summary. Primary education was a key influence on the formation of individual personal cultural systems. A key factor was a synthesis of home and school values where the school was an extension of values transmitted in the home.

In the Australian school, monocultural and monolingual values reinforced those of ESB A homes. There was no change in cultural milieu. Few NESB A authors studied the mother tongue in the mainstream school. The closest synthesis of values was realised for Italian students who attended Catholic schools and activated Italian religious values with some Italian language activation in religious festivals. Other NESB authors depended on the home domain for the maintenance and transmission of language and culture.

Participants discussed close friendships within their ethnic groups and ethnic clusters. Intercultural communication was limited but enjoyed as part of the school context. Authors felt it was important to have friends for social development - ESB or NESB.

Teachers were an influence in transmitting positive attitudes towards cultural pluralism. There were some signs of the curriculum becoming culturally inclusive.

NESB O authors recalled a variety of experiences at primary level. They experienced instruction in the home language at first with English introduced at different levels. Authors educated in the colonial education system e.g. Singapore, recalled the high evaluation of the English language for academic success both at home and school. Over time English tended to take the place of the mother tongue as the first language evaluated in the personal cultural system. This loss was later regretted.

It was the common pattern for respondents to recall primary education as more relaxed and enjoyable than secondary level which was 'a different matter'.

6.2   Secondary School

6.2.1   Curriculum

All writers gave more specific details of the secondary curriculum than at primary school. The secondary curriculum was discussed at two levels: the academic content and aspects of culture which were included and reflected the cultural diversity of the students. Cultural exclusivity or inclusivity was significant for the personal maintenance of ethnicity and well-being of the writer. The second aspect was the subject choice and aspirations and opportunities for tertiary study or jobs.

ESB A. Writers recalled a monocultural, monolingual curriculum with some changes beginning e.g. the introduction of Italian.

Memoirs 10 and 20 discussed subjects taught in the secondary school within the context of a Catholic education. Subjects were taught from the perspective of religious values and this perspective was discussed openly by the two respondents.

The assimilationist policies in school and society were reflected in the comment of writer 1 who remarked that secondary days 'were relatively insignificant in ethnic terms'. School policy did not make allowances for cultural differences of students who were expected to conform. The curriculum reinforced this attitude. For example the writer studied the traditional language, Latin, which he negatively evaluated but admitted gave some insight as to how language systems can differ in structure. History was taught from the Anglo view:

> Modern History ... was in fact a history of the British Commonwealth but my healthily sceptical teacher took satisfaction in pointing out the pro-British bias in the prescribed text. (1)

This evaluation of history is reflected in his present indifferent attitude towards the cultural heritage of other ethnic groups The memoir indicates that aspects of his Anglo-Australian heritage have not been threatened nor did he feel the need of re-evaluating and replenishing it. A transition from a rural to an urban milieu for the final school year did not create a dislocation in values.

Writer 29 also attended a rural secondary school. The values and attitudes transmitted in the school were internalised in his personal cultural system, having negatively evaluated the working-class values of his family and country town 'mentality':

> This analysis points to my educational experiences being the major vehicle for transmitting and evaluating the customs and values that I most readily identify with in adult life. (29)

As part of his analysis the respondent recalled a curriculum which he did not feel was 'relevant' for the rural students but to which he responded positively. The traditional academic curriculum imposed and reproduced Anglo values:

> I endured the early allocation into a rigid stream of subject combinations ... i.e. the science versus humanities split ... English and French in my case. The curriculum was designed primarily to prepare students for university study, despite the fact that at the end of each year no more than one or two students left ... to continue their education. (29)

Although the curriculum was an academic one he considered that few teachers had 'an academic bias'. However, the academic subjects studied were those 'the school had chosen for me' and the Headmaster influenced the application for a Teaching Scholarship. The positive evaluation of content conflicted with the home attitudes:

> Dad saw French as a waste of time, much preferring Book-keeping as it had value in the workforce. He saw the study of academic subjects in order to satisfy the requirements of entry to Teachers College as planning too far ahead. (29)

The respondent himself finds it strange that he should value academic achievement in his personal cultural system in the face of so many clashes with other group attitudes. Progress in education meant further separation from the cultural influences of family and peer group. The final separation came from the need to continue secondary education in Adelaide where he experienced the emphasis on 'the full development of students'. Separation included a rejection of his family values and replenishing his cultural stocks by internalising the values imposed by the education system.

Another author, from a rural background, recalled how home and school negatively evaluated the academic content of the curriculum:

> (The Technical School) had been established primarily to provide basic skills in preparation for entrance to work at the local coal mine, or in supporting industries ... Aspirations for higher academic achievement tended to be ignored by the family or indifferent teachers. (35)

He emphasised the high staff turnover reflected 'negligible' staff interest in pupils' progress or future success.

A monocultural curriculum was the experience of writer 33 who was the only respondent to list his subjects at first year of high school:

> I was taught French, Maths, Geography, History, Science, P.E., English ... I later dropped French for Physics. (33)

A negative evaluation of languages, even traditional languages, for science subjects was a pattern in Anglo memoirs.

As with respondent 29, teachers at school influenced this writer more than the home evaluation of education for a trade. For example the senior Maths teacher is remembered both for her teaching qualities and career influence:

> Many of the teachers I had influenced my career, especially ... who(m) I had in leaving and Matriculation. She was a thinker and problem solver and I never enjoyed Maths so much. She could make the subject so colorful and entertaining. (33)

One can assume that her teaching influenced his career decision:

> While in leaving I fixed my mind on teaching as a career. (33)

A high school which adhered to the 'characteristic values that mark the Anglo-Australian secondary school system' viz streaming, but with some changes in the monocultural curriculum was the experience of writer 26. The curriculum included a wide range of languages e.g. community languages such as Indonesian and Italian, but access by both ESB and NESB students was not evaluated. The influence of a Maths teacher for individual attention was recalled:

> In subject areas where I experienced difficulties teachers were prepared to spend their time in extra tuition and encouragement. Mr ... was always prepared to 'do it again with numbers please' for the algebraic incompetent. (26)

'Co Education' was of significant interest at high school as a new experience in education. Perhaps the novelty was the reason why she was the only one to mention this phenomenon:

> The preconceived ideas of who and what you are were less in evidence, and ... paled into total insignificance when suddenly we found ourselves in the midst of CO EDUCATION. We girls were all busy for the first few months contemplating ... the intrusion of male strangers into our previously exclusively female school world. (26)

Co-education raises the question of the importance of education for girls (in the 60's) and the evaluation of education for a profession.

Two female writers (15,31) recognized the influence of social pressures at secondary school. Respondent 15 was aware of pressure to conform to the attitude of her mother and society that there was not 'much point in education for girls'. Her father's attitude suggested there 'were no limits to what I might achieve'. This was the positive influence:

> Had it not been for his strong influence I probably would have succumbed to the conformist pressures (of group values) all around me. These pressures were enormous for girls in the sixties. Even those who entered a career were not expected to sustain it much beyond their training. And indeed, few did. (15)

Author 20, whose parents both had tertiary qualifications, was conscious of the high academic evaluation in both Catholic home and school. Her father, a missionary doctor, had expectations from a university career:

> My parents saw the education of their children as a very high priority ... The academic side of school was encouraged both at home and at school ... I think my father would be happy. Within his own family five have gone into helping professions after completing University. (20)

Another female respondent (31) felt under pressure to 'perform well' in particular to gain a University scholarship. She evaluated herself as a 'very industrious student' who was heavily involved in school sports. Extra curricular activities were important at secondary level for writers and will be discussed separately.

ESB O. One participant (21) depicts the heritage and traditions of the monocultural and monolingual school in Scotland i.e. the model on which the Anglo traditions of the Australian school had its source. He won a bursary to a fee paying secondary school:

> The school had beautiful playing fields ... It was a well equipped school with excellent laboratory facilities and a well appointed gymnasium ... Another trivial fact I remember about the school was that the teachers always wore caps and gowns and carried a strap. (21)

Classes were streamed with girls and boys in separate streams. In the curriculum the top streams (A,B) were taught traditional languages Latin and French whilst the lower streams studied French and German. After third year the writer dropped French for Physics - compare memoir 33 - a negative evaluation of language which was repeated in the ESB memoirs. The opening lines of the memoir repeat the dictum offered by other writers e.g. 1, 23 that sporting success as well as or instead of academic achievement helps one gain acceptance by peers.

With reluctance, the respondent 21 had to leave school and find a job at the age of sixteen (his Mother lost part of her pension). Apart from the disruption to studies another ambition was not fulfilled viz to play rugby in the school first fifteen.

Writer 16 attended a secondary college in Adelaide which attracted 'poorer Catholic families'. Her school also offered traditional languages from the first year. At year 10, (compare 20)[3] in response to the growing numbers of Italian students, Italian was offered to the native speakers - but not taught by native speakers. By not including the language in mainstream teaching a negative attitude was transmitted. This was the first step in introducing a culturally inclusive curriculum only for NESB students. Equity of access for all students would need a change in attitudes and language evaluation transmitted in the school for students to take the opportunity offered as the quotation indicated:

> The only languages offered at high school were French and Latin - both of which I studied. It was only in Year 10 that Italian girls had the opportunity to study standard Italian--by correspondence. It was plainly shown that this language choice was beyond non-Italian speakers and it really didn't have much regard among the general student population anyway. (16)

---

[3] Writer 20 spoke of her Catholic school and the growing number of Italian students:

> By first year High School the ethnic composition of my class certainly altered drastically. Italian was intoduced when I was in Year 10 but the only students who were offered it were Italian speaking students and a few very bright French students. The students must have had a good grasp of Italian because they managed to top the State in the Public exams. 20

Clearly the attitude that languages can be inclusive not exclusive in one's personal cultural system was not transmitted in the school - at the time.

The memoirs of both the ESB groups mirror the same attitudes viz transmission and expectation of Anglo values in the curriculum. No respondents discussed aspirations to learn LOTE or regretted that LOTE was not offered as government policy during their school life. This was not an option and was not discussed.

NESB A. Respondents in this group were successful at tertiary level and so had survived the Australian school system. Their survival was due to a combination of reasons, a common one being they were able students. For example, writers 9 and 11 were academically high achievers and were highly motivated to succeed. From early high school writer 11 knew he wanted to enter medicine:

> Year 12 was of greater joy as it meant I could leave the H.S. altogether ... At this stage it was my firm intention to matriculate into University. My first choice was Medicine. (11)

Entering secondary school and facing an I.Q. test disadvantaged participant 7. Her lack of English language Middle Class background was clear in her comments:

> I remember (the placement exam) being full of proverbs and individual words I had never heard of. I can still recall the dismay at being streamed into IC rather than IA. (7)

The exam had lasting implications:

> Unfortunately my academic 'ability' deteriorated until finally in my fourth year I gave up hope of making it into teachers college and left school ... (7)

For other respondents - 13, 27, 32 - the path through secondary school was difficult and even disrupted. On the death of her father, writer 13 was forced to leave school during year 9. Respondent 32 attended a Catholic secondary school with a minority of 'ethnic' students. She felt she had to prove herself with the ESB students, a similar experience for another Italian memoir writer 23. It makes more impact to quote the strong feelings

of writer 23 at this point. He attempted to compensate for an induced feeling of inferiority:

> (I was made to) feel like a second-class citizen ... In retrospect it was this sentiment that formed part of my motivation to succeed. I wanted to prove to Australians that we were not just a group of inarticulate, unintelligent and pathetic refugees, ejected from a place that had made us redundant. (23)

In spite of linguistic skills, respondent 32 endeavoured to prove herself academically in the choice of hard science subjects which had a high evaluation in the school. The writer gives a good insight into the development of the personal cultural system of the migrant child:

> The nuns themselves came from well-to-do Irish or English families who valued education for women. While science was available, very few girls opted for it. I was always opting for the hardest courses and what other girls wouldn't or couldn't do. In many senses, I felt I had to prove myself. In their comfortable self-complacency, the pampered rich-girls never bothered. My own self-sufficiency grew but at the expense of peer-relations and bonding. (32)

In order to prove herself the writer stuck to the Science line and disadvantaged her personal development both culturally and academically. Teachers commended her natural ability in languages, in particular Italian, but counselling in the direction of subjects and self-fulfilment did not seem to be offered. Secondary school involved much suffering, not enjoyment, studying a curriculum which was not culturally inclusive. Excessive time spent on hard subjects was not inducive to forming peer friendships.

In contrast writer 27 wanted to study Physics and Chemistry from personal choice. Her difficulty arose again from the negative evaluation of languages in the school where Science subjects were more highly evaluated than the Humanities. For example, as the writer was studying two languages (with success - French and German) the school was 'convinced I would be no good at science subjects'. The imposed negative stereotype was transmitted because she was NESB and a girl. With intervention from her mother

the school allowed her to take her chosen academic direction illustrating the importance of home/school interaction which was missing in the previous memoir.

On reflection, and as a language teacher, writer 27 recognised her academic success in science was because of her facility in languages especially English. Languages were seen to be a girl's area and had an inferior status:

> As an educator myself now, I can look back on that and realise why so many NESB children went on to apprenticeships, rather than Tertiary education from my year. Many were second phase language learners - a stage which has only recently been recognised. (27)

This writer was fortunate to be fulfilled academically in aspects of the curriculum. The monocultural curriculum though showing signs of change did not transmit a positive evaluation of her Lebanese ethnicity. It was not until matriculation that one teacher (ESB or NESB?) did value her cultural heritage. The positive attitude of the teacher had a deep influence on the development of her personal cultural system:

> It was from this point that the first seeds of real acceptance of my biculturalism were sown. (27)

The writer analyses education as being the 'most influential system of all in shaping my personal ideologies'. She reflected that her life would have been different (perhaps at school at least) had her biculturalism been valued instead of irrelevant. It was her conviction that it makes a difference if NESB children are taught by supportive NESB teachers.

It is useful to compare the similar reflection of author 23 (NESB O) in this context. Would he have been motivated to 'prove' himself in a different school milieu? He makes this original observation:

How deeply rooted were the side-effects of the Assimilationist Policy? I still
often wonder what I would have been like had I grown up in Italy,
surrounded by the comfortable atmosphere of my own culture. (23)

NESB O. Respondents in this group, apart from two 14,23, did not experience
secondary education in the Australian school. They bring to the research a range of
diverse experiences especially in their responses to the curricula.

Across memoirs a general comment was the great change rather than a transition from
primary to secondary school. Respondent 5 experienced several changes. Secondary
school meant boarding away from home and 'leaving the village for the whole year'.
This cultural change included speaking a different language - Kewabi. He recalled that
'we were not allowed to use our mother tongues in the school grounds' but this rule was
never strictly enforced.

Subjects taught were not specified but the later context of the memoir revealed the
writer entered the science stream. The focus of his remarks was on his motivation to be
successful academically in order to win a government scholarship for tertiary study.
From a personal view, the writer was highly motivated to study. Teachers reinforced
the attitude by 'constantly reminding us' that hard work and academic success were
essential for a paid job.

Important cultural reasons underpinned the writer's motivation to succeed at secondary
school. At one level the writer was always conscious that relatives had paid for his
board, clothing and school expenses which he would repay with a 'paid job'. At a
deeper level the writer was conscious of the shame culture of his family and village
community. For example, he 'could not imagine returning to the village without the
money they had invested in me'. He understood it to be his strong duty to be successful
at school. Failing to gain a scholarship meant the deeper shame of failing parents and

relatives who had invested in him. The shame[4] was transmitted in the group in an overt way:

> The relatives would not publicly demand that I pay back their money, but privately, they would still subject me (but worst of all, my parents) to gossip, ridicule and shame. To avoid such shameful experiences I felt that it was my duty to win a government scholarship at the end of grade 10. Such a motivation enabled me to do well in that final examination. (5)

Another learning experience at school was 'becoming responsible for myself' without mother to wash clothes and prepare meals. Independence was accepted as an early training for ESB writers. The comment of memoir 5, who came from a small village community and collectivist values, highlights that the Anglo value of independence imposed on him was strange at first.

The above writer evaluated education for tertiary entry and a career. In contrast a Polish participant (25) grew up with tertiary study and academic knowledge highly evaluated in her Polish culture. The transmission of 'knowledge' as a cultural value has been modified for technical oriented studies but the concept of an Educated person

---

[4] Wierbicka (1992, pp.130-2) discusses the concept of shame in different cultures which is relevant to the way in which memoir 5 uses shame:

> Many languages of the world (for example, Korean, Ewe in West Africa, and Kuman in Papua) don't lexically distinguish shame and embarrassment. Myers writes this about the Pintupi (Aboriginal Australia): "The concept of 'shame' (kunta) is a cultural form, something which is learned in growing up ... The concept ... is a major construct in the Pintupi view of what it means to be a person and how a person should comport himself in social relations". The author continues: The Aboriginal concept is more closely related to avoidance, and therefore to fear, than the English concept of shame. In a prototypical situation of 'shame' something 'wrong' has already taken place. The Aboriginal concepts such as 'kunta' or 'kuyan' seem to evoke a situation when nothing 'wrong' has taken place, yet might happen and is to be avoided.

I suggest that the meaning of shame in memoir 5 reflects the Aboriginal concept viz shame is evoked by a situation when nothing wrong has taken place but might happen by failing exams and returning to the village. This situation is to be avoided. Wierzbicka distinguishes this concept from the English concept:

> As was noted already by Darwin, the concept of shame ... is associated with a desire not to be seen ... Izard writes: ... subjects ... frequently indicate that they want to disappear.

One is familiar in English of the saying that one wished a large hole would open up in which to disappear.

(discussed section 5.4) was the experience of this writer in Warsaw. The home transmitted the high evaluation of tertiary study which was reinforced at school:

> So when I began school I was certain that all people have to complete university, and if they did not do that, they should be striving to do so. (25)

At secondary school the new teachers educated during the Stalin period in her view possessed not a very deep knowledge and were negatively evaluated by the 'intelligent students' who refused to become communist. She still positively evaluated an education which covered a wide range of subjects including maths and sciences from primary level. The writer realised her attitude towards her schooling was imposed as one of 'compulsion' to finish so as to be able to reach university. From this perspective, she makes an interesting comparison between the Polish education and the Australian system as experienced by her two daughters:

> I often wonder whether my attitude towards school would have been the same if the system of education would have more emphasis on the individual, allowing her/him to develop her/his abilities and interests. Comparing my experiences with the experiences of my children in the Australian school - I envy them the way in which they are taught, a way which provides them with a greater opportunity for individual, creative work which gives them a lot of satisfaction. (25)

She remains uncertain as to the fulfilment of the cultural perception of an educated person:

> I am still not sure if it gives them 'proper knowledge'. (25)

Another writer (22) experienced secondary schooling in an Eastern European country viz Hungary. Her comments mirror some of those in the above memoir. For example the evaluation of a wealth of general knowledge transmitted through the curriculum and the expectation that teachers would possess such a breadth of knowledge:

> The teaching staff at my Grammar School exhaled cultural competence instead of methodological or technological competence. Many of them had doctorates of the continental kind, and possessed a wealth of general knowledge ... which they shared with us in conversation during lesson time. (22)

Cultural competence or knowledge of a culture was one aspect of her curriculum. She attended a girl's school run by the Calvinist church so that the religious values transmitted in the school were a 'cultural home coming' for the writer from a traditional Calvinist Hungarian family. Although the school system was modelled on the German one, the curriculum reproduced Hungarian language and culture. For example, Hungarian was taught not German, Hungarian history and Geography. She recalled there were bilingual schools in Budapest viz Hungarian/French, and also a specialist school for the study of music 'at the expense of general knowledge subjects'. The latter remark reinforces the high evaluation of the range of the curriculum in the two memoirs.

Bilingualism in school was also the school experience of writer 24 in Egypt. He analysed the cultures of the European minorities as being language-centred and bilingualism was a normal situation. The language of instruction for the curriculum was diverse reflecting the minority groups in society:

> European school where the language of instruction was either French, or English, or Greek, or Italian were established in the early days of settlement of the Europeans in the main cities of Egypt. Such private schools from primary to tertiary level, had acquired a reputation of being good schools. (24)

His personal cultural system which developed through interaction in this plural society in Egypt was of the Internal Cultural type - dual or triple system. He described this interaction as 'the co-existence of European and Egyptian components ... located within me'. This interaction was helped along at home and school in a meaningful two-way interaction and positive evaluation of linguistic pluralism.

In Malaysia, one Indian author experienced a curriculum based on Irish Catholic values in her Convent school. She recalled:

> The curriculum was biased towards England. We studied English language and literature in all their intricacies. English history from King Alfred to the Windsors was more thoroughly taught than Malayan history. In fact, it was

not even in the curriculum. Geography spanned the whole British Commonwealth. (17)

The curriculum was linguistically inclusive of Tamil. The mother, who had maintained Tamil in the home, advised the daughters to learn Tamil instead of traditional languages. The author realised 'we were spared being completely Europeanised'.

Secondary school experiences of two Chinese respondents (30,34) were dominated by the difficulties encountered in the acquisition of English. For writer 30 (in Malaysia) a good command of English was essential as textbooks were in English. There was another reason which reflected the evaluation of school by writer 5 (discussed above). Doing well at school gave hope of future success in life. The context of the memoir indicates how English was acquired by rote learning and much frustration instead of formal instruction:

> I remember feeling so frustrated because I could not understand many of the English textbooks and had to learn many things by rote, just for examination purposes even up to high school levels. (30)

In his Catholic school, the respondent was involved with reading sessions in the church. This was done mainly by rote learning. The experience did not develop his understanding of English but had a negative effect:

> Although by the school standards I was considered quite good, I felt grossly inadequate. (30)

Extreme difficulties at secondary level (in Hong Kong) were experienced by the second writer (34). At primary school the mode of instruction was Cantonese. In the government Anglo-Chinese secondary school English was the mode of instruction in all subjects (except Chinese Language and History). She felt 'crippled' in the first years of secondary school because of her lack of English proficiency in both spoken and written skills. The frustration is expressed:

> The teachers (some ... foreigners from Britain) spoke too fast, vocabularies were too numerous and too difficult, I could neither express myself clearly in

spoken nor in written form. Every lesson became an English lesson which I dreaded. (34)

At this stage all her energy was channelled into acquiring the English language. Her means were a lot of hard work and self-determination i.e. a sink or swim approach. By the third year some mastery and good reports encouraged the writer to take an interest in English literature. Acquisition of English was accompanied by a positive attitude to maintain her Chinese - Cantonese/Mandarin and internalising bilingualism. After much pain and frustration having attained proficiency in English the respondent recognised that internalising a second language had given access to another (Western) culture.

Through the curriculum the English language and Anglo values had been imposed on the writer. Her strenuous efforts at school in language acquisition were for two reasons: to be successful academically as her family stressed and for the use in institutions including education in Hong Kong. Her results in the English School Certificate enabled her to pursue tertiary education. Her positive evaluation of both Chinese and English resulted in good marks in both final exams. Apart from languages, the curriculum details were not discussed. Academic study as the first priority leading to the pursuit of higher education was the family evaluation.

All writers in this group discussed languages taught and studied at school. They were much more conscious of language learning and bilingualism as the normal aspect of the mainstream curriculum and not an unusual situation. To return to Australia and the subject of maintaining these NESB languages, I quote an advisor in Ethnic Schools who gave the Greek perspective which can be applied across ethnic minority groups. She stressed language which encapsulates culture:

> There needs to be a collaborated effort for the Greek language to remain alive. Let us not limit it so that it withers and shrinks into a language of the kitchen, in other words, a language of restricted meanings. (18)

With the emphasis on acquiring English for academic progress, some writers e.g. 2 and 3, found their mother tongue had become restricted. During tertiary study in Australia a determined effort to re-vitalise the mother tongue in order to write letters especially in the home language was made by these students.

6.2.2 Peers/Extra-Curricular Activities

Cultural Interaction. Interaction with peers both for friendship and interaction with a different ethnic group was an important influence at secondary level. As at primary school respondents wanted to be accepted by peers and the degree of acceptance was a measure of success at school and enjoyment.

ESB A. Close friendships were mostly formed with ESB peers but respondents indicated a positive attitude and aspirations to have NESB friends. Intercultural communication was at a superficial level but involvement in school sporting activities strengthened friendship bonds. Writer 15 reflected how school friendships were not transforming cross-cultural experiences and indicated the assimilationist policies of the school and the 'safe bourgeois practice' of studying French and Latin:

> I believe I held many 'ocker' attitudes, conferred on me by family and society and reinforced through both schooling and tertiary education. (15)

Writer 29 attended a rural high school. He asserted that teachers and students negatively evaluated the academic content of the curriculum and the latter left school for a job. The author put a high value on academic achievement which in this milieu distanced him from peers. Academic success did not gain him acceptance but isolated him:

> The attitude of my peers was ... that the smallest amount of work possible to escape the chagrin of the teacher was all that was required ... This difference between the attitudes of my peer group and my personal set (of values) became evident when my friends wanted to copy my homework. This was a violation of the teachers' rules and these held more sway with me than the ethos of mateship. My offer to discuss the topic instead of allowing direct copying resulted in a degree of ostracism. (29)

Positive evaluation of the teacher's role meant more than peer conformity. The school, in his view, reinforced success in personal endeavour, encouraging individual achievement more than collective values. For example:

> The value of individual achievement had been impressed upon me during my school life ... progressive achievement was marked on a wall chart with a star for the monthly leader. (29)

The gradual distancing and alienation from peers was resolved when he moved to the city. The entirely changed experience at the urban school provided peer interaction and group activities which enriched his school life and indicated that peer interaction was needed for personal fulfilment:

> There was more stress on the full development of students with debates, public speaking, school operas and student bodies. (29)

Transforming cultural interaction is not mentioned which reflects the assimilationist policy in the school. Writer 33 had decided on teaching as a career during his fourth year. His enjoyment of high school years was broadened by group involvement in sporting activities and peer interaction:

> I enjoyed all my years in High School. I especially liked my tennis and table tennis involvement. I captained both the A tennis and table tennis teams in my final year and received a special 'service' badge for my efforts. (33)

This respondent positively evaluated both academic and sporting activities and found satisfaction at a personal level in a broad range of activities. Particular peers or different ESB/NESB groups for cultural interaction are not mentioned or do not appear to be consciously analysed.

Another respondent recalled sporting activities as taking up much time or as a heavy commitment during secondary years. Academic achievement was positively evaluated as well as sporting success. Success in both meant a full commitment to the school:

> I was ... very heavily involved in school sports. I excelled here, and was invariably elected as team and school captain. As many as three evenings per week after school, then, were occupied with sports practice. (31)

Success in sport was highly evaluated by peers. The two memoirs above suggest that at secondary level success with peers in a group and perhaps one's status was most important. Having a 'best' friend was the first priority at primary school. Close friendships remained valued at a personal level and for several participants (19,26,31,33,35) the neighbourhood peers remained the closest friends. For example:

> My parents decided at this time to move from the old house which they had rented, and where I had spent all my life ... The prospect of moving from the neighbourhood I knew so well and particularly my peers who had been friends since early childhood, physically and emotionally sickened me. I suspect I did not ever adjust to this move; in the years which followed I spent as much time as I could staying with my friends in Adelaide. (31)

One's primary social system and its development was a significant influence on one's personal becoming during the secondary years. Friendships added enjoyment to the academic curriculum and strengthened the sense of belonging to the school milieu. For ESB writers, group activities and collectivist values at this secondary social level (as distinct from individualist values at primary level) were an integral aspect of school life. Collectivist values were activated through sporting activities and this was significant as social interaction with a group. For ESB writers these group activities could have been the initial experience for cultural interaction in an informal way.

ESB O. Sporting activities were also the means of peer interaction and collectivist values for another participant (21). At an individual level he performed well on the sporting field but the ethos of playing for a school team was more important as the memoir indicated:

> In the sports line I played rugby for the school in the second fifteen ... I also did a lot of swimming and played cricket and did a lot of running. (21)

As discussed above, not only enjoying sport but also being good at it helped acceptance into the group. The writer found he made lots of (Anglo) friends at school but was

aware of others who did not find this so easy. He recalled the negative attitude of peers towards a Jewish lad who was very nice but was not accepted simply 'because he was Jewish'; that is because of his different cultural background. He remarked that his school experiences were devoid of 'culture clashes' because the common level of class distinction and religious values reproduced the Anglo values viz Protestant and middle class in society which dominated and ignored cultural differences. The attitude of peers illustrates cultural diversity which leads to 'cultural clashes' rather than unity in diversity.

In Australia, participant 16 remarked how her teenage years held a fairly rigid circle of friends which was indicative of limitations of her cultural interaction. ESB memoirs reveal a more limited range of friends (than NESB memoirs) where close friends were Anglo ones. NESB memoirs indicated that friends were formed in ethnic clusters viz friends not from the same ethnic group but across NESB groups in cultural interaction. In the Catholic school, writer 16 did form a friendship with two Italian boys. This cultural interaction deepened the friendship by showing her aspects of Italian culture, especially ties of family life which she had not experienced.

Her comments reinforced the view in the memoirs that ESB writers found mutual enrichment from intercultural communication when this experience was developed at a deeper level. For example writer 16 formed close friendships with two Malaysian girls during secondary school. She recognised their cultural differences extended to language, religion and family situation in comparison with her personal experiences with ESB Australian families. The author provided a personal insight into cultural differences:

> Two Malaysian girls who were boarding in private homes and studying at the school became close friends. Their loneliness for home was apparent and so 'culture shock' was something I recognised more clearly. Even personal experiences of staying with Australian friends showed me how different my family was in comparison with them ... for example varieties of food stand out in my memory. (16)

Her cultural interaction with the 'mix of cultures' in the school stimulated her awareness that cultural differences are deeper than food and dress. Differences included core values of a culture such as language which need to be shared and activated in order for interaction to be meaningful.

NESB A. Respondents in this group recalled different experiences from the ESB group in respect to peers. Memoir 11 was content to absorb himself in academic pursuits in preparation for tertiary study rather than involvement in extra-curricular activities. Writer 28 formed a life-long friendship with a peer from another ethnic minority group. NESB writers did not discuss sporting activities in detail unless in the context of gaining acceptance from peers (23).

Writers were more concerned with being accepted by the dominant group <u>because of</u> their cultural differences and not accepting NESB stereotypes. As one writer remembered:

> There was no room for difference, particularly when that difference was unfamiliar to the dominant culture. (27)

She always felt more comfortable with her cousins than with school peers:

> I realised very early that I was different because I wasn't allowed to forget it. (27)

Her friends at school were 'again from NESBs' - Greek and Italian. The writer's parents were strict (in comparison with ESB parents) and other NESB groups understood what life was like. There was a tacit sense of understanding amongst NESB peers. Within the milieu of conformist attitudes respondent 27 never felt it was an asset to come from a different culture.

Not being allowed to attend school camps reinforced the writer's sense of being different from her peers and socially apart. Social interaction was important for the

writer and she perceived lack of communication between home and school did not resolve the situation of camp attendance:

> The teachers never explained to my parents the importance of the interaction with my peers as part of my emotional and social development. (27)

The emphasis in this group was not on the development of friendships with NESB peers but the effort to gain acceptance by ESB peers. Friendship was part of the socialization process at school. NESB writers aspired to acceptance in the school. Cultural interaction at a deeper level was the environment in which close friendships could be formed. For example writer 9 depicted modifications to Italian values in her family where young siblings were marrying a spouse from a non-Italian family. Seeds of friendships perhaps were beginning across groups in the school yard.

Memoir 28 (of German background) provides a fine cameo of a culture observed through friendship. The author formed a close friendship with an Italian peer. The warmth of the collectivist values in the Italian family contrasted with her more nuclear home life:

> Whenever I visited [...] home, I was offered a meal or something to eat ... As I became accustomed to their mannerisms, I felt less self-conscious and appreciated the difficulty the older members had in speaking English. The household was always busy with the women tending to the men during mealtime ... I thought [...] parents were strict as they would never allow her to attend any school socials ... [Her] family was exciting, particularly when groups came to share tasks such as slaughtering a pig, pruning the grape vines or picking olives. I always found the people so warm, caring and interesting. (28)

The writer compares the values of the two families with some regret:

> [Her] family was a strong unit, encouraging its members to participate as a group. I always felt a sense of isolation and loneliness after a visit to her house as my home appeared much colder and austere. (28)

The contrast between Italian collectivist values and individualistic values illustrate cultural differences between the Italian and Anglo family.

NESB O. Some of the experiences illustrated above were recalled by writers in this group: memoir 3 from an Indian family living in Malaysia was influenced by peers from other NESB groups. She felt that Chinese friends were allowed more freedom than her parents permitted. Author 23 (in rural South Australia) was an able Italian student but found that participation and success on the sporting field opened doors to friendship groups in the school:

> Success in academic and sporting activities le(a)d to success in social circles ... Friendship groups at school came to be based increasingly on success in any, or all, of these areas, and eventually I found myself an active member in some large groups, and at least accepted in others. (23)

In the Australian school writers responded in various ways to the reproduction of the Anglo culture and then to changes which were slowly taking place. The Italian writer of Memoir 14 was made to feel it was not socially acceptable to talk about one's bi- or even trilingualism. This attitude was transmitted and imposed on her by the school and peers. She felt uncomfortable about asserting her ethnicity and hesitant in expressing her true identity. When the first 'bilingual is beautiful' stickers appeared she was embarrassed and unable to understand 'why anyone would want to advertise their ethnicity'. Her negative response reflected the Australian attitudes shaped in monolingual assumptions. She could not externalise her feelings of pride in her biculturalism and felt inhibited to share this dual system.

Just as ESB attitudes did not change overnight so she wasn't convinced when it became fashionable to know another language. Attitudes towards multiculturalism in society have changed in a positive way towards linguistic pluralism so that the writer does not hesitate now to reveal her facility with languages. Her example illustrated the influence of peers in the shaping of attitudes and actions.

A writer in New Guinea living away from his home village for the first time depended on the warmth of friendships and collectivist values transmitted in their homes for his

social adjustment at school. Cultural interaction with friends helped in the acquisition
of the language of the school:

> I was already speaking Kewabi by going out with Kewabi speaking friends to
> their villages on the weekends. (5)

In the forming of friendships several writers across the four groups (10,19,24,30,33)
discussed the proximity to school and the interaction with peers who were also
neighbourhood friends. School and home in the same social environment strengthened
friendship bonds. A Hungarian writer who attended a Calvinist secondary school for
girls (in Budapest) for religious reasons felt segregated from childhood friends. This
was a disruption in her primary social system:

> In a way going there was a cultural home coming for me, but socially, it
> segregated me. The ice skating rinks, the public parks, the swimming pools
> in our district were populated by girls who went to the convent around the
> corner from where I lived, whilst I travelled half an hour by three trams to get
> to my school, and my friends from there lived anywhere in Budapest. (22)

Her comment that 'whatever free time was left to me travelling or at home, I spent
reading' indicated the distance from friends and little time to develop links or socialise.
Life was very organised.

As well as travelling time the school routine included after hour activities:

> The afternoons were devoted to the 'extras'. For me they comprised piano
> lessons and practice, extra language lessons, and daily exercise ...
> Competition amongst students in class was an unknown phenomenon. (22)

The extras indicate a broad range of knowledge was evaluated in the curriculum.

The final comment highlights the synthesis of collectivist values transmitted in the
home and school. The values and culture in her personal cultural system were not
under threat from peers. Friendships were positively evaluated and a significant 'extra'
influence of school. War disrupted the final years of her schooling. Reading which was

formerly a pleasure became more an imposed necessity as the school years and facilities became reduced. An aspect of self-education was activated.

A Polish respondent (25) chose friends from similar home backgrounds in primary school. In secondary school (in Warsaw) she made a few more friends and widened her range of cultural experience. She observed from the outside cultural differences and attitudes of her Jewish girl friend; differences not only with her own Polish culture but between Jewish peers. For example some Jewish peers tried to assimilate under pressure but her particular friend was not ashamed of her ethnic background and proudly acknowledged it. The Polish respondent not only enjoyed the warmth of this friendship but learnt about attitudes and values of another ethnic group from the mutual interaction:

> Friendship with her taught me to respect people who were not 'afraid of being different'. (25)

Her dearest friend remained the one 'from the group which were my friends ever since the first days of school'.

A Chinese participant (30) was the twelfth child of fourteen children. His memoir does not mention individual friends or peers and the memoir indicates there was not such a need for friends outside the extended family as two writers (21,24) who were only children. He had many family friends at primary level. His large family meant more children and more fun. Friends were mostly Chinese children but the collectivist values of the family included other friends and neighbours who were friends of the 'family' rather than of one individual. One friend came from another ethnic group:

> One of our closest friends was the daughter of an Anglo Indian couple. She spent a lot of time in our house and was very much a member of the family. (30)

The comment of writer 14 from this group can be used as a general conclusion of the influence of peers at school. Writer 14 wrote that the family was a dominant influence

on her Italian language maintenance and identity viz 'I couldn't have done so on my own'. From the various perspectives in the memoirs respondents have emphasised the interaction with peers was an essential communication for the transmission of group values. Cultural interaction across ethnic groups was valued in friendships and the school provided a milieu for this interaction at a social level. In Australia this interaction needed to be reinforced by a culturally inclusive curriculum. As Znaniecki (1951, p.70) wrote:

> Education ... is a distinctly *social* phenomenon, since it involves 'social action,' i.e. actions which deal with human individuals and tend to provoke reactions on their part.

6.2.3 Personal Evaluation

Participants evaluated how well they had achieved at school from their own assessment. Their comments indicated that this was an important expectation of their education. Writers gave a comment but did not expand:

> I worked hard and achieved well. (15)

or

> (I was) a very industrious student. (31)

and

> (I was) achieving 'academic' success at school. (1)

ESB O memoir writer remembered:

> I was fortunate enough to qualify for the top class every year. (21)

On the other hand respondent 16 did not mention individual academic achievement and success which suggested the ethos of her Catholic college evaluated personal development and sharing across ethnic groups before individual pursuits.

NESB A. Memoir 27 was successful at secondary school to the surprise of some classmates as she chose science subjects. This writer was conscious of gender stereotypes and success meant success in the male subject area:

> I was in a class with twenty two boys and seven girls. My girlfriend and I were the only NESB students in the class. (27)

Male classmates were surprised to see her at the University:

> (Their surprise) ... I ... believe this had a lot to do with the fact that we were NESB and girls. (27)

Author 7 recalled being very achievement-oriented at primary school but left secondary school early because of streaming.

NESB O. Respondents did not discuss academic achievement as an individual evaluation of secondary school. Success was the means to a good job and social mobility.

Writer 5 was motivated to do well in secondary school not for personal fulfilment but in order to gain a government scholarship and justify his schooling to relatives who had given financial assistance. Financial security and social mobility away from the return to village life was the priority:

> Such a motivation enabled me to do well in that final examination. As one of the few students who had topped the class my class teacher advised that I was eligible to apply for any job of my choice, including the admission to undertake ... studies at the University. (5)

For a Chinese respondent educated in Hong Kong her secondary schooling was dominated by the acquisition of English for social and economic reasons:

> Attaining a certain level of proficiency in English is a must towards upward social mobility. For the Chinese refugees, they readily embraced the English language for economic survival. (34)

In the Australian school success for writer 14 was to matriculate in both French and Italian (her mother tongue). This was a personal fulfilment in strengthening and replenishing her Italian language stock and maintaining her French. Apart from cultural reasons, her motivation was to prove to 'everyone around me' that languages were additive and one can maintain two or more languages and cultures without one of them detracting from the other.

Secondary School Summary. There were a variety of responses to formal secondary education. Analysis revealed the important interaction of home/school cultural values and how values transmitted in the school reinforced values internalised in the home or created a conflict.

ESB respondents, A and O, who attended monocultural, monolingual schools were not awakened to cultural pluralism although there were growing numbers of NESB students in the Australian school. There was a slow response to cultural diversity in the institutions and curriculum. Anglo core values were not threatened in home/school interaction. On reflection, ESB authors regretted the lack of opportunity to learn LOTE at school. Memoirs indicate this personal option was not considered at the time.

If the home was a high ethnic one, NESB A respondents maintained and activated core values of the minority group in their personal cultural systems, whilst internalising a second set of Anglo values, including English language, at school. Where core values in the home were established and internalised, respondents displayed more confidence and positive self-esteem in the mainstream school. They were able to survive better academically and socially with a positive sense of identity. Where the home was low ethnic and English was activated for academic success, a respondent had difficulty with the formation of ethnic identity.

At the time of writing, memoirs indicated slow changes were taking place in the monocultural Australian school. It was good fortune more than good planning that enabled some writers to learn LOTE (especially their mother tongue). Some NESB respondents attended Saturday ethnic schools to fill the institutional gap. NESB parents encouraged the acquisition of English for vocational reasons and in many cases children acquired better English skills than their parents.

Authors felt the schools and teachers did not value their language and cultural differences. The imposed Anglo curriculum transmitted Anglo perspectives in the subjects taught. Respondents wanted to matriculate in subjects which were inclusive of their language and culture but were disadvantaged by lack of access. This further negatively evaluated minority languages and cultures.

Authors in this group were able students but felt the need to prove themselves with peers. In contrast, school was more enjoyable for students who were offered LOTE.

Although educated overseas, some NESB O writers were exposed to Anglo values transmitted in English colonial schools. These writers had difficulties at secondary level with the acquisition of English which was not provided by the institution but was self-taught by rote learning. Another difficulty came through a change from mother tongue learning at primary level to English instruction at secondary level without transition programmes.

Authors educated in European countries recalled different experiences, for example passive resistance to the imposition of an alien ideology through the curriculum. Participants revealed a variety of ways in responding to the imposition of cultural values which did not reflect those of the home. These authors made comparisons between the Australian school system (experienced by their children) and attitudes towards schooling in the homeland. They remained uncertain whether their children

were receiving a broad education in Australia, being familiar with concept of a breadth of knowledge encapsulated in an 'educated person'. Such comments highlight the theme in the memoirs of the need for integrated parent/teacher interaction and parental involvement in school activities for deeper cultural communication and understanding.

Peers were an important influence at secondary school. All authors wanted to be accepted by peers and to share cultural interaction. Acceptance for NESB authors meant recognition of ethnic differences, not conformity or assimilation. In the Australian school, NESB respondents realised that academic success or sporting prowess helped them gain acceptance into the dominant group. It was the pattern for NESB writers to form close friendships in ethnic clusters but they aspired to deeper friendships with ESB peers on the basis of cultural equality. Life long friendships from school were highly valued.

ESB interaction with NESB peers had particular significance. These cultural encounters created the awareness of a different culture but were not the common experience. Meaningful cultural interaction was restricted and NESB peers were regarded with interest and curiosity rather than as the means of opening the window to another culture. The absence of LOTE meant there was no basis for building cultural bridges.

It was a surprise to encounter little discussion about the influence of individual teachers apart from isolated cases. The attitude was that the teachers transmitted the ethos of the school even a negative one. Memoirs indicated teachers reproduced the culture transmitted in the school and society. Individual subject areas of interest were not discussed in detail in the context of schooling.

NESB A participants did recall their frustration with a curriculum which was not culturally inclusive. Part of their ethnic identity was not recognised and this was

unacceptable. They stressed that LOTE would have changed their school experiences both in an educational and cultural sense.

Authors indicated that post-secondary education was the aspiration of all respondents.

6.3   Tertiary Study

As all participants became tertiary students, the outcome of their formal education was successful academically. The authors themselves positively evaluated education and 'wanted to do well'.

Across the four groups, respondents positively evaluated tertiary study. Most respondents entered university from secondary school. Memoirs 4,13,21,31,36, undertook tertiary study in an Australian university after a period in the work force.

For the ESB group, tertiary study gave access to some subjects not taught in the monocultural school or taught from a perspective other than the Anglo one e.g. Russian History. Academic content was more highly evaluated than social mobility. Interaction with NESB students was a significant cultural experience.

In the NESB group, tertiary education was evaluated for professional jobs, economic success and social mobility viz opportunities parents did not have. Analysis revealed some cultures (22,25 from Eastern Europe) positively evaluated the academic content of tertiary study.

ESB A. Memoir 6 provided a good example of the important influence of tertiary study on changing attitudes towards cultural pluralism and widening Anglo perspectives. Memoir 20 remarked how subjects were taught from a different perspective in contrast with the values transmitted in the Catholic school. Her remarks reflect the common experience of several (6,10,20,29,35) ESB authors:

> My studies at University were slightly more culturally balanced. In second year I studied Malaysian history which looked at the situation from a viewpoint other than British. Geography ... presented the Aboriginal history and culture from a non-European point of view. This helped raise my awareness that Australian culture could really grow if it started to look at all its inhabitants. (20)

Respondents revealed a variety of experiences in tertiary study. For example memoir 1 did a Science degree course which in academic terms was a continuation of the Year twelve course in the monocultural high school. Cultural interaction at a social level was not part of his experience:

> No particularly 'ethnic' dimension entered my life at that stage. (1)

The attitude of author 33 towards tertiary study reflected the attitudes of NESB memoirs more than most ESB memoirs. He entered Teacher Training assured of a job and financial freedom, an attitude which mirrored his father's encouragement to enter a trade:

> They were crying out for teachers by the time I started college ... We therefore knew we were assured of a job when we had finished our course. (33)

Academic and cultural content of subjects studied for a University degree were negatively evaluated in the context of job prospects:

> It had little effect on your appointment and promotion prospects if you had a university degree. (33)

He much admired and respected the college principal as a role model of teaching. Although the writer did well academically he was equally involved and successful in extra-curricular activities of a vigorous student life. Through these activities the writer formed strong friendships 'which I hold dearly today'. Cultural interaction with minority ethnic peers is not discussed.

In contrast memoir 29 highly evaluated the academic achievements of University study. Educational experiences from primary school to university had dominated the formation of values in his personal cultural system. Over the years the Anglo values transmitted and internalised through his educational institutions had replaced the working-class values of his home and small rural town milieu. He recalled:

> The further I progressed with my education the more separated I became from the cultural influences of my family and peer group ... I was separated from my family by the need ... to continue my (tertiary) education in Adelaide. (29)

Living in a university college, the writer was conscious of class distinctions amongst colleagues more than ethnic differences. His awareness reflected his working-class background, with the rejection of these values for the attitudes and values of educational and middle class influences.

He evaluated the content of teacher training in the hierarchy of professions associated with the middle and upper classes. As at school, sporting success helped gain acceptance from peers where academic content (of the course) was not highly evaluated:

> Sporting ability took away some of the stigma of attending subsidised by a scholarship and training to be a teacher rather than a doctor, dentist, lawyer or gentleman farmer. (29)

At the urban university the separation from the rural home enabled the writer to immerse himself fully in studies which were negatively evaluated at home. Tertiary study was free from the cultural background of his family and relatives.

Author 31 returned to tertiary study after marriage. She explained:

> Since tertiary education was not 'free' then, there was no way my parents could afford the cost of fees as well as support me. (31)

Married and with children she chose to study part-time to enable her to fulfil her role in child care. The family was positively evaluated especially her role as mother.

Her academic years were exciting and successful. At this stage tertiary study would not have been possible without the encouragement and assistance of her parents with baby-sitting. In this way the parents activated their positive attitudes towards education which had been transmitted in their home and which they had missed. Success in tertiary study brought together two earlier influences viz home and school as a synthesis of educational values. The respondent stated:

> My parents were delighted; as would have been Sister ... had she been alive! (31)

ESB O. In common with writer 31, respondents 4, 21, and 36 entered tertiary study as mature age students. Economic circumstances were the reason as writer 21 recalled:

> At the age of sixteen, I left school and started work ... I had enjoyed the school years and was sorry that I could not continue with my schooling. I envied those of my colleagues who carried on and went to University. (21)

Respondent 36 completed tertiary study in Australia. Migration provided the opportunity to enter a university. His academic success had negative cultural and social effects. Higher education separated him from members of his (regional) Anglo community in the homeland who evaluated his study as snobbish. His experience reflected that of writer 29 who rejected working-class values and activated middle class values through education. Both respondents 29 and 36 remained conscious of their working- class backgrounds and class distinctions of the Anglo culture more than ethnic differences across languages and cultures.

Post-secondary education for two writers (16 and 30) involved training and preparation for Catholic religious orders. The first writer (16) entered her preparatory five years interstate with forty peers. Her experiences, apart from religious orders, were cultural and social interaction with girls from a variety of backgrounds. During the years new

primary bonds and collectivist values were created which reflected the values of European families. This was a stimulating cultural experience more than an academic period:

> Our differences were, I think, not reasons for barrier raising but instances for sharing and enjoying. I am thinking of the Polish, Polynesian and Italian girls who became and remain my close friends. I remember too how, one Polish family accommodated my family during a visit to Sydney. (16)

In an indirect way these friendships and cultural interactions provided a training ground for teaching in schools with an increasing diversity of cultural groups. The sharing experiences reflected the ethos and values of her religious life.

NESB groups gave insights into a variety of motivations for tertiary study. Whilst it was a common remark that parents positively evaluated academic study and higher education for a professional career e.g. 9,34, the younger generation evaluated the academic content and cultural enrichment of the curriculum as well as job opportunities.

NESB A. In the Australian school, writers 9 and 11 were high achievers with aspirations for tertiary study. Italian author 9 was fortunate that University gave access to the study of Italian culture and language. This study was continuous with Italian language and culture in the school curriculum to Year 12 level. The reinforcing of her Italian ethnicity through language is reflected in her balanced dual identity. The detail of his research interest indicates that author 11 has become absorbed in postgraduate studies in medicine:

> My specific interest in medical science is the study of the molecular mechanisms of pathology ... Whilst I was in the medical course, it was my intention to go on with surgical training, especially within paediatric surgery. Cellular Immunology has allowed me the opportunity to study disease, which would have been difficult to achieve within the confines of medicine. (11)

Memoir 27 can be grouped with these two. As a successful academic both at school and university, she had clear goals. Tertiary study gave her access to a 'vast range of subjects'. Whilst the writer was stimulated by the subjects few valued her culture. She

had access to subjects which were not culturally inclusive of her Lebanese culture but a further reproduction of Anglo culture and values e.g. Spenser's 'Faerie Queen'.

Overall tertiary education was a positive experience both academically and in regard to cultural interaction with NESB and ESB peers,[5] as the following comment indicated:

> I had left University on a high note, feeling valued to some extent and certainly more informed. (27)

As an undergraduate she felt her culture was not valued in the curriculum content nor could she express her cultural origins in assignments. This opportunity came later on return to tertiary study in a Masters of Education degree. This study had a direct influence on her personal identity and positive self-esteem which led to her career choice in multiculturalism. Tertiary study remained a dynamic influence in the maintenance of her cultural life especially language:

> My next achievement will be attending Arabic classes at the University to gain literacy in my language and hopefully ensure I don't lose it. (27)

As this comment concluded the memoir, it is evident tertiary study had been a dominant influence on her personal cultural system and Arabic would continue to be used in the future to replenish cultural stocks.

NESB participants recalled how postgraduate study had reinforced their positive feelings towards ethnicity. Respondent 13, in common with 21,31, and 36, entered

---

[5] To illustrate the value of intercultural communication at tertiary level I refer to the reflections of a Jewish tertiary student in Kishinov, Moldavia as analysed by Lieblich (ed. 1993, p.100):

> I enjoyed my studies and thought that my professors were the best. I had lots of free time to spend with my friends and develop my hobbies. I was active in the students' theater and newspaper. Every afternoon I took long walks with my friends, talking about books we read, and later sat in certain coffee shops until they were closing them.

Lieblich comments how peer interaction enriched tertiary life:

> The outstanding features of this stage were the close friendships with some other students, Natasha's sense of autonomy within the permitted framework, and academic interest in her work.

tertiary study as a mature age student. The respondent was motivated to study for academic reasons viz formal qualifications but with the intention of supporting her Aboriginal culture in government policies. She had been working in community based Aboriginal organisations:

> I decided that I should obtain some qualifications and I commenced part time study leading to formal qualifications. I chose journalism because I saw that it was important and necessary for Aboriginal organisations to be able to write submissions to government and press releases to utilise the media. (13)

Tertiary study for this writer encapsulated the personal fulfilment for her Aboriginal group i.e. her individual aspirations activated collectivist values.

ESB participant 29 experienced separation from family and peers the further his education developed. This separation was a cultural alienation and became wider as the respondent continued his education in the city. The natural separation from family for study was the experience of others e.g. 1,5, 20 and 23. In contrast writer 32 lived in the city with her large Italian family. Leaving home at 17 to become a student meant 'ostracism' from her family and a deep rupture of the Italian collectivist family values.

NESB O. Both ESB writer 20 and NESB writer 23 recalled that tertiary study was a turning point in their lives. For writer 23 access to the institution also gave access to the cultural content of his Italian language and culture which had been dormant in the first years at University. Changes in policies at the university resulted in institutional changes which impacted on his career options viz teaching both academic and cultural subjects - Italian language and science. From cultural interaction, he observed a greater cultural distance between ESB peers than other NESB peers. He refers to a tacit knowledge:

> Every time we had serious discussions, I felt that there was a second, more personal level of understanding prompted by our common culture. Some things did not even have to be said to be understood. (23)

Respondent 5 entered tertiary study with one ambition viz for a teaching job or research position in the Science Department. This motivation was influenced by financial reasons and repayment to his family and relatives. He makes the interesting point that he had used self-education at tertiary level in that he could study mostly unassisted:

> By then, my study skills were well developed. Forces (such as that of a former teacher) other than my own were no longer required to be successful in studies. (5)

This gives insight into one of the themes of this thesis viz to take personal responsibility for study procedures.

Respondent 24 concluded he was a bit luckier than most migrants because French was his first language as a child and at school. Access to a university in Australia gave him access to the cultural content of his first language as French was an academic language with some standing. He had had the opportunity to study French I, II, III at tertiary level. Tertiary study enabled the writer to gain an extensive competency in French language and literature in Australia. Study has stimulated aspirations for his young son to be bilingual in French:

> It is my hope that when my son grows up he will be able to talk at home in French and English simultaneously, just like his father used to when he lived in Cairo. (24)

Two participants, 22,25, had some tertiary education in Eastern Europe which was disrupted by war. Both grew up in homes where it was the expectation that they would complete higher education. The Hungarian parents of writer 22 both graduated from a university in Budapest and the home transmitted a tradition of academic study. Due to the disruption of war the writer matriculated in a refugee Hungarian Grammar School. It is understood that tertiary study was further interrupted at that time.

The other respondent 25 grew up in Poland with the certainty that 'all people have to complete university'. Her home had books, a mother who read and encouraged reading

and exposure to friends from the intelligentsia - doctors, professors and engineers. Her concept of tertiary study encapsulated the Polish concept of an educated person and broad knowledge as she remembered:

> I come to the conclusion that my 'cultural development' did not have a lot to do with my formal education at school and at the university. Both of these only provided me with formal knowledge. (25)

Academic pursuits were separated from cultural communication and the development of other interests. It was something one had to do to activate a traditional aspect of Polish cultural life.

For Indian author 3, undergraduate study in Singapore was a liberating experience. She had resisted the Indian values transmitted in the home evaluating them as 'anachronistic when placed in the context of Singapore'. She described cultural interaction and the influence of education:

> I saw education as a liberating force in my life as exposure to knowledge made me less accepting and more demanding and questioning. I became more aware of the forces that shaped and modified society ... Where the family failed to provide the answers my friends filled the vacuum. I felt more at ease in their company than with my own ethnic group. Even in the University all my friends were Chinese. (3)

In Australia, the author has re-evaluated her Indian culture and religion in a positive way. Re-vitalising Tamil language has re-vitalised her Indian identity:

> The fact that I am now in a different social and cultural environment has made me more conscious of my sense of identity. (3)

A Chinese respondent 30 (compare ESB 16) left home after high school to start religious training for a brotherhood. The academic side of his training was difficult because of his poor written English skills. This was a carry over from school as he explained:

> I was given thick religious books, written in English, to read by myself. I remember having to bury my head under my desk very often searching for

meaning from my dictionary of numerous words which I could not understand. (30)

In spite of language barriers the Catholic religious values took very deep roots in the respondent. During the years of intensive religious training, the writer crossed ethnic boundaries with colleagues who were Irish, Indian, Burmese and German. Cultural interaction reproduced the supremacy of the White Anglo group in society in Malaysia:

> Strange enough, even in the religious life, the Whites somehow also assumed more superior social positions. It could be because we were so used to the White rule that we found it difficult to rid these attitudes of white supremacy from our heads. (30)

For this respondent, post-secondary education activated the most sacred value transmitted in his family viz the Catholic faith.

Another Chinese respondent (34), postponed her entry to university in order to earn money to help educate younger siblings. Her entry to university coincided with the graduation of her youngest sister from the medical school. Academically, her entry fulfilled a long cherished dream and gave deep personal satisfaction. Tertiary study, which was positively evaluated in the home for scholarship, was also evaluated by the writer for the diversity of educational and cultural experiences:

> The impact of university education has not only raised my academic horizon but also widened my perspectives in life. (34)

Following graduation, she returned to her teaching career presumably for economic reasons. Tertiary study activated the tradition of academic achievement in her family as 'both my parents came from well-to-do intellectual Chinese family'.

Summary. ESB A authors evaluated tertiary study as a key influence in the stimulation, or awakening, of awareness to cultural pluralism and diversity. Educated in the monocultural school, the opportunity at University to study academic subjects from a perspective other than British came as both a stimulus and a shock to some students.

The study of NESB history and literature for example combined with meaningful interaction with NESB students in lectures and extra-curricular activities transformed monistic attitudes. None, however, activated this attitude in studying LOTE. For some, tertiary study was a life-changing experience which impinged on established Anglo values in their personal cultural systems. Not all ESB writers responded to the cultural diversity experienced at the University.

In a different way, tertiary study had a profound influence on writers from rural backgrounds who experienced the values transmitted in tutorials and interaction with peers which challenged and modified values internalised in the rural home.

Two ESB O authors had the opportunity to gain access to tertiary study as a result of migration to Australia. From their view, the significant influence was not the stimulation of cultural diversity but the qualification for a new career not accessible in the homeland.

From the NESB A perspective, undergraduate study provided more intercultural communication and positive reinforcement of ethnic identity than the monocultural school. These authors had experienced frustrations and difficulties in the Australian school to gain peer acceptance from the dominant group and exposure to a curriculum which was not culturally inclusive. In the changed milieu, NESB interaction with ESB peers was on a common student level especially in extra-curricular activities and shared accommodation. Ethnic minority differences were accepted with a positive attitude based on shared academic and social experiences. It was vital for individual cultural development that some NESB authors not only had equity of access to the institution but also to language content and aspects of high culture of their ethnic group. Accordingly, NESB respondents deepened the knowledge and activation of their ethnic culture for the first time or were able 'to breathe a familiar air'. Intercultural communication was highly valued as an aspect of tertiary study.

NESB O authors completed their first degrees in the homeland and most often in a milieu of cultural pluralism. They had strong aspirations for tertiary study as a means to a professional career and social mobility. Cultural diversity was not a new experience for these students. Friendship or interaction with ESB colleagues was, however, a rare experience.

All respondents in this study returned to university as higher degree students. This indicated a positive evaluation of tertiary study. Some reasons for the return can be analysed and several perspectives can be assumed: intellectual challenge, professional qualifications and opportunity for promotion, as well as change in career direction.
The reader did not have the impression that there was any compulsion to return to study. Rather, university had widened both academic and cultural perspectives.

For some ESB authors who were undergraduates in an Australian university, the tertiary curriculum was the window of opportunity for new cultural encounters. Some found positive reinforcement of positive attitudes to cultural diversity through the curriculum content. There were varying responses to exposure of multicultural subjects, for example, a re-evaluation of dominant Anglo values within the overarching framework of values. Those who responded with positive attitudes to cultural diversity made some effort to activate these attitudes in their professional lives.

At the time of writing NESB authors found government policies which reflected wider cultural diversity were slowly being implemented in the curriculum. Postgraduate study was the most fulfilling for NESB participants in cultural terms. Writers expressed how they felt their culture was positively valued in a supportive milieu. They were stimulated to re-vitalise and maintain their cultural stocks. Studies had made them re-evaluate their own culture and strengthen a resolve to transmit core values to the younger generation through the family and professional life. Intercultural

communication deepened their understanding and knowledge of Anglo values which respondents realised had transformed their personal cultural systems.

The discussion so far has argued that the home was the dominant influence in internalising the first set of core values in an individual personal cultural system. This was the domain for establishing an ethnic identity. Primary and secondary education exposed the respondents to a range of educational and cultural influences which shaped and modified the values internalised in the home. Education was evaluated as a key influence in developing and transforming what Znaniecki (1930, p.378) called 'the lumps of ice' of an individual's 'systems of activities and experiences' or, in terms of the thesis, cultural value systems.

7. ANALYSIS OF SELF-GENERATED CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCES

I was able to travel widely through most of Europe, including Scandinavia, Russia, other Eastern Bloc countries, Turkey, and Greece. My experiences in Europe, as a virtual monolingual, have left an indelible mark on my own being ... I retain many of the friendships I have made in my travels abroad. ESB A 35

Following the distinction made by Znaniecki, the second fundamental grouping of educational and cultural influences is referred to as 'Self-Generated Activity'. This second grouping includes the categories of Professional Life, Primary Social Systems such as Marriage and Friendships, External Contacts through Travel and Migration and, finally, Self-Education.

This grouping aims to distinguish how the informal educational and cultural influences have transformed the personal cultural systems of authors and to what extent education and cultural transmission from these sources were the result of self-directed activities. The purpose of analysis is to obtain from memoir statements how ESB and NESB authors have displayed creativity in the activation of values in their personal cultural systems and to what extent the transformation of values in their later periods of life have been influenced by earlier guided experiences e.g. a teacher at school, or subsequent self-initiated ones. The analysis illustrates how cultural becoming in multicultural Australia can be a dynamic process.

7.1 Professional Life

Memoir writers had returned to tertiary study after some years of involvement in their professional life. Most writers had taught for a period either in school, tertiary institutions, in migrant programs or informal church organizations. Writers as formal educators wrote about a diversity of educands (in Znaniecki's sense). In the context of this thesis memoirs not only covered a range of teaching experiences but provided detail, for example indicating their interest in and influence on shaping the educational

experiences of educands. Respondents were conscious that in their role of teacher, or Principal, they could be an influence in the transmission of attitudes towards and activation of cultural pluralism.

As well as teaching, professional experiences discussed by writers covered hospital work, multicultural programs such as home tutors, housing for new arrivals and community group work.

ESB A. Writers in this group had teaching experience both in Australia and overseas. Apart from memoir 15, these teaching experiences did not transform the personal cultural systems of the respondents. Intercultural communication did impinge on Anglo values, with some modification, but not at a deep level to internalise cultural values of a different ethnic group. This was the case where teaching was an experience in schools which reproduced dominant Anglo values.

Memoir 1 wrote at length of teaching experiences in several rural townships. It is interesting that there is no mention of interaction with staff or students in schools and no detail of the curricula taught. One takes it for granted the curriculum was the reproduction of the values of Anglo culture through the monocultural and monolingual school. In one school only a reference is made to problems of aboriginal students which he associated with any low socio-economic group. Cultural differences of ethnic communities were not included in the curriculum.

Discussion is devoted to the social interaction within rural communities and patterns of rural life. Being separated from family and friends, 'neighbours became very good friends'. He experienced a close identification with the land as a value. Of interest was his comments on gaining partial acceptance into a farming community as one of the floating population (teacher) as distinct from those born into the community. His acceptance was eased a little because a relative had been a minister in the town. Author

1 felt he never was accepted by the group where consciousness of socio-economic differences persisted:

> Through these family friends I was invited into the rural social round ... but despite my honorary membership of the group, I was not one of them. To be born and bred and to work the land in the isolation and yet closeness of a farming community produces people with an extremely strong sense of group identity; with the land, their neighbours and the rural community at large. (1)

Author 1 found cultural interaction in the formation of a close friendship with a Dutch family gave some insights into difficulties of new arrivals. There was some sharing of cultural values between families, some efforts at language learning and building bridges:

> (I) identified with them to the extent of beginning to learn the language; mixed in social groups where the only non-Dutch was myself ... and then when homesickness and financial insecurity won, kept up a regular correspondence to Holland in an attempt to sustain the friendship across that distance, even contemplating travel to bridge the gap. (1)

This quotation indicated some change from the writer's former sensitivity to people as 'individuals rather than as members of some conveniently labelled group'. Friendship had created efforts to build bridges from his Anglo culture to a minority group - an effort which was not completed but indicated the beginnings of modification to his personal cultural system. (He does not discuss in which group the friendship was started).

In contrast to writer 1 respondent 15 had early aspirations to travel overseas to sample 'foreign lands and cultures'. Her first teaching job was in Canada, a situation in another ESB community where her Anglo values were not threatened but reproduced:

> Despite this exquisite environment, the people and work conditions were not so dissimilar from Australia. (15)

It was only when the respondent took a job amongst communities of predominantly indigenous peoples viz Inuit, Indian, Metis with a core of 'whites' that she experienced being a minority member amongst people of very different cultural values. Part of the

experience was the loneliness of being a minority bereft of kin. As well as social isolation she re-evaluated her Anglo-Saxon values and traditions. The writer commented on the cultural interaction which was a two-way interaction and meaningful, resulting in a transforming of her own culture:

> I realised too that, despite being a minority, my Anglo-Saxon values were not particularly under threat as long as I stayed within the community, a white man's creation ... It was only when I ventured outside that safe environment that I crossed the threshold of the other culture and truly experienced being a minority ... I have wanted to immerse myself in these cultures, to experience the difficulty of not being able to communicate and the need to extend myself to overcome these barriers. (15)

Respondent 15 aspired to work and teach in NESB communities and examine her Anglo cultural values. In contrast writer 33, with his family, went as an Exchange Teacher to the U.S.A. (Colorado). He recalled it as a fantastic experience in social terms. Cultural interaction was limited to another ESB community so Anglo values were not threatened. In the American society, policies of a melting pot prevailed and reproduced in the school where black children mixed with white children without recognition of cultural or racial differences:

> They developed friendships and a better understanding of each other because of the mixing. (33)

The writer's personal cultural system was not modified by the experience. He did have a positive attitude to compulsory integration of black children in the school whereas many teachers were not in favour.

This participant (33) devoted half of his memoir to discussion of his teaching life revealing his professional career as a dominant influence. His first teaching appointment was a city primary school (in the early 1970's) before multicultural policies were implemented. The growing numbers of NESB children were expected to assimilate:

> Most were from Italian/Greek backgrounds (85%). I can always remember looking at my roll book on the first day thinking I couldn't find an Anglo name. I received great support from other members on the staff. (33)

Teaching was not a two-way cultural interaction in a culturally inclusive curriculum. Perhaps intercultural understanding with NESB parents could be developed in the writer's more recent concern to maintain contact with parents at the face to face level. This form of contact reinforced by written communication he conceived as parents as partners with teachers 'working for the educational growth of their children'.

Respondents 1, 31 and 33 devoted much discussion in their memoirs to their professional careers but entirely from an Anglo perspective. All were currently in teaching positions (1990's) but did not mention cultural interaction with NESB students nor modifications to teaching courses. Writers 31 and 33 were involved with teaching practice e.g. Open classroom teaching 33, but cultural inclusivity was not mentioned.

Respondent 31 was a tutor and lecturer in a tertiary institution. Her interest and work was counselling and group work and building up positive counsellor/client relationships. Through writing the memoir she came to realise that the influence in the stress on these interpersonal relationships stemmed from her primary school teacher. In fact recollections on this teacher and her life-long influence concluded the memoir:

> Prior to embarking on this piece of work, I had not made any association between the importance I place on the quality of interpersonal relationships and counselling ... and my own early educational experiences ... It now seems possible to me that these early learning experiences and the attitudes which have been shaped in me through them, feature strongly among those factors which influence my approach to teaching, and particularly the importance I place on the interpersonal relationship dimension. (31)

Another writer explained how early school experiences, rather than the influence of one teacher, had influenced her career direction in teaching disabled and disadvantaged children. School experiences, she felt, paralleled those in wider society viz that not everyone was treated fairly. Social rejection and isolation resulted from her academic success and clever girl status:

> I couldn't get into trouble no matter how hard I tried ... By becoming gradually aware that I was not being treated fairly I also started to realise that

neither were other children. While I frequently benefitted from the bias, other children were not so fortunate. (26)

School and work experiences created a real dilemma to be confronted:

> The original cultural promise seemed only to be able to work within specific boundaries - leaving a lot of people out. The injustices of a system that either would not or could not tolerate differences were, to me, offenses, thus insupportable. (26)

From her ESB perspective, the writer was conscious of the growing assertiveness of other cultures and the dominant system and changes in society. These reasons and experiences directed her into teaching poorly-functioning children, though aware that NESB students were culturally disadvantaged in a classroom.

Within this group, memoir 10 worked closely with NESB communities in her professional life viz as Education Officer, and in Housing programs for new arrivals. She had personal interaction with many NESB individuals which initiated learning Italian. Her deep involvement with NESB communities was activated in a return to teaching and assistance with NESB students studying Year 12 English. Her experiences and attitudes to cultural pluralism contrast with those of writers 1 and 33 in this group. Educated in the monocultural Australian school, her first job as a Home Tutor co-ordinator was a shock in cultural terms:

> This employment as Education Officer was a turning point for me in several ways ... It was the first time that I was confronted with theories of how to address the migrant situation in Australia in terms of government policy. I was in contact with large numbers of Chileans who were refugees after the 1972 military coup. (10)

This professional experience did impinge and transform attitudes in her dominant Anglo personal cultural system:

> I began teaching English and attempted to learn Spanish. I met a wide variety of migrant people and began to appreciate the difficulties imposed on non-English speaking people by the monoculturalism of Australia ... For the first time in my life I was socialising with people who were not from my cultural background and who spoke a language different from mine. (10)

This author responded to intercultural communication with the willingness to cross cultural borders by transforming her own cultural system.

ESB O. As writer 16, and her parents, arrived in Australia soon after her birth, her school and work experiences were in the Australian school system.

After her Novitiate, the first teaching situation in a Catholic parish school made her feel inadequate to meet the needs of the many children from Italian families viz her inadequate knowledge of the language and culture, ineffective communication between school and parents. There were the beginnings of change in attitudes in the monocultural school such as the migrant education programme and positive attitudes of staff to these programmes.

Later experiences involved further changes to the curriculum which were a development from 'well meaning' attitudes but were transitional, not culturally inclusive changes, for example bilingual programmes which were discontinued when the children were considered to have bridged home and school. The author experienced the implementation of government policies funding the Multicultural Education Programme, ESL and second language programmes. Whilst some parents and staff positively evaluated the language programmes other NESB parents who were 'grappling' to understand the school system had a different evaluation:

> All the time it seemed as though it was the more affluent parents and educators who were concerned about the Italian programme - not the ordinary folk who first and foremost stressed that they wanted their children to speak and write English well - the key they saw as the one to success. (16)

The parents themselves lacked this 'key to success' and wanted it for their children.

As Principal of a school the writer had some opportunity to activate a positive attitude to cultural pluralism. The student composition was representative of several minority groups and whilst Indonesian was introduced, indicating a positive evaluation of LOTE,

it did not reflect the language of the community. The curriculum was slowly changing to meet the cultural needs of the students but it was just a beginning:

> Quite frankly I am trying to come to grips with widening my sights as well. (16)

Her memoir provided many cultural and educational insights into her growing awareness of cultural pluralism which was being reflected in changes in schools from government funding. Her religious values were activated in an effort to understand the frustrations and difficulties experienced by NESB parents and children.

Author 12, as Principal of a school, was conscious of the cultural diversity amongst her students and how she could influence decision making for a culturally inclusive curriculum. This was a learning process for her:

> For myself I hope to continue to develop attitudes in myself and in this school community which will lead to a greater understanding of Australia as a multicultural society rather than one of dominant monism. (12)

Her specific aspiration was for the teaching of minority ethnic languages to have the same level of development and status within her school as the teaching of Religious Education across the Catholic school system. She positively evaluated the link between language and culture.

Two other writers (21,36) in this group did not discuss their professional lives. The latter gave just a reference to his job as technician during an airforce career.

NESB A. In contrast to the ESB groups, NESB respondents discussed in detail government policies in Australia and the effectiveness and implementation of these policies on NESB students and communities.

Respondent 13 was not involved in teaching. Her professional life involved working with community groups. Firstly with individuals who had migrated after the second

war viz Italian, German, Latvian, Polish and English. In the early seventies she became active in the Commonwealth Public Service and in particular working for her own ethnic community - Aboriginal affairs. One aspect of her work was opportunities following the 1967 Referendum which gave citizenship to all Aboriginal peoples:

> The Commonwealth also funded the States to provide employment in the education sector and to provide a better education for Aboriginal students. (13)

Public work was complemented by membership on community based Aboriginal organisations. One reflection from her memoir traced the strength for her professional life drawn from early collectivist family values:

> I believe that I was able to maintain the pace and stress because of the strength drawn from my family during childhood. (13)

Marriage to an Aboriginal spouse also committed to working in the community organisations has deepened involvement with Aboriginal affairs on a national level. Close cultural interaction with many Aboriginal groups has had another effect viz in strengthening their Aboriginality and identity. She recalled:

> This happened as we continued to meet Aboriginal people from all parts of Australia. These friendships gave us a national network of primary and secondary relationships. (13)

Her reflections highlight that working and interaction, as in the case with teaching, with individuals or students from one's own ethnic group has mutual benefits. The writer's direction in tertiary study was influenced by aspirations to assist the affairs of her community.

In the Australian school, respondent 27 was teaching her third language - French. Language teaching was one aspect of her professional interest in multiculturalism and language. From her NESB teaching and life experiences she outlined how NESB cultures need to be valued and included in curricula:

> One of the significant factors was that I believed that NESB experiences were important and that they needed to be valued and included within

education. As education is a major shaping force I wanted to contribute to changing it so that it became a positive learning environment for all children, not just for the dominant culture. (27)

Teaching experience combined with tertiary study in which she felt a new sense of self-esteem in being bicultural contributed to her confidence in taking a new career direction as an Adviser in Multiculturalism.

Another author 28, in her role as Principal of a school, positively evaluated bilingual programmes to enable NESB students to become bicultural:

> Further interactions with Greek families have reinforced the desire to accept and encourage the children to develop their identities and ethnic culture. It has been daunting to experience the frustrations and pain felt by many ethnic families as they try and understand the school system. (28)

Her aspirations for bicultural programmes were not inclusive of ESB students. A close friendship with a NESB peer from school had opened the window to cultural communication and understanding in her professional life:

> I have been fortunate in that I have an Italian friend who has helped me understand her ethnic culture. It has enriched my life and knowledge and I am grateful for the experience. (28)

For writer 27, the participation in multicultural studies has transformed the evaluation of her ethnic culture. The corresponding strengthening of cultural identity has influenced the respondent becoming active in her community as a role model of a bicultural individual:

> I find myself becoming more active in my community in an effort to help the new settlers and their children in particular come to terms with the cultural confusion many will experience. I believe the support is essential, and that the younger people can see people who successfully and happily live between two cultures. (27)

Other writers in this group were working in diverse professions in which they could activate their bivalent cultural systems. Writer 11 had a profession in medical science but he was also committed to the youth in his ethnic Greek Orthodox Church:

> I have been involved with the State Youth councils of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia, and the teaching of the Orthodox faith to children (in his local parish). (11)

Respondent 7 had been active in migrant programmes viz as a Home Tutor which brought mutual interaction through language learning and stimulated the replenishing of her Polish linguistic cultural stocks.

NESB O. With the exception of memoir 8, all writers in this group had taught either in a formal situation or in the home giving 'guidance' to children.

Respondent 5 intended to return to New Guinea after completion of his study to full-time teaching or a research position in science. Cultural and educational interaction in Australia had not transformed his personal cultural system. He had internalised some Anglo values in his home country. His aspiration was to return to his former home and teaching job to fulfil a cultural obligation: 'complete paying off monies I owe my parents'.

Several respondents (17,30,34) had many years of teaching experience in Malaysia before migrating to Australia. After graduation from the Catholic religious training, writer 30 taught in Malacca where the language of instruction was Malay. He had acquired Malay (necessary for a teacher's certificate) in the same manner as English acquisition viz everything was learnt by rote methods. He passed the examination but recalled:

> I could go ahead with my teaching career but my proficiency in teaching in that language was far from adequate. (30)

This experience could preempt the future Australian situation. One can envisage educational policies which include LOTE as a compulsory component of teacher training courses so that bilingual teachers are in all classrooms.

Having left the brotherhood, the participant became Principal of a Catholic Mission secondary school in Sarawak. In this position he had some authority to teach the subjects he chose and significantly the language of instruction was English. As students came from different tribes e.g. Kenyah, Kelabit and Malays, the writer remembered the difficulty of preparing these students for the Senior Cambridge examination. The school system based on Anglo values and attitudes disadvantaged the students. Not only was their pidgin English inadequate for an exam based on the correct use of grammar and structure but the curriculum was culturally exclusive according to 'sets of knowledge to be produced accurately for examinations.'

For both the writer and students the curriculum did not positively evaluate their cultures and languages. Regular social and cultural interaction took place outside the classroom in a meaningful interaction which deepened cultural understanding and co-operation. Cultural interaction between the respondent, parents and students indicated a deeper involvement and commitment such as language learning than the classroom interaction of the monistic ESB memoirs as the following quotation illustrated:

> I mingled with the students quite closely. I went on frequent fishing trips with them, farmed with them and played sports with them. I visited their longhouses to meet their parents and their chiefs. I learnt quite a lot about them and began to understand and appreciate them. I even learnt to speak their languages and ate their food which was quite different from what we had. (30)

As well as language barriers, the participant was prepared to cross bridges and understand religious barriers:

> I learnt about their cultures, dances, superstitions and customs. As one of the Church's leaders I also learnt to sing their hymns and later even knew them well enough to teach them. (30)

Although Principal of the school the writer felt he shared an experience with his students - poverty of his childhood.

In Australia teaching experiences are not mentioned but as he enrolled in a postgraduate TESOL course one can assume the writer taught with NESB groups. During the course he initiated a student-service centre, fulfilling a need for overseas students requiring board and guidance in studies. At the time of writing, he was maintaining this service. As in Malaysia the writer had close interaction with both (Asian) students and their parents. The parents stay with him when visiting Adelaide.

One Indian author began her teaching career in Malaysia and experienced changes in government policies which she recalls:

> I worked as a teacher in secondary schools in Malaysia for 27 years. These coincided with independent Malaya and saw major revisions in the Education System. Free and compulsory education went with building new schools all around the country ... As a young teacher it was a heady time - free to instil knowledge and mould new ideals ... Children were taught the history of Malaysia for the first time. Nationalism was actively encouraged. (17)

The participant taught a curriculum which did not transmit an imposed and alien (Anglo) culture but one which was culturally inclusive. Changes in education reflected wider changes in society. For example, the media reported news of local and national leaders in place of events occurring in the English Parliament.

Memoirs 17 and 34 had several common professional links across cultures. Both taught overseas in Malaysia (17) and Hong Kong (34). Their homes transmitted a tradition of teaching through the mothers who were professional teachers. In the home the mothers taught their children to read and write in the mother tongue viz Tamil and Chinese.

Following secondary education, writer 34 entered a teacher training course teaching evening classes in order to pay fees. She was assured of a job to help pay the school fees of younger siblings:

> (The course) almost guaranteed the certainty of a job at graduation since there was a surging demand for trained teachers in Hong Kong at that time. (34)

Following graduation the writer had twelve years of rewarding teaching experience in primary schools. Although it was her family and cultural duty to provide money for education in the family and forgo her own tertiary study, teaching as a career was a satisfying experience. She has taught in Australia and the memoir provides insights and comparisons between two educational systems from her teaching perspective:

> I got a teaching post at a private school ... I like my Australian students who tend to be more outspoken and active than the Chinese students whom I used to have in Hong Kong. The educational system is more flexible, activity oriented, and free from syllabus-bound academic pursuit. The style of parents in bringing up the children is more permissive and liberal. (34)

The Australian school was more relaxed than the formal and traditional Chinese system. She had enrolled in a Saturday ethnic school to pursue the formal study of Mandarin to replenish and maintain her cultural stocks in Australia.

Informal Teaching: Educational Guidance. Two female writers (22, 25) from Eastern Europe had their education and career opportunities disrupted through war and migration. In an informal milieu, both taught their children in the home in the manner of Znaniecki's (1936) educational guidance.

For example, writer 25 discussed the beginnings of education in Australia for her two daughters. They were fortunate as the first school positively evaluated their Polish culture and one ESL teacher was provided 'only for themselves' for the acquisition of English. For the first few months the daughters worked with this teacher attending only common art and sport classes. Only then did they participate in mainstream classes without needing very much help. The home supported and reinforced the English learning at school in a positive attitude. The parental help reflects the uncertainty experienced by NESB parents trying to understand an alien education system, as the respondent explained:

> Although we knew only basic English we were able to help them by spending many hours every day on reading English books using the dictionary. During these sessions we pointed out to them the different ways of expressing the same thoughts in English and in Polish.

> As the result of their long intensive study of English at school as well at home after one year they were able to converse freely in this language. (25)

Home and school reinforced language learning in a milieu which activated both language and culture. In secondary school the daughters had maintained a strong feeling and pride of being Polish transmitted through education in the home on aspects of Polish culture:

> At school - by choosing the topics for her projects connected with Poland or famous Poles (her culture is emphasized). Because I teach her the Polish language, history and literature - she has a large store of knowledge from which she can draw information at any time. (25)

This quotation mirrors the Polish concept of an educated individual. As well as transmitting pride in Polish culture, the writer displayed uncertainty as to the breadth of knowledge transmitted in the Australian school.

The other Eastern European writer (22 - from Hungary) married a German spouse in Australia. The home language was German. The parents wanted their children to grow up aware of being bicultural and of global cultural diversity. The writer activated this positive attitude to cultural diversity through home teaching which was modelled on the education system in the homeland:

> The English story books I carted home from the Adelaide Children's Library were carefully chosen so they reflect the world in terms of different countries and their different cultures ... I bought a record of Grimm fairytales spoken in German ... We parents voiced and modelled Central European values as transmitted to us through our education. (22)

In spite of their efforts, the ethnic home culture could not keep pace with their children's cognitive development in English at school. At secondary level the home culture was positively evaluated and reinforced with the introduction of the home language German into the High School so that for them the curriculum was culturally inclusive. Attendance at the German Saturday school during the primary school years had assisted in maintaining the home language and culture.

To quote a further example of educational guidance from parents, writer 24 mentioned that he spoke French at home with his eight months old son. This informal situation activated language learning at the 'father's knee' in a bilingual situation.

Ethnic Schools. Respondent 18 attended primary, secondary and tertiary education in Greece. Having taught in Greece she was commissioned to come to Australia as an expert in Greek Ethnic schools. Apart from discussing problems associated with the structure of these schools, she argues that teachers should be 'competent' (proficient) with a 'thorough knowledge of the language one is teaching'. She argues for teachers who are native speakers and preferably:

> Holders of Greek high school certificates, have been born in Greece and have a greater competence in the language than many teachers in government schools who have finished colleges here. (18)

For NESB A authors, ethnic schools played an important part in helping to maintain the home language and culture.

Summary. In their professional lives all respondents were able to use their teaching skills in the classroom with both ESB and NESB students. Most were conscious of multicultural policies and the influence they had to implement these policies. Authors had the opportunity to work in the wider community with their own ethnic groups. Through their professional lives some ESB authors revealed that they had direct intercultural communication which was dynamic and changed their personal cultural systems. NESB authors, because of their life experiences in the Australian school or in overseas schools which imposed different cultural values, tried to instil a high evaluation of cultural differences in their teaching work or community.

Analysis so far has revealed that the categories of Home, Primary and Secondary schooling and Tertiary study were key influences through guided education in shaping one's personal becoming. Ethnicity and attitudes to cultural diversity showed

dynamism and further transformation through cultural interaction during the professional life.

The significance of this category was the awareness of authors that they could influence school policies and positive attitudes towards cultural pluralism in their working life. Authors reflected on their roles as teachers or working with NESB community groups. They were aware how the return to Higher Degree study had influenced their professional life. For example, ESB respondents, in a position as Principals, had some influence in implementing multicultural policies in schools and had aspirations to do so. They were more culturally sensitive to the diversity amongst students, to the difficulties of NESB parents and the need to establish closer parent/teacher interaction. Analysis revealed mutual respect for cultural differences stimulated LOTE amongst ESB and NESB parents and teachers. Bicultural NESB authors resolved to contribute to a 'positive learning environment for all children' by activating dual cultural strands. Bicultural respondents resolved to implement a culturally inclusive curriculum and to transmit a positive evaluation of ethnic minority differences.

In a different milieu, ESB and NESB authors working with NESB groups in the community experienced meaningful cultural communication which impinged on personal cultural systems. Examples illustrate the close interaction of cultural and educational influences in their professional lives. NESB O authors were able to compare teaching and education systems overseas with the multicultural Australian situation.

Travel had links with the professional life highlighting the point that different categories were linked and not independent of each other. Travel through one's profession was another cultural and educational experience. It can be concluded that for many the return to tertiary study had broadened the base for understanding multicultural

education which was activated in the professional life. Cultural encounters were a significant aspect of the professional career.

7.2   Primary Social Systems

7.2.1   Marriage

ESB A. Six respondents in this group (1,6,31,33,35) were married to ESB spouses. Memoir 6 indicated that her spouse had distant German ancestry, had some knowledge of and travelled amongst NESB communities and had some LOTE experience at a superficial level. Marriage widened her ESB cultural perspectives on life and exposed her to NESB interaction which had been limited.

Memoirs indicated marriage patterns were changing and being modified by younger generations. No writer said that marriage into another ethnic group would not be considered. It was a growing expectation. This was a general comment directed to the younger generation. Memoir 1 recalled little cultural NESB interaction or modification to his personal cultural system in his memoir. He realised that modifications to the values in one's personal cultural system could be influenced by the marriage of his children across ethnic boundaries:

> If my children were to marry across the ethnic 'boundaries' the (modifications) would be hastened. (1)

He accepted this process as a possibility.

Writer 33 met his Anglo spouse when on vacation in Canada. She came from another ESB community so Anglo values were strengthened. Intercultural communication through marriage reinforced values of the dominant group with no interaction of NESB values.

Author 35 also met his Anglo spouse when on a Teacher Exchange in England. Marriage to a spouse, born in England, has strengthened his Anglo personal cultural system and reinforced his view of the world as 'truly Anglo-Australian.'

Differences in religious values were the marriage experience of writer 31. On leaving school the writer was baptised a Catholic. She married a non-Catholic and the children were educated in Catholic colleges. At one point the respondent re-evaluated and modified her activation of her religious values. She chose not to discuss the life events and experiences which contributed to this change except to say that she had moved away from 'religious formalities'.

Author 20 provides an empirical example of changing marriage patterns in the ESB family. Her Catholic parents showed acceptance of a spouse from a different ethnic group:

> The next generation of my family is going to be very different from the present one - one brother has married a girl of Latvian background, another an American-Japanese and a sister a Sri Lankan. The only grandchildren at this stage are Sinhalese Australians who have Sinhalese names not British names. (20)

The next generation is shown to reflect cultural diversity in Australian society. The marriage pattern and its modification also reflect the positive attitudes and tolerance of the parents who have provided the supporting milieu.

ESB O. Marriage and cultural interaction through marriage were not discussed. Writer 4 was no longer married, writer 16 had entered a religious order and respondents 12, 21 and 36 chose not to reveal their thoughts on marriage.

NESB A. Memoir 9 discussed how her Italian parents had modified their values in respect to expectations of marriage for their children in Australia. Whilst their generation had expected marriage to an Italian spouse they preferred an Italian spouse

for their children but had modified this family value in accepting an ESB spouse for at least one sibling:

> The Italian cultural tradition encourages people of the same ethnic background to marry ... This is the ideal situation as viewed by members of my own family and relatives. My brother has been going out with an English girl for two years. My parents no longer care as to who we marry as long as we are happy. (9)

Implications of this cultural communication reveal how marriage across ethnic groups in Australia will transform personal cultural systems in the next generation:

> My brother's girlfriend had different cultural values and ideas but after frequenting family parties, weddings and other social functions, has come to appreciate and enjoy the Italian way of life. She has learnt some words in Italian. (9)

An Aboriginal respondent (13) discussed openly and with sensitivity marriage to two NESB spouses. Her first marriage was to a Greek spouse when she 'lived very much like a Greek person'. Marriage brought cultural interaction within the Greek community for twenty years. She experienced her 'first hand' knowledge of multicultural Australia living and working amongst immigrants both from Greek and other NESB communities. Cultural interaction was activated by her becoming fluent in Greek and internalising a third language strand in her personal cultural system. By living in two cultures, Aboriginal and Greek, a third culture emerged in her value system according to Casmir's (1993) concept of overlapping cultures. At the same time the writer maintained contact with her extended family members and activated her Aboriginal cultural values:

> Members of my family stayed with us when visiting the city and we went back to the country very often. (13)

The writer married for a second time to an Aboriginal spouse who was also committed to working in Aboriginal community organisations. Marriage strengthened a mutual feeling of 'Aboriginality' and ethnic identity which was reinforced by cultural encounters through work with Aboriginal people from all parts of Australia.

Both marriages opened opportunities for cultural interaction with a variety of NESB groups but ESB interaction is not mentioned. Marriage to a spouse from the same ethnic group was significant for maintaining and revitalising her Aboriginal cultural stocks.

NESB O. From all the NESB memoirs, writer 24 was the only respondent married to an ESB spouse. (It was also the case that no ESB writers were married to a NESB spouse). His wife is a third generation Australian. French is the writer's first language and marriage has stimulated some language sharing and cultural interaction with his spouse at a restricted competence level. Otherwise English is the home language. His intention is to converse in French and English with his infant son in a bilingual situation.

The authors all accepted that they would marry a spouse of their choice. Writer 5 planned to marry the girlfriend of his choice whom he met at college. This was rejecting the cultural marriage vows of his family and community. His parents did not openly cause conflict but modified their values:

> I wrote away to my parents ... They were disappointed because I was going to marry a girl of my choice and not theirs. (5)

The relatives were not so tolerant, complaining that money for school fees should be paid back before the bride price. The younger generation viz the bride's sister was more understanding of the situation and modified the culture of the family in an accepting way. The writer's parents were understanding of the financial payments but the bride was rejected by her own family over this cultural issue:

> As usual, (my parents) agreed to give me more time to pay back theirs. At least I was happy but not my wife, as she could no longer visit her parents. (5)

The memoir concludes with the resolve to fulfil this cultural obligation and to re-unite his wife with her parents by meeting their financial demands.

Marriage to a spouse from the same Polish NESB culture is not discussed in Memoir 25. It seems a private concern. From the context of the memoir it is evident the writer married about ten years before migrating to Australia:

> When we arrived in Australia ... (25)

'We' the pronoun is used in Australia. One can also assume her spouse was Polish as the home was a 'High Ethnic' one in which language and culture especially religious values were transmitted and activated. The parents were united in transmitting these values. Marriage reinforced the Polish cultural values internalised in the author's early years and strengthened her sense of Polish identity.

Also from Eastern Europe, writer 22 learnt German and English as foreign languages at school in Budapest. In Australia, she married a spouse from a different minority group who was a German immigrant. German is the home language and a positive attitude and activation of biculturalism is transmitted in the home to the four children. Whilst German is the dominant culture in the home, it was not a new language for the writer but a second language. Marriage has developed the competence level of German in her personal cultural system. She recalled:

> In the 60's and the 70's German gained much ground as an academic subject, and it got reinforced in our family as the three girls matriculated in it. (22)

In addition, she mentioned friends in the Hungarian club indicating her Hungarian language and culture is maintained and activated through social interaction.

Respondent 30 married a spouse from his own Chinese cultural group but within the marriage there were language and religious value differences. For example, English was the home language as his wife was Cantonese and the writer did not speak Cantonese and his dialects were Hokkien and Teochew.

Religious values underwent the 'biggest cultural change' in Australia. The writer was a Catholic and his wife was a Buddhist. In the milieu of religious pluralism as an overarching value, the writer slowly modified his Catholic practices. Finally he made the decision to modify his spiritual needs with Buddist chanting and meditation. He maintains and activates 'quite a lot of the Christian values' but cannot accept some church practices such as confession. The example is a good illustration of how marriage can transform and modify values in a personal cultural system through the influence of a primary relationship.

Summary. Cultural interaction and attitudes towards a spouse from the same or a different ethnic group was mentioned but not discussed at length. There was a difference in marriage patterns between participants born Overseas and those born in Australia. For example respondents born overseas, ESB and NESB, who were married before migration to Australia, were more likely to marry a spouse from the same ethnic group. ESB writers married Anglo spouses following teacher exchanges in England and Canada where Anglo culture and values were dominant.

Living in a multicultural society, it was revealing that ESB A and NESB A participants were conscious of the possibility of marrying a spouse from a different ethnic group - ESB or NESB. They had attended school and tertiary study in Australia and from this cultural and social communication did not have strong feelings on marriage to the same ethnic spouse. Analysis revealed the NESB parents preferred this latter union but were not insisting. The younger generation had modified the traditional family values in response to cultural pluralism. In particular, NESB writers had a positive attitude towards transmitting their language and culture to the next generation. NESB writers understood how marriage to a spouse from the same minority group could reinforce and revitalise the activation of core values of their minority culture.

Marriage could be a significant influence in a primary social network which could transform values in the personal cultural system. Only half of the participants were married but several discussed changing marriage patterns amongst siblings aware that patterns would continue to change through meaningful interaction with cultural diversity.

7.2.2　Friendships

Peer interaction and the formation of friendships have been discussed in detail in the sections on primary and secondary education. Friendships at tertiary level, through professional careers and continuing throughout life were important influences in cultural interaction resulting in the modification of values in a writer's personal cultural system. Close friendships especially were a strong influence in internalising new values from a different ethnic group.

ESB A. Memoir 6 has been cited as an example where marriage and cultural interaction with NESB groups during travel overseas opened windows to form close friendships through intercultural understanding with a variety of NESB communities.

Author 20 formed a close friendship with a Latvian peer at school. She gives a good description of her Anglo observations on a different culture:

> A visit to their home would always see the parents retreating to the kitchen. I came from a family home where no-one was allowed into the 'Lounge' that was strictly for adults - my friends sat in the kitchen or family room. My parents would always talk with them and then leave us alone. (20)

Language differences created a cultural barrier for meaningful communication:

> I felt that the Latvian parents were in the wrong because they didn't learn English. My friend went to Saturday morning classes and joined the Latvian folk-dancing group. She was never allowed to come to parties or stay overnight. (20)

Author 20 realised that real friendships have a basis in sharing interests and cultural dialogue which need to be a two-way cultural interaction to transform personal values.

Friends were formed in diverse ways. Writer 1 mentioned that, teaching in a rural community away from family, the neighbours became friends. In another rural community, he was conscious that unless one was born and bred into the farming 'sub culture' which had a close sense of group identity one would not become 'one of them'.

The respondent and his family had tried to form a close friendship with a Dutch family in a two way interaction:

(I) mixed in social groups where the only non-'Dutch' was myself. (1)

The friendship was ruptured when the Dutch family returned home overcome by homesickness[1] and financial insecurity. Attempts were made to sustain the friendship in regular correspondence to Holland. Whilst the friendship lasted in Australia the writer 'welcomed the diversity and richness' which the friendship brought. His positive attitude could be activated in another friendship.

Teacher Exchange in Canada opened new friendships in another ESB group for writer 33 and his family. He wrote:

It was a sad day when we had to leave ... all the friends we made. (33)

---

[1] Zabukovec (1993, p.303) disusses homesickness amongst Eastern Europeans in her book. She describes it as a real 'sickness' evoked when singing songs about the homeland:

Homesickness gripped each man with the force of physical pain. There was a tightness in the chest around the heart, a lump in the throat and tears in the eyes. Lucky that darkness had set in, so that nobody could see the tears.

As a cure for homesickness some Europeans returned home for a visit. Their responses give revealing insights (p.325):

I was terribly homesick for the first fifteen years. What cured me was my first trip back. It was winter and the place was grey and horrible. I saw how the people had to eke out their existence. People had to be quiet in their flats in order not to disturb the neighbours.

Another reflected on the land (p.325):

My horizons seemed limited. I had not realised it, but I had become an Australian in my attitude to space. I was now used to lots of space around me and Europe did not provide it.

Friendships were formed through common Anglo interests and values amongst colleagues and did not extend to crossing cultural boundaries. Social interaction extended to students who showed 'warmth and affection towards me and my family'. The family enjoyed social interaction in a new ESB milieu which did not modify their Anglo values.

Professional work situations sometimes developed into friendships at a primary level. Author 33 was involved with three other colleagues in the formation of an 'Open Space Unit' during his first teaching years. This unit was a new experience in schools and the teachers developed close bonds in a shared work venture as he remembered:

> Our bondship was then in 1972-3 and we still see each other today. It brought teachers together on a common issue - kids. It was the single most important collaboration that would effect my teaching for years to come. (33)

Friendship came out of co-operation and shared interest in professional interaction with ESB peers rather than cultural interaction.

Respondent 15 also worked in Canada as a teacher. Her Anglo individualism and its development is clearly described in the memoir. Close friendships or a desire for friends are not mentioned. She had a different view on friendship from other respondents. Travelling 'mostly alone' provided more opportunity for cultural interaction with ethnic minority groups in e.g. Europe, South America, Mexico. Cultural interaction in NESB communities away from Anglo values and building cultural bridges was her inspiration:

> I ...wanted to immerse myself in these cultures, to experience the difficulty of not being able to communicate and the need to extend myself to overcome these barriers - all rather difficult when accompanied by friends. With companions one can soft-pedal through any culture or land, but not alone. (15)

Her understanding was that friends would insulate her from cultural interaction beyond a superficial level. Alone, her intention was to make the effort to cross cultural boundaries.

Writers 19 and 29 shared the experiences of early childhood in the rural north. As the father of the former was the only teacher in the school, the writer formed friendships within the railway workers and with other itinerant families as he described:

> The railway families included several children my age and older with whom my brother and I played in the railway yards and elsewhere. We got to know many of the engine drivers, firemen and guards who regularly worked the trains ... We often rode the engines as they shunted in the yards. (19)

It is indicated these friendships were transient and did not develop into life-long relationships but remained as a secondary social network within that time period. Friendships were left behind when the family moved on to a different school and community.

Participant 29 grew up also as a member of one of the itinerant railway families. He, like writer 19, was aware that 'each of us knew our place' and friendships could only be formed within one's particular social class:

> Class distinctions were obvious in the railways society ... The transferred workers families were housed in rental accommodation on the outskirts of the town while the administrative staff had houses on the other side of the railway lines. Their houses were much larger, brick rather than asbestos and set in much larger grounds. (29)

Writer 29 came to slowly reject the working class values of his home and school. He did not recall the passing friendships with railway peers but became more engrossed in schoolwork and academic interests thus growing apart from school and neighbourhood friends.

Respondents 26 and 31 emphasised Anglo values of individualism and independence in their memoirs. Writer 31 discussed being 'very heavily involved' in sport at school.

This was a team involvement with collectivist values activated in a secondary social network. Her election as team captain was an individual effort but with group support. Her professional interest lies in developing the client-counsellor relationship as one of co-operation and mutual respect. This professional relationship is distinct from primary social friendships which she chose not to discuss.

The above examples indicate that friendships at a primary level were not discussed by most writers in this group. Friendships were formed in the secondary social network. Several ESB (6,10,15,20) respondents had formed friendships with NESB individuals where mutual understanding provided the base on which friendships could develop.

ESB O. Life-long friendships formed through living and training in a close religious community was the experience of writer 16. Sharing Catholic religious values formed a common value and a bond for cultural interaction with NESB peers in the religious order. The writer compares these bonds with collectivist values among European ethnic groups viz primary relations in the extended family:

> We formed a new set of primary bonds - somewhat like those among European ethnics - collectivist at primary level! Our cultural differences were, I think, not reasons for barrier raising but instances for sharing and enjoying. I am thinking of the Polish, Polynesian and Italian girls who became and remain my close friends. (16)

The five preparatory years gave time for these friendships to form with a variety of NESB friends. Close friendships were formed through sharing religious values and the religious life.

Through teaching in schools with NESB students especially Italian students the writer studied the Italian language during study leave. On return to work in a small rural Italian community her 'faltering' (or restricted) oral Italian was an advantage: a 'gift for joining the small Italian community there'. Her restricted language proficiency

enabled some mutual cultural and language interaction through a core value of culture. Sharing of linguistic values built bridges for friendship:

> I enjoyed the warmth and hospitality of their family network where I too felt acceptance. (16)

Living together as a family unit was also the basis for the development of friendships at secondary level for writer 21 (in Scotland). Due to financial circumstances, the mother took boarders into the home - some ESB and some NESB. Some were tertiary students. He recalled the pleasure of cultural communication with a 'tall handsome Nigerian medical student who remained with us until he graduated'. The student brought two fellow African medical students to the home where social activities and cultural aspects such as food were shared:

> Every Christmas they used to take over our kitchen and prepare a sumptious meal which they referred to as Jollive Rice. It consisted of chickens, prawns, various peppers, chutneys, spices and rice among other things and was prepared in several of my Mother's big iron pots. (21)

Sharing of culture did not extend, then, to core values. Friendship gave opportunity for sharing peripheral aspects of another culture which could be developed with future interaction. Strong friendship bonds were developed during this time as the respondent recalled that the medical student came back to visit their home when attending a medical conference in England.

NESB A. One memoir (28) from a German background gave details of another NESB Italian culture (discussed in section 6.2.2) as a result of cultural interaction in a close friendship. Interaction was a primary social relationship with visits to the home and sharing meals. In this group close friendships were usually with NESB friends but cultural interaction with ESB peers was an experience of secondary social friendships.

Marriage to a spouse from the same Aboriginal ethnic group and mutual work commitments with Aboriginal networks strengthened friendship links within the Aboriginal community for writer 13. These friendships were a significant cultural

influence in the development of core aspects of culture through sharing customs and linguistic values:

> I learned the real meaning of many cultural things I'd some vague knowledge about from my childhood. I discovered that though there are many differences between Aboriginal communities, there are many things we have in common, for example various customs and some words had wide currency. (13)

Sharing linguistic values deepened sharing of cultural values-and meanings. These friendships were important for the writer as reservoirs of cultural stocks which she needed to replenish.

Respondent 27 explained how social and cultural interaction took a similar pattern at tertiary level as at school:

> My University experiences were similar to my secondary, in that my culture was seen as irrelevant. (27)

The memoir indicated that her friends in the early days of tertiary study were those from school viz NESB and girls. They remained colleagues and friends through participation in academic studies:

> We all completed four year degrees and have all undertaken postgraduate study. (27)

The friends stayed together in a NESB ethnic cluster. Cultural interaction with ESB peers on campus or in class is not discussed but acceptance by ESB and NESB colleagues can be assumed as a secondary network.

NESB O. In contrast with the above group, respondents took it for granted that friendships were formed in their particular ethnic group in the home country. In Australia friendships were first formed with individuals or families from the ethnic minority group through Clubs e.g. the German Club. In Australia, cultural interaction led to the formation of friendships across minority ethnic groups and the formation of

ESB friendships. Respondents discussed ESB links in detail as adding another dimension to their settlement in Australia.

As a tertiary student writer 23 lived in shared housing with ESB peers where his ethnicity was both accepted and valued in a comfortable milieu:

> After staying at a University College, I shared rented houses with other students, all of Anglo-Australian background, so naturally enough, the cultural influence was almost exclusively Anglo-Australian. However, my house-mates always seemed to be aware of my Italian background in a very complimentary way, so even though my home life too was now Anglo-Australian, there was still a part of me distinctly Italian. The way my friends saw me as Italian may have had some stereotypical aspects, but they nevertheless helped preserve it in my consciousness. (23)

The quotation provides an empirical example of the process of third culture building. Friendships with both NESB and ESB students were formed during participation in an Italian drama group.

Author 22 depicted a harmonious pattern of friendship formation in Australia with three ethnic groups:

> My Hungarian (culture) resulted in cultural interaction with my own countrymen within my family and in the Hungarian club, with my German husband and his family and friends, and with members of the dominant culture. (22)

As indicated above the Hungarian links were established first. In a pattern common with other writers (1,19,30,33) neighbours in the street became friends. In this case neighbours were both ESB and NESB friends and perhaps the latter situation was created by NESB common ground. The ESB friends introduced the writer and her husband to a wider circle of ESB friends with whom they had 'primary social relations'. Whilst the group enjoyed social and cultural visits to films and concerts the cultural interaction was mutually enjoyed in an intellectual way. For example the writer 'read ... English novels' and widened her perspectives of European culture in buying a German journal:

> Our new English friends and we genuinely interacted on a cultured social level, they led us into the cultural life of our new country, whilst we contributed a little from Europe. (22)

Writer 14 and her Italian parents migrated to Australia from France. On arrival the family made contact with friends of Italian background. These links were not maintained as the parents evaluated the Italian values activated in society here as 'old fashioned' and in conflict with their dynamic Italian values. The writer referred to her initial contact with the Italian language and culture in Australia as 'a stale Italian subculture'. Her parents positively evaluated education for girls whereas Italian friends evaluated education for sons first. Home and school in her view evaluated French culture more than Italian culture, so that she felt some conflict with Italian values.

Her personal cultural system was transformed when studies in music led her to joining an Italian choir. Interaction with a wider and deeper perspective of Italian group values came through exposure to aspects of 'high' culture such as operas, the literature and language. She had not been exposed to these aspects of high culture:

> I came to see that what I had rejected earlier was not all that the Italian culture had to offer ... At last, I found something, or rather many things that made me proud to be Italian and made me want to recapture my Italian heritage. (14)

Participation in the choir was in 'a relaxed and non-threatening' way such that a positive evaluation of her Italian culture was strengthened by performing with Italian group members and with those who by their participation positively evaluated their Italian culture.

Two Chinese respondents discussed the formation of friendships with ESB individuals. Writer 30 made a 'great effort' to build up social links with Asian migrants on their arrival. However, as a result of tertiary study, he commented:

> One of the most significant landmarks in my Australian integration is my close friendship with an English migrant. (30)

The friendship grew out of sharing intellectual interests and many discussions. These interests were Buddhism and the psychology of Carl Jung. He wrote:

> We went through session after session comparing and sharing views. And today I consider him one of my closest friends. (30)

Discussions have drawn in other ESB friends into a relaxed and sharing milieu so that the writer states how interaction 'has melted down a lot of my inhibitions about the whites':

> I can now regard them friends and equals. (30)

Mutual sharing, internalising and modifying values in their personal cultural systems has come through friendship.

This positive attitude to cultural interaction in a plural society is also reflected in memoir 34. She recalled that:

> Living in Australia has given me infinite opportunities to have contact with people from very different ethnic background. (34)

Her social interaction has been at a secondary social level. This included conversations with the Greek owner of a nearby shop, an ESB teacher at school and a German neighbour who told stories about the early German settlement:

> I thoroughly enjoy such stimulating and enlightening conversations and interactions. (34)

This comment reflected the thoughts of respondents in this group who would have liked friendships to develop with both NESB and ESB individuals. Friendships and the cultural influences modified values in the personal cultural system where interaction was two-way. Friendships arose also from travel and re-settlement after migration.

Summary. Peer friendships were an important influence in the personal development of authors from a cultural and social perspective. Different patterns of cultural interaction emerged for ESB and NESB groups.

ESB interaction with NESB peers was superficial and with the expectation of conformity on Anglo terms. Some ESB members had formed cross-cultural friendships. Interaction was mostly in a secondary social network which activated collectivist values. NESB peers formed friendships in ethnic clusters but had aspirations to be accepted by the dominant group and valued for their cultural differences. Shared group activities in particular sporting success facilitated acceptance into the ESB group and in turn group activities could provide the milieu for ESB peers to form closer friendships with NESB peers. Memoir analysis revealed close friendships enabled authors to observe another culture as an 'insider'. The pattern emerged for ESB A and NESB A authors to experience meaningful intercultural communication at university. In the changed milieu, cultural differences were accepted with deeper understanding through academic and social activities.

In contrast, NESB O participants grew up in multicultural milieus. It was usual for friendships to be formed outside one's ethnic group e.g the neighbourhood where children moved in and out of homes with families living in a community, and the ethnic composition of school.

Friendships were an influence on how one evaluated one's own culture compared with another. For example, a NESB author may evaluate parental authority as too strict compared with an ESB friend and modify this value in a personal cultural system.

Participants born overseas in particular highly valued life-long friendships as these had roots in early shared cultural experiences and ancestral links with the homeland. These friendships provided the motivation for some immigrants to make a return trip home.

Travel was another milieu in which cross-cultural friendships were formed. ESB authors enjoyed cultural interaction which was dynamic and opened the possibility of developing NESB primary networks. NESB authors felt a closer affinity with NESB members from a different minority group than ESB members and displayed a willingness to cross cultural borders. New friendships were formed as a cross-cultural outcome of the migration process.

7.3   External Contacts

7.3.1 Migration

Respondents discuss migration[2] and give reasons for re-location in a new country. The main reasons were economic, political and education for the children. As the group studied were higher degree students some respondents were resident in Australia on a temporary (visa) situation.

ESB A. In this group migration was not a major source of discussion. It was not a personal experience for any writer except author 15 who left Australia for a few years. Writer 20 was closest to the experiences and consequences of migration. Her mother was born in England and migrated after marriage with her Australian husband. Visits from English grandparents and their final re-settlement in Australia made her conscious of the processes and cultural modifications of migration:

> When my English Grandfather retired he and my grandmother went on a cruise from England to Australia via Kenya ... The British colonizing spirit was activated by my relatives ... I don't remember my mother ever saying that she missed England, she accepted Australia as the place she wanted to live. But she never identified herself as an Australian - she was an educated English person. (20)

---

[2] Lieblich (Josselson and Lieblich 1993,p.93) in her chapter 'Looking at Change' analyses the migration process on Natasha, 21, a new immigrant from Russia to Israel:

> I will present Natasha's 'acute' transition ... The 'acute' issue is the personal experience of immigration: the loss of one's old home and country on the one hand, and the accommodation to a new society, language and culture on the other.

As a member of the dominant group, the values of these ESB family members were reinforced on migration to another English speaking country. Her mother maintained links with academic colleagues by returning to England for the celebration of 25 years graduation.

The impression given from the ESB group that their ancestors were also immigrants was distant from their experience. Details were sketchy as writer 1 remarked:

> I am somewhere between fourth and fifth generation Australian ... On my father's side, less is known as my grandfather's father died when my grandfather was only eight years of age ... It is understood, however, that my father's forebears came to Australia from England, probably at about the same time as my maternal family name arrived here. (1)

Because of their multicultural studies, ESB authors were aware that their ancestors were immigrants. One writer makes a comment about the general lack of awareness of Australia being settled by immigrants:

> I doubt my parents had ever contemplated the fact that their families were once immigrants. Information on my father's side remains negligible. (15)

In a reverse situation for ESB writers, memoir 15 developed her personal cultural system through immigration to another ESB community in Canada. Migration was not a sudden or traumatic decision. She had developed plans for independence and living away from the family from the early years. The importance of migration as an influence in her life is expressed in the opening lines of the memoir:

> There was never any question of my not leaving Australia ... This obsession with going overseas began when I was about seven and became the driving force in my life until, at twenty-two, I left for Canada. (15)

Consequences of migration had an unexpected outcome. Her teaching and working with indigenous groups in northern Canada led to her firm belief in self-management. During this time the writer was forced to re-evaluate her identity and what it meant to be Australian. She discovered that the experiences had modified values in her personal cultural system particularly family values:

> Time has also changed me - and my attitude to Australia ... I made a very difficult decision. I tore up my Canadian citizenship papers[3] and returned to Australia. (15)

To become Canadian meant renouncing being Australian which she could not do. Her personal cultural system had been transformed through migration as the return to Australia was not anticipated as an outcome. Work experiences have been developed on return to working with and understanding Australian indigenous peoples - Aboriginal. Return to Australia was not through homesickness but a result of the re-evaluation of her personal cultural values.

ESB O. In contrast with the above ESB A group, migration was the experience for all respondents (16 was an infant). Migration is discussed from different perspectives. For example writer 12, born in Ireland, grew up with the expectation that one would migrate from the homeland[4]:

---

[3] Smolicz (Who Is An Australian? 1989, p.5) discussed the 'most obvious bond of Australian-ness ... provided by citizenship'. Since 1986 citizenship has been modified by law to include not only those born in the country:

> Those with at least one parent either an Australian citizen or permanent resident, qualify for citizenship by birth.
> If we contemplate the heterogenous nature of the Aboriginal population and subsequent migrations from different countries of the world, then we come to realize that Australian children are born everyday from a great variety of ethnic backgrounds. And irrespective of these origins, they all enjoy equal legal status as citizens. This should prevent the term 'Australian' from being exclusively reserved for people of just one kind of ethnic ancestry.

[4] MacDonagh (Jupp 1988, p.555) discusses Ireland as an 'emigrating' country from a historical perspective:

> Between 1788 and 1850, and indeed long after, Ireland was pre-eminently an emigrating country. There was already, in 1788, a long-established pattern of emigration to North America, chiefly among the northern Presbyterians. This soon spread to and was swamped by Catholic participants from all parts of the country ... Internal migration was also comparatively widespread, even in the late eighteenth century, and this loosening of localities helped to engender a predisposition to emigrate.

MacDonagh (p.556) attempts to construct an 'identikit' for the Irish immigrant of the first half of the nineteenth century:

> The chances were nearly four in five that he or she was Catholic ... (and) of rural origin. In the case of emigration to Australia, it was likely that the emigrant came from the less distressed and more 'modernising' agricultural regions. As the period drew to a close, it was increasingly the case that the emigrant was both literate and a monolingual English speaker....

He concludes:

By hereditary stance and native preparation alike, they were predisposed to challenge and dissent, and obviously destined for a leading part in the development of an Australian genius.

> Gaelic was regarded ... as a ploy by the government to reduce the level of Education, waste students time and hence reduce their job options when forced to leave Ireland to obtain work in England and America. It was accepted then and frequently stated that our education was a preparation for migration. (12)

She migrated from Scotland for job opportunities and socio-economic benefits in Australia.

Both respondents 4 and 36 migrated from England for social mobility and economic reasons. Migration in later years provided writer 4 with the opportunity to enter tertiary study as a mature age student. Access to tertiary study had not been an option in England and was an unexpected outcome of migration.

Writer 36 writes in detail of the events leading up to his family immigrating. As a teenager he was aware of disruption in family networks:

> My father had come back from Canada after an unsuccessful attempt to emigrate there ... Dad started to become restless again and began talking about emigrating. It seemed the only objection to emigrating was my maternal grandmother, to whom my mother was very attached. (36)

At the time, migration and the voyage to Australia was a 'wonderful adventure with no time to be homesick'.

ESB O authors tended to cling more tenaciously to monistic Anglo values than ESB A authors. ESB O 36 shows slight modification. The writer has also changed some of the assimilationist attitudes which were imposed on him on arrival. Under pressure to conform even though a member of the dominant group in society he believes that now one should be able to maintain one's ethnicity in an active way.

Respondent 16 detailed the political reasons which led up to her parents migrating from South Africa. The writer had no memory of migration (a year after her birth) but recalled the story of her parents setting their sights 'on the promise of the Land Down

Under'. It explained why they left her birthplace, fearing the political situation and attitudes which they saw 'threatening to take root in their children':

> The tales my parents and family tell of racial hatred, instilled in all of us a longing for a place where people treated each other with care, not brutality ... Our 'house-boy' (a man of thirty) was beaten by police for daring to be out in the street after curfew. Simple measures of humanity were viewed by the authorities as weakness. So there seemed no alternative for my parents but migration. (16)

Re-settlement in the first few months was not a 'bed of roses' for the family but gradually the sense of belonging grew. This was strengthened by an improvement in the family's economic situation.

NESB A. Migration and the difficulties of re-settlement were part of the life experience of respondents in this group.

Migration within Australia was the experience of one author. The land or specifically the homeland as a value remains a significant aspect of Aboriginal culture. Writer 13 recalled that, on her death, her mother wished to be buried with other family members in the land which had special significance for her:

> When she died I took her back ... to be buried with my father as she wished. Her sisters were also in the same place and it was expected that she would be taken 'home'. (13)

In Classical Greece, it was considered a tragic outcome if one died out of one's homeland and the ashes were not buried in the soil of Greece. The example illustrates that for some cultures migration over any distance does not cut off emotional links with the homeland as a value.

Author 7 wrote how her parents were political immigrants after World War II. She noticed the significance of her father's silence in not discussing his earlier life in Poland and war experiences. Silence was his way of eliminating the memories of war and the loss of kinship networks. She remembered:

> Their lives were severely affected by the war experience. My father especially, whose entire family was lost during the war, is a tragic figure. He has vague memories of an older sister and on some occasions has mentioned her, but never speaks about other family members. (7)

Memories also inhibited efforts to maintain Polish language and culture in the Australian home.

Marriage to a spouse in Australia and the difficulties encountered on migration were vividly described from the perspective of a step-daughter. The Mother of memoir 27, who was born in Lebanon, arrived in Australia during the 60's and spoke only Arabic. She married the writer's widowed father and entered the extended family who spoke English fluently and were literate in English:

> The arrival of my mother heralded a whole new world of strange sounds and utter confusion. She came from a very different culture to the Australian-Lebanese upbringing I had had so far. (27)

Difficulties were compounded as the mother had never attended school, was not literate in any language and experienced the humiliation of children acting as interpreters. Author 7 also recalled being an interpreter for her mother because of her limited English:

> My brother, sister and I were often used by my mother as bilingual intermediaries between her and third parties ... I vividly remember going with my mother to a department store to buy a jumper. I was not needed for translating as shopping was mostly straightforward. This time the salesperson was particularly cold and muttered under her breath that my mother should speak English. That made me furious and extremely humiliated, particularly because my mother smiled and appeared to accept whatever was doled out to her. (7)

The quotation is a good illustration of the monistic language scene but also the feelings and problems of the author in this situation. Two memoirs (7,27) also provide insights into the linguistic and cultural basis of difficulties in the family and the need for cultural support in schools, for example, interpreters available for parent-teacher interaction.

An Italian writer 32 opened the memoir with the heading 'The Family' highlighting the importance of the family as a core value of Italian culture. Then followed a detailed account of the migration process of her two grandfathers during the thirties from Italy. The detail indicated the importance for the writer to know how she came to be living away from her homeland and to have links with past and present. Information was related from family members:

> What I know was related to me in English by my mother and by my paternal grandfather. (32)

The two grandfathers met in an informal social milieu as a forerunner to the organised Italian club for group members:

> The (grandfathers) met at a boarding-house in town for regular card games and raconteuring. Thus they passed their first few years - men from all parts of Italy ... fraternizing in the new country. (32)

Regional differences were not relevant in the early years: all were Italian. Later in the memoir the writer described Italians collecting in suburbs according to the pull of the village or region:

> My maternal grandfather was from Campagna and anyone north of Calabria would normally look down on their Southern counterparts. But in Australia, the two were firm friends. (32)

Migration detail, which opened the memoir, depicted the early life in Greece for the parents of writer 11. The memoir indicated a familiarity with the reasons leading up to migration as told in an oral history by the parents:

> My father was born in a remote district of [ ] ... He left his village to work in Athens. At the age of 17 whilst operating a newsstand he decided to migrate with other lads from his village to Adelaide where there were contacts. (11)

The writer revealed a deep interest in the links with the family life in Greece as an aspect of his Greek cultural heritage. A knowledge of the family past helped him to understand the present.

These writers discussed above (and including 9) were second generation NESB Australians. They had not migrated themselves but were part of the migration process and experienced the internalising of two sets of cultural values in maintaining their ethnic culture in Australia.

NESB O. All respondents in this group had migrated for different reasons. For example writers 2 and 3 came to Australia on student visas for a temporary study period. Writer 5 came from New Guinea for postgraduate study and planned to return to his former Teacher's College to teach or in a research position. Writer 17 and her husband came to educate their children. Writer 23 indicated the socio-economic situation was the reason for his family's migration.

As an adolescent in Egypt during the 50's, respondent 24 was part of the events which enforced migration on his family. His father was of Yugoslav background but poor economic prospects and loss of the language meant Yugoslavia was not considered. After America Australia accepted the family as immigrants. The writer expressed his feelings about migration: people were more important than [the country] especially as his ancestral links came from Yugoslavia and Italy:

> We were relieved to be granted entry permits as migrants to Australia ... It was therefore with no regret, but with sadness at leaving loved ones behind that we sailed for this land of opportunity[5]. (24)

---

[5] It is useful to refer to the study by Lieblich (Josselson and Lieblich 1993, p.101) of the Jewish student, Natasha. She expresses her feelings on her parents' decision to leave Moldavia for Israel:

> Natasha's reaction to her parents' decision to emigrate was ambivalent. 'I didn't really want to go to Israel. At the same time, I was attracted to the idea of a new beginning, in a new place.'

Lieblich (1993, pp.101-2) comments:

> Sadness is the prevailing feeling in Natasha's account of her life at the time of separation from the place where she was born and grew up ... In the days prior to departure Natasha saw all her friends, having intimate talks with them.

On reflection, the loss of friends was most deeply felt. After some years in Australia the respondent had sad regrets at the loss of contact with friends with whom he shared the early years and links which were broken on migration:

> I have often wondered what happened to my school friends and relatives. Unlike those people born and raised in Adelaide who know, I will probably never find out, and that realisation hurts. (24)

Individuals and the sharing of core values such as language with group members continue to have deeper meaning than the country. He did not identify as Egyptian in his personal cultural system but felt a close affinity with both Egyptian and European friends and peers.

Respondent 30 and his wife, like writer 17, came to Australia from Malaysia 'for the sole reason of educating our children'. His thoughts on the Australian education system were not expressed. Migration was a 'new chapter in my life'. For him the initial strangeness was the totally white population and his relative position:

> We were used to seeing them in all the top positions in our country. Now for the first time, I saw them as truck drivers, builders, cleaners ... Seeing white people clean my house ... mow my lawn were some of the things I found strange in the beginning. It took me quite some time to feel at home with them. (30)

In contrast with respondent NESB O 24, this writer had maintained close links with Malaysia through the parents of Asian students with whom he worked. Cultural interaction through frequent visits from parents was stimulated in home accommodation. Sharing values with group members maintained cultural bonds with the homeland:

In this way I have been kept in very close contact with Malaysians and the country's development[6]. (30)

The family keeps close contact with relatives in Malaysia.

Participant 34 had two brothers and their families settled in Australia (mid 70s) as a preliminary to migration. She stated her reasons for migration:

> The tranquillity of the environment, the pleasant smell of the bush, the spacious and roomy houses (rather different from the over-crowded, congested living condition in H.K.), the better quality of life, and the political stability ... contribute to my desire for migration to Australia. (34)

Migration was at times not for one reason e.g political, but for several. The heading 'Australia - The New Home', written also in Chinese characters, reflected the sentiments of writer 34 that migration was a new life with fresh opportunities but she brought aspects of Chinese culture with her. It was a choice she had made. One benefit from migration had been the opportunity to enrol for postgraduate study resulting in the positive re-evaluation of her ethnic mother tongue viz Mandarin.

After several years in Australia, the respondent had not experienced any culture shock. In Hong Kong she had been exposed to Western values some of which she had internalised e.g English language. Chinese cultural values remain the dominant values in her personal cultural system. She cannot accept the Anglo value of individualism nor confrontation as a legitimate means to achieve the ends:

> Collectivism and amity (harmonious relationship) shape the basic value orientation of the East. (34)

---

[6] Contrast this close contact with the responses of one Eastern European who returned to Europe after many years as investigated by Zabukovec (1993, p.326):

> People there don't think like we do. I had not realised that my way of thinking and perception had changed in twenty years in Australia.

> The people there didn't know me and I did not know them.

> Everything had shrunk in size: the houses, the apartments, the roads. Even the river. Everything except the trees.

It was her view that negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities stemmed from a lack of understanding of the ethnic groups' cultures. Understanding and knowledge of other cultures comes from two way cultural encounters and sharing of values.

Writer 14 migrated to Australia with her family as a young child. For her father this was a second migration. He had left his native Italy at the age of twenty to continue his trade as a ceramicist in Belgium. Her Italian mother grew up in a mining town in Belgium 'largely populated by migrants' so migration within the homeland was the experience for her family. Migration to Australia did not mean a further disruption of their Italian heritage which was mainly cultural residues:

> After my father had been living in Belgium for eleven years and my mother for twenty two years, about all that was left of their Italian heritage was a predilection for a particular type of food and their increasingly diminishing knowledge of the Italian language. (14)

One outcome of migration to a culturally plural society was a re-evaluation of Italian heritage.

In Australia the family had re-evaluated their Italian heritage and replenished their cultural stocks through revitalising their Italian language. For the writer language and specifically trilingualism has given her a feeling of security in three cultures.

Migration from Eastern Europe. Migration for writers 22 and 25 were the result of political upheavals. A transitional period in Europe was described by writer 22 whose family left Hungary for Zurich. Language problems accentuated the feelings of dislocation and rupture from cultural roots and the past. She compares her situation with that of a peer:

> My migrant status hit me for the first time in Zurich ... Language was no problem for her, she always spoke German to her mother in Hungary too, and now she was an expert at Switzer Dütsch ... My family felt suspended in space in comparison to having left our past behind, our future seemed disjunct. (22)

In Australia, language was not a problem for her own family (after marriage): the home language was German and as they lived in 'English speaking neighbourhoods', the children were exposed to English with neighbouring children. One aspiration as a result of migration was to regain the loss of socio-economic status:

> Another aim we had for the children was to let them regain a similar socio-economic status in Australia to the one we lost as a consequence of our immigration to here. (22)

The writer was conscious of her loss of status when interacting with their new ESB O friends. She commented:

> It was true that most of them bettered their socio/economic status by coming here, whilst we lost ours. (22)

The home evaluated academic achievement not only for the interest in learning but also as a means for social mobility. The writer was not employed when the children were young but put her efforts into language maintenance and encouraging academic success.

Writer 25 realised how the core values of Polish culture viz language and the Catholic faith which were transmitted in her Polish home and (married) family enabled her two daughters to maintain their Polish identity in Australia. The Polish language continued to be 'cultivated' on migration both in the home and later in the ethnic schools. The home was a high ethnic one which continued to transmit Polish language and culture to the two daughters in the Australian context:

> From Poles living in Poland they became Poles living in Australia. (25)

Polish core values remained dominant in their personal cultural systems.

This writer gives an interesting insight into the deep sense of Polish patriotism and emotional feeling for the 'Motherland' which were instilled in her during childhood. Migration brought a sense of grief and even guilt:

So many Polish migrants find it hard to rid themselves of the feeling of guilt at having left OUR motherland. (25)

Her own children grew up in Poland during the Solidarity period which she described as 'a period of an increase of patriotism'. She recalled:

The girls were brought up on the book of Polish patriotic songs published in Krakow, 1919. Almost every evening we used to sing the songs from this book together. For them it was an excellent lesson in Polish history. (25)

Other writers in this NESB O group did not express such strong feelings of patriotism nor the rupture from the homeland. Loss of relatives and friends caused more anguish.

To conclude this section on migration, the thoughts of respondent NESB O 18 as she landed at the airport no doubt reflected the thoughts and uncertainties of many migrants. She was sent from Greece as a Greek language advisor:

Adelaide seemed a peaceful, romantic city. The thought that Athens, with its noise, was the place that I had spent my whole life, pained me. (18)

Summary. Migration had a deeper social and cultural meaning than travel. All ESB A authors were conscious that their ancestors had migrated and cultural origins were overseas. Australia was a land of immigrants.

Migration was discussed from two aspects. Firstly, second generation NESB writers recalled experiences through the eyes of parents. Life before leaving the homeland was remembered by parents with reasons given for starting a new life e.g. political, socio-economic. Details helped siblings understand the circumstances which led up to the decision for them to grow up in a different culture. Knowledge filled gaps in their cultural past. Participants were conscious that their personal cultural systems had been transformed by growing up in an alien culture rather than the homeland. How different would it have been? was the underlying question. How did authors resist monistic cultural pressures?

Secondly, ESB and NESB participants born overseas had clear recollections of the homeland. Australia is perceived as the 'New Home' on a permanent basis but the homeland remains the source of cultural roots. For these authors, return rather than travel to the homeland is felt to be a need to restore their cultural stocks and for their sense of personal well-being.

Respondents who had lived through the settlement period and could reflect on the period of transition and the effect on their lives. Analysis (discussed in chapter 6) indicated there were a variety of responses to education in the Australian school and mainly participants had to sink or swim. The opportunity for education as mature age students had been a key influence for writers and had been a fulfilment of migration. The window of opportunity not possible in the homeland opened in a changed milieu. For example education, disrupted by war, was highly evaluated in the homeland and found activation in Australia.

For some NESB students born overseas, migration was transient with the intention to return to their permanent home. Education was the reason for living in Australia which indicates the high evaluation of education in the home and culture. Whilst postgraduate study was the manifest function memoir analysis revealed other social and cultural outcomes. For example, the experience of interacting and studying in a multicultural society had influenced three (2,3,34) respondents to re-evaluate their personal core values. Their lapsed linguistic activation of the mother tongue had been re-vitalised with the resolve to strengthen and maintain language skills on return home. Living in a multicultural society had changed values in their personal cultural systems as a response to cultural pluralism.

7.3.2 Travel

Travel was discussed from different perspectives. The first perspective was to travel for new sights, new experiences and, especially for ESB respondents, cultural interaction

with different NESB ethnic groups. For NESB writers travel was a significant influence in the cultural sense of a return home or to strengthen family links with the homeland. From a third perspective travel came as the opportunity through a professional life to study and work in a different environment and broaden one's professional career on return.

ESB A. Writer 10 from an Irish background visited Ireland as part of professional leave. She remarked how the moment she arrived in Ireland it was very significant that she felt 'at home':

> I observed the Catholicism which was manifested everywhere ... I saw people in buses making the sign of the Cross as they went past Churches ... I talked with people who were about my age and they were critical of the Church ... I knew their criticisms as they were the same as those used by my peers and me in Australia. (10)

The visit was an important cultural influence which strengthened the Irish core values in her personal cultural system.

Writer 20 remembered how her mother (who migrated from England after marriage) travelled to England for a reunion with former tertiary colleagues. Travel was an important link with the past and present experiences in maintaining a sense of her British heritage.

Another respondent ESB A 6 with her husband travelled in Australia for the purpose of cultural communication with indigenous peoples. Cultural interaction and understanding was more important than travel to see places. They travelled overseas and were stimulated by interaction with a variety of cultures to make efforts to learn LOTE.

Other participants in this group gave varied responses to travel away from their homes. There was little discussion on communication with other cultural groups to understand a

different culture. Participation in another culture required effort and mutual respect. This was the attitude expressed by writer 1 who crystallised some thoughts on travel:

> To travel and just look is of no consequence - one might just as well see a travelogue film or someone else's slides. To live in a place, with people, is what counts ... To move over large distances to live for a time elsewhere seems to me, in theory at least, to be of little consequence. (1)

The writer had not travelled to experience living with groups in their own NESB cultural environment. This is the crucial point which would make the travel of 'consequence'. Internalising new attitudes by living and travelling in NESB communities was not considered. The quotation illustrates a univalent (Anglo) cultural system:

> My life's experiences lie almost entirely within one small part of the world community, South Australia, with none of the suggested 'benefits' of overseas travel. (1)

Writers 19, 29 and 31 did not discuss travel for new experiences or just new sights in any way. Within the dominant ethnic group their monistic attitudes reflected those expressed by writer 1. They had positive attitudes towards cultural interaction with NESB members which had not been activated. During his rural childhood, respondent 19 and his family 'travelled' amongst rural northern communities. At this early age living in these communities made him aware of social class differences and where everyone belonged. Change in schools and milieus had an influence on his personal development which was exclusive of cultural diversity.

Travel overseas as an aspect of professional development was the experience of writers 15 and 33. Both travelled to another ESB community in Canada which widened their Australian experiences. Writer 15 (discussed above) had the opportunity to travel further afield during summer vacations e.g. Europe, the Carribean, South America. Her intention was to immerse herself in these cultures rather than see places. Cultural experiences arose from NESB cultural dialogue and were reflected in her personal cultural system:

I did have a great deal of sensitivity, exposure to and respect for other cultures. (15)

Travel amongst indigenous communities enabled the writer to work with urban Aborigines on return to Australia. Writer 33 and his family enjoyed Teacher Exchange in Canada and would like to return. Travel was not a movement across Anglo cultural borders through internalising a new set of cultural values.

ESB O. Professional life in Australia and the opportunity for study leave provided a stimulating intellectual experience for writer 16. Travel interstate was complemented by the main purpose to study at tertiary level another language and culture - Italian. It is implied though not stated that Italian studies were motivated by cultural interaction with the many Italian parents and students in her school.

At the university, study was enlivened by colleagues who 'loved the language and culture' indicating some were native speakers. It was through books that new worlds were opened to her and changed her way of seeing the world e.g. an Italian perspective like 'Dante's Divine Comedy'. It was important from a humanistic sociological perspective for the writer to assess a situation from a different viewpoint as she recalled:

I must admit I felt like the new 'Australian' occasionally. (16)

Study of the Italian language deepened her awareness of the cultural 'innuendos' encapsulated in the language. Travel and living in a different community added another cultural dimension to her experiences:

I have not regretted that choice for the breadth of seeing and the friendships it has nurtured. (16)

One Anglo writer 36 returned to England for a visit and experienced alienation from peers in his regional domain. In Australia under pressure to assimilate during an airforce career he made the decision to change his regional 'accent'. This was a

difficult task and on return to England the 'posh' accent was not accepted by colleagues. He found himself alienated from two groups:

> On returning to [England] my rather 'posh' accent led to my being alienated by my fellow [Englishmen]. In Australia it alienated and estranged me from my family. (36)

The experience had changed his attitude towards 'fitting in' and acceptance in a new group at the expense of one's own culture. He asserted:

> Any individual contributes to a society with their consciousness and actions that reflect that consciousness. (36)

Travel in the sense of returning home to strengthen family and friendship links and re-vitalise cultural core values was the experience of the next two groups.

NESB A. Travel in the sense of 'to return' was repeated by respondents in this group. New sights no doubt complemented the travel but was not the main purpose of the cultural experience.

In Australia, writer 13 discussed that since the death of her mother the family had made special efforts for family reunions to maintain the bonds of the extended Aboriginal family:

> This was a very sad time for my siblings and I and marked the end of a phase in our lives. Since then we make special efforts to see each other regularly and Christmas has become an important date again. (13)

Family reunions for maintaining family and cultural ties became the purpose of travel.

Travel to her homeland was an important influence for writer 27 in the development of her personal cultural system and her Lebanese identity. Born in Australia (with English her first language) she found a contrast in the activation and aspects of Lebanese culture in Australia and the activation of Lebanese culture in the homeland. The Lebanese

culture in Australia had frozen in its conservative development and lost its dynamic nature.

Travel to the homeland and exposure to the language, Druse religion and culture stimulated a positive attitude towards her culture which had lost its dynamism:

> It seemed to be incredibly out dated, which when I travelled to Lebanon I found to be the case because the culture had gone on developing there, but here the people were too scared to let go of what they had in case they lost it all. (27)

Travel to Lebanon had been a profound influence in re-vitalising positive feelings about her Lebanese culture which, in her view, had not been valued by Australian society and school. In the homeland she could share and activate core values with the support of group members in their cultural milieu.

An interesting detail in the memoir which drew on her childhood was reinforced in a cultural way as integral to the homeland. During homework the mother drew a picture of a house:

> My mum drew a house, but it had a flat roof and arched windows all along the top ... Everyone knows houses have a peaked roof, four square windows and a garden path! ... Years later I visited Lebanon and saw the picture my mum had drawn. I realised that she had drawn it from her cultural perspective. (27)

The writer had not valued the picture as a child but the visit gave the picture a cultural meaning through symbolic values.

Increased conservatism on migration was also the experience of the Italian writer 32. She felt her childhood experience gave access to 'inferior forms' of Italian culture which were under threat in the dominant society:

> The outer threats on the Italian community - social, political, cultural - seemed to make my people even more dogmatic about their values and rigid about their customs. (32)

These thoughts were also expressed by writer 14 (NESB O group) who felt she had been exposed to 'stale' aspects of Italian culture in Australia.

Writer 32 travelled extensively overseas following undergraduate study living and working in diverse ethnic communities. She returned to Italy but found it was different from her romantic expectation:

> Italy was not home for me - the sophisticated urbanites, the strange politics, the crowded landscape, the ancient buildings and the 'strangeness' of it all. The villages were not home either. 32

Her response contrasts with writer 27 who felt valued amongst her own people.

NESB O.

> Culturally, Italy holds the fascination for the spirit. Besides, if one lives in the land of one's culture, one would probably not have the same incentive to travel, for mine is not so much to travel but to return. (23)

It was the pattern for writers in this group to travel to their homeland for cultural communication rather than visit another country. Writer 23 had visited his homeland on two occasions specifically to 'return'. This travel was intended to replenish his cultural stocks with native Italians. To his surprise he found he had modified some aspects of Italian culture and positively evaluated and internalised aspects of Australian culture in his dual cultural system. After twenty two years in Australia he found:

> I was fluent in Italian and a little rusty on my ... dialect, but there was a noticeable cultural gap. I did not agree with some of the values and situations I encountered. I felt that the Italians needed a touch of the Anglo type of organizational ability to get things in order. (23)

The Italian cultural values were strengthened by the cultural interaction.

A few respondents discussed plans for returning to their homeland when the opportunity came in the furure. Writer 34 who had lived in Hong Kong expressed a desire to visit China to re-establish links with her cultural heritage. Her interest had

been aroused through the death of her father and his paintings which 'reminded me of the richness of my family and cultural heritage'. She wrote:

> I regret very much I had not spent much time to acquire more of such Chinese literacy skill in the past. It is my aspiration that in near future I may visit China, to see for myself the riches of that ancient kingdom of the Orient. (34)

The quotation highlights the cultural differences in her attitudes towards China as 'my country' and Australia as 'my country of residence'. Hong Kong was an 'abode in transition'.

Several writers (14,27,32) discussed (above) the core values of their culture activated in Australia in a conservative way and the dynamic activation of culture in the homeland. A Polish writer 25 wondered if her impressions and memories of Poland were idealised after many years in Australia:

> I wonder if it was really worth leaving Poland. Especially since its image is idealised by me. (25)

Travel to the homeland for these respondents would provide not only sights and sounds of home but also the dynamic cultural encounters to re-vitalise values in their personal cultural systems.

Chinese author 2 concludes her memoir with the heading 'Return Journey'. Her reference to a journey is in a cultural and spiritual sense. Having questioned aspects of her Chinese culture in Malaysia, the author is motivated to re-discover her cultural origins in Australia:

> I should like to work out more fully my Chineseness which includes learning Mandarin, learning Chinese history and reading Chinese literature in Chinese this time ... wearing the sam-foo. (2)

Her return journey is to the 'point of origin'.

Summary. Travel was not analysed in the context of leisure. It was discussed as a cultural influence on core values in one's personal becoming. Travel was evaluated for external contacts and interaction with minority ethnic groups in the case of ESB respondents, including Aboriginal groups. In one instance, travel had the deeper significance of a return to Aboriginal ancestral land and culture.

ESB A authors did not have the same inclination to travel to England in the sense of returning home as their grandparents did. The impression was that their cultural roots were in Australia but participants liked to experience their British heritage when overseas.

In contrast, NESB A and NESB O participants felt the need to return to their cultural origins. The experience was a significant influence in reinforcing their sense of ethnic identity through interaction with relatives and friends in ancestral lands. Analysis noted how the first experience of the homeland was different from the romantic or idealised impression built up in Australia. Authors realised that whilst travel to the homeland re-vitalised core values they also understood that growing up in Australia they had internalised some Anglo values which transformed and overlapped minority values. Travel was an influence in resisting monistic pressures in Australia.

Motivation to return to the homeland had various sources. Travel to experience the language of native speakers and culture came through language and cultural studies at university. For authors from small minority groups travel meant vital cultural communication with religious and linguistic values difficult to access in Australia.

As an external contact, travel was an important influence in providing access and cultural encounters in a changed social and cultural milieu for ESB authors. It influenced a change in monistic attitudes. For NESB authors, travel to the home country assisted the re-settlement process in bridging the past and present life situations.

7.4   Self-Generated Activity

It was proposed to analyse in this thesis the extent to which self-education had been an influence in the development of the personal cultural systems of memoir writers. The fact that all writers in the study had returned to tertiary study in order to do a higher degree indicated participation in self-education to some extent. Authors were motivated to return to further study for different reasons. The study involved coursework and research in particular areas of interest. The research included working on their own initiative and some self-direction in studying with guidance, not direct instruction.

Across the four groups language acquisition was the main area for self-education. This indicated an educational response to multiculturalism as well as a deficiency in some educational structures.

ESB A. Two authors, 6 and 10, had made efforts to learn a LOTE. As a result of cultural interaction with NESB groups both in Australia and travel overseas, writer 6 and her husband had used language tapes to have access to culture through language. Self-education activated a positive attitude towards building bridges across cultures through language.

Respondent 10 also made efforts to learn Italian both in a three month language course in Italy and in an informal way through friendship in Australia. Her participation was motivated through cultural interaction with NESB groups at work.. It was an activity which grew out of cultural interaction and cultural dialogue:

> I took a term's leave and studied Italian in Florence. It was a significant five months because I was a 'foreigner' and had to be extremely self reliant. The Italian course was at the University for Foreigners and apart from a minority who spoke English, Italian was the common language and I had to use it at school, at the house where I lived and in the shopping and other daily transactions. (10)

Writer 1 realised that as a member of the dominant culture his language had not been excluded during his educational experiences. During teaching experiences he had limited interaction with NESB individuals but was conscious he made no modifications:

> That my identity friction with my social environment did not involve my having to learn a new language obviously greatly reduced the stress of the situation. (1)

In contrast to the first two writers he chose to maintain a neutral position.

Writers 29 and 35 shared the common experience of being educated in rural communities. Both home and school negatively evaluated the academic content of the curriculum and continuation to further education was not the expectation. Both ask the question why they were so motivated to succeed academically when teachers were not supportive and peers negatively evaluated the school content. Their efforts at school were self initiated:

> Very few of the teachers had an academic bias ... From my parents, overt praise and encouragement to succeed academically were virtually non-existent ... My homework was done in my room before the evening meal and in the absence of either parent.[7] Most (peers) left school as soon as the statutory age had been attained. (29)

Self-education meant separation from and rejecting the attitudes of home and peers for academic values.

Writer 15 reflected that her development towards independence had been influenced by her father's activation of self-education. Both parents had been 'deprived of much

---

[7] This was also the experience of an Italian tertiary student whose parents left him to do his homework alone. The student wrote a memoir about his experiences at home and school in 1974. He recalled:

> When I look back now over my high school career from a sociological perspective, it seems a little odd that I did so well, since most of the ethnic and social class influences that weigh against academic achievement supposedly should have placed the odds against me. I am referring particularly to parental attitude and home environment. Parental attitude was always curiously ambivalent. Overt praise and encouragement were virtually non-existent, as if it were taken wholly for granted that I should do well, on my own. Always in the back of my mind at least, was the sacrifice my parents, like so many others, made in migration for the sake of their children. At home I had to do my homework in the kitchen which opens out into the dining room where the family gathered round the television set. (Smolicz 1979, p.284)

schooling' but the father had compensated this loss with his own self-education pursuits. His attitude that there were no limits to what one might achieve, influenced and encouraged the writer to pursue her own learning paths. Her learning experiences came through travel but the closing lines of the memoir revealed her open attitude to new experiences as a form of self-education and enrichment:

> My many cultural and educational experiences have also made me malleable enough I think to adapt to whatever other new cultural, educational or geographic environments opportunity may present in the future. (15)

Self-education had a significance for authors in this group where the monocultural school and tertiary institutions were not inclusive of cultural diversity.

ESB O. Memoir analysis revealed variations in the activation of self-education. Author 21, who was an only child, spent much time reading books both for pleasure and self-education. This was a familiar pattern for a single child family and in this case the mother was widowed. The author recalls the use of a library and the content of his reading:

> My Mother was also a great reader and we made great use of the local library which was well equipped. I often read her books as well and we would discuss them later ... One in particular, which I read when I was sixteen, was Durant's Story of Philosophy. It was a very readable book, except I got bogged down in Kant's transcendental ethics. (21)

The same author spent time at the Art Gallery through his interest in drawing but also to extend his appreciation of art. Exposure to aspects of high Anglo culture came through self initiated activity which had some basis in social factors viz low socio-economic circumstances and in the absence of an extended family.

In contrast, LOTE acquisition was the self-directed activity of respondent 16 who taught in the Australian school. During her teaching career, parents and teachers in one school initiated after hours Italian lessons in response to the large proportion of Italian children in the school. This initiative was not continued (due to organizational

problems) but indicates how self-education was conducted in a group to fill language deficiency.

The author's motivation to learn Italian on study leave came as an individual response to teaching NESB children in the monocultural school which was slowly changing policies to include a curriculum which reflected the ethnic composition of the students. Her comments on LOTE learning are important from the ESB humanistic sociological perspective:

> I have not regretted that choice for the breadth of seeing ... It certainly was not easy to learn the language and to pick up the cultural innuendos that the language suggested. Books like 'Australian Cane' and great treasures like Dante's 'Divine Comedy' opened new worlds which related to and illuminated mine in a new way of seeing. (16)

Whilst the language learning was directed, the initiation came from the author in response to her monolingual and monocultural cultural system.

Respondent 4, whose memoir is included in Chapter 8, left school at an early age and filled the lacunae in his formal education by 'pseudo-intellectual' (his term) pursuits.

NESB A. Self-education was activated in this group to fill gaps in knowledge in response to education and professional life.

For example, writer 11 extended his knowledge of Greek Orthodoxy during tertiary student days in response to a challenge from Protestant religious views of peers. His self-education took the form of in depth reading to widen his knowledge of Orthodoxy.

> I met Greeks in other faculties who were interested in the Protestant churches and contemplated leaving Orthodoxy. (11)

His (medical) professional work and interaction with NESB patients especially older Greek ones stimulated wider and diverse reading on Orthodoxy:

Hospital experiences in particular shook me. I managed to stumble across the writings of Orthodox theologians, like Bulgakiv, Bloom. (11)

As a research student writer 11 had the skills to develop his area of interest.

Language acquisition was one area where NESB writers needed to fill in the gaps of the education system. English was the first language of writer 27. Arabic was acquired in the home from her mother who spoke only Arabic. She reflected how she would have studied Arabic, instead of French, at school had it been offered in the mainstream curriculum.

The writer relied on her own efforts to extend her Arabic language proficiency to an extensive competency level. Whilst at university she attended the community ethnic school which was directed more at children than adult learners. She chose not to access other Arabic schools which were linked with political parties. Her language proficiency had been maintained both in the home and through cultural interaction with new settlers into the community with whom she assisted. Her present aim is to gain literacy in Arabic through attending classes at the University.

These intentions closed the memoir and this position reflected the importance of language for the writer's identity and personal becoming. It also underlines the difficulties for NESB authors to maintain their home language.

The above writers found self-education widened and developed aspects of core values in their personal cultural system which had not been accessed in their home or educational experience.

Author 32 as with respondent 23 made strenuous academic efforts at school in order to 'prove herself' with peers. It was apparent she was an able student who chose science subjects to assert her ability in 'difficult subjects'. She chose to study long hours in self-motivated effort:

> While I majored in Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics I was struggling. Sometimes I would study for eight hours a night. There was no more play, only a deeper sinking into a sense of solitude and isolation and obsessive striving. (32)

This suggested a prodigious, even excessive, effort in self-generated activity but indicated the underlying anxiety to be accepted by the 'others' with equality. In this example self-education was complementary to education in the mainstream.

NESB O. In this group self-education was directed mainly in language acquisition including English and other LOTE languages. In one example writer 8, who was educated in Silesia, Poland, rejected the communist ideology in the curriculum in particular Russian language and developed his skills in music after school. His passive resistance to the classroom teaching found expression through self-education in his own area of interest.

Writer 5 was conscious in his first year of post-secondary education that he could study with little supervision. His educational guidance had developed into self-directed study skills:

> I entered college ... at the age of 17 and successfully completed preliminary year studies. By then, my study skills were well developed. Forces (such as a former disciplinarian teacher) other than my own were no longer required to be successful in studies. (5)

Language Acquisition and Maintenance. Respondent 24 worked hard to maintain his first language French whilst living in Australia. He 'dropped out' of meetings with a French speaking group as he found the interaction 'stultifying'. He resorted to reading to maintain his French:

> I occasionally read in French, and realise that at present, this is one way to keep my fluency in that language. (24)

An Italian writer whose home evaluated French as a superior language because of its high culture was motivated to matriculate in both languages. The study initiated two

years of 'rather expensive private lessons in Italian' as the school offered French and Italian simultaneously. The writer had to choose between them. This proved an unsatisfactory situation where her Italian culture was not evaluated alongside her French. Private lessons filled the gap left in a curriculum which was selective rather than culturally inclusive.

When writer 22 migrated to Australia she was fluent and literate in two languages viz German and Hungarian. Being 'immersed' in the Anglo-Australian culture she made efforts to become tricultural through self-education. On arrival, her job which was shift work gave her afternoons off:

> I spent those afternoons reading enormous 19 century novels in English, with
> a dictionary. (22)

Her English acquisition was assisted through mutual sharing of interests and cultural interaction with a local farmer (in a rural community). For some years he sent books and corresponded to help her 'literary' development. At the same time her German and Hungarian language skills were maintained through correspondence indicating a high evaluation of language as a core value of culture. It is suggested that the writer applied herself to learning English with diligence but did not find the self-education overwhelmingly difficult. Her fluency and literacy in two languages gave confidence and linguistic skills in learning a third language.

Authors 2 and 3 used a dictionary as an aspect of self-education in an effort to maintain their NESB language and culture.

English Acquisition. Taking responsibility for learning English was the experience of some writers. Two Chinese writers 30 and 34 experienced great difficulty in acquiring English as a second language in their home countries. During the school years the curriculum language of instruction was English but there did not appear to be provisions for teaching ESL. For example writer 30 who grew up in Malaysia often felt 'extremely

miserable' at school as 'deficiency' in English related to academic success would ruin any hope of success in life. He was highly motivated to succeed but lack of English proficiency was complemented by his own efforts: searching for meanings of numerous words 'which I could not understand' in a dictionary. In a Catholic school, it was a great strain to read the lesson for Mass having to rote learn the passage first.

Self-education by rote learning was not only applied to English acquisition. At the time of receiving his teacher's certificate the Malay education policies dictated that one provision was a pass in the Malay language MCE level. He acquired Malay by the same process as English:

> Everything was learnt by rote methods. I learnt about five long essays by rote before going into the examination. (30)

This methodology did not provide language proficiency nor understanding which brought further problems for teaching:

> I used bilingual textbooks to prepare my lessons and learnt the lessons almost by rote. That extremely restricted any creativity ... Very often I was struck dumb searching through my head for words. (30)

In Australia, friendship with an ESB O colleague stimulated a sharing of ideas on religion and psychology. This initiation was an aspect of self-education and led to the writer embracing some Buddhist values with his Catholic values. He recalled:

> We went through session after session comparing and sharing views. (30)

A Chinese writer 34 who grew up in Hong Kong found she had to acquire English for her education on her own efforts. There were no transition language programmes just an abrupt change:

> The stumbling block had been the switch from using Chinese as the mode of instruction in all subjects at primary level to the use of English in secondary level. (34)

As her parents could not afford private tuition the writer and her brother attended intensive and overcrowded English training courses in the school holidays. This was inadequate for a proficiency in written English. Even oral skills were inadequate as the writer found that teachers in the classroom spoke too quickly and the vocabulary was too difficult. For her the acquisition of English was a 'personal battle I had to face'. Self-education involved a lot of hard work and self-determination. Her efforts were successful but the difficult situation had been imposed on her because of the lack of appropriate language programmes and bridging courses.

In this group self-education was motivated by a question of survival in education systems which imposed English as the dominant language for academic success at the expense of minority languages.

Summary. As higher degree students, these respondents had intellectual skills for self-directed study in research and in developing areas of personal interest.

A significant finding in the ESB group was the self-directed effort to learn LOTE in response to a changed attitude from monistic to cultural pluralism. Self-education as distinct from formal education filled in curriculum gaps in monocultural institutions which excluded cultural diversity. Two ESB authors whose homes negatively evaluated the academic curriculum progressed through the school on their own direction.

In the Australian context, NESB authors found it very difficult to maintain their home language. If the mother tongue was not taught in the formal institution, NESB participants strove to maintain language and culture with attendance at ethnic schools out of hours and on their own with the use of a dictionary. In one memoir, the threat to his Polish language and culture by the imposition of an alien ideology forced the author to reinforce his knowledge of his native culture in reading Polish history.

NESB O writers, educated in the colonial system, had difficulties in acquiring English in order to participate in the education system. Rote methods of language learning were used. In Australia, NESB O authors developed greater proficiency in English but not at the expense of their home language which was maintained in self-generated activity.

Social and cultural factors influenced some authors to widen their areas of knowledge and interest in, for example, religion and music.

7.5   Summary of Categories of Cultural and Educational Influences

Respondents were active participants in the dynamic relationship between the individual and social and cultural groups. ESB respondents varied in their willingness to participate in NESB languages and cultures. In Australia NESB authors had difficulty maintaining their cultures from the reservoir of cultural values. It was the dynamism amongst the authors and their expectations for further changes in their personal cultural systems that provided the challenge and impetus for the detailed memoir analysis. The memoir statements as sociological data were regarded as more significant than rigor of method.

It is appropriate to return to Znaniecki's (1930, p.379) metaphor of the frozen stream. He defined the influence of education as changing the shape of the blocks of ice floating down the stream of personality into blocks of a definite and permanent shape. He argued that the latter concept was an illusion as an individual is modified by:

> the total cultural milieu of which educational values and processes are only a part.

Today education seeks to shape steady characters with conviction which are firm but not impervious in the sense that outside influences are not filtered out through a personal cultural system. It is these educational and cultural influences, which by

changing the shape and size of the blocks of ice, create individuality and diversity within a society.

In the two chapters that follow, the various shapes of the blocks of ice represented by the memoir writers, are conceptualised as five ideal types of cultural valence and national identification.

8. CULTURAL VALENCE AND NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION: IDEAL TYPES AMONG ESB RESPONDENTS

Smith (1994, p.394) discusses the significance of the use of Ideal Types in the context of the problem of national identity:

> The field of nations and nationalisms is one of particularities, variations and nuances. It is a field of cultural plurals. No wonder that Max Weber, with his historical training, hesitated to give us the book on the formation of national states that he promised us. Hence, too, his recommendation, which I have followed here, to use the ideal-type method, in order to allow some means of comparison and contrast. But there are other uses of this method. By creating a framework for examining the nature of collective cultural identities, the ideal type is useful for the identification of key processes in the formation of *ethnies* and nations, something that is critical if we are ever to formulate a more general model or theory. Secondly, in by-passing the all-or-nothing formulations of perennialists and modernists, the ideal-type and the similarities and differences between ethnic and national identities. Thirdly, this method can provide a touchstone for discovering whether there may be substantial relationships between ethnic and national communities in the same area in successive historical periods and this, in turn, may help us to determine which nations emerged and why.

Schütz (1972, pp.6-7) expands on the ideal type concept in Weber's methodology and refers to Weber's goal of interpretative sociology:

> The aim, then, is to interpret the actions of individuals in the social world and the ways in which individuals give meaning to social phenomena. The special aim of sociology demands a special method in order to select the materials relevant to the peculiar questions it raises. This selection is made possible through the formulation of certain theoretical constructs known as "ideal types". These ideal types are by no means the same thing as statistical averages, for they are selected according to the kind of question being asked at the time, and they are constructed in accordance with the methodological demands of these questions.

The ideal type method was applied in this study to categorize the memoirs analysed in chapters 5, 6 and 7. Identification of the ideal types as a process came from statements in the memoirs, which revealed for example, the attitudes and activation of respondents to core values of their ethnic group. What aspects of culture did respondents discuss most - language, religion or attachment to the homeland? Did their personal cultural systems draw on one or more ethnic groups? What aspects of culture showed creativity and a transformation as a result of the cultural encounter? The prefix 'trans' stresses the idea of passing a border and internalising new, or changing older, values in a personal cultural

system. Trans is closely related to the prefixes 'inter' and 'multi' but has a deeper meaning in the context of cultural valence and national identification.

8.1   Kloskowska's Categories of Cultural Valence and National Identification

Criteria. Cultural valence means the knowledge of the main elements of a culture. According to Kloskowska (1993, p.11), the concept of cultural valence has two aspects viz competence in the domain of the culture and a second attitudinal aspect. Competence, or proficiency, in a culture can take several forms. There is linguistic competence, activation of religious values, patterns of family structure and family traditions, a knowledge of art and literature forms of the culture. Cultural valence entails education and informal education as in personal interests. Competence in a culture is an active component and means participation in a certain cultural heritage.

The attitudinal aspect involves positive sentiments and affinity for the culture. It is important to distinguish this attitudinal aspect which endows cultural valence with a feeling of belonging to, a bond with a culture or, in Kloskowska's terms, the feeling of intimacy and freedom of expression. For example, in this study, NESB authors expressed sentiments for the home country and some ESB respondents felt an affinity towards the land, especially Australia, as a value. As Kloskowska points out, the cultural valence is accompanied by a sense of common, shared ownership and participation in a certain cultural heritage. The attitudinal aspect has significance since there is the possibility that an individual could be proficient in a culture but express negative feelings towards that culture. As the study comprised both ESB and NESB participants, there were several possibilities of cultural valence outcomes in the multicultural Australian society.

National Identification. Kloskowska made the analytical distinction between cultural valence and national identification. Valence was to be distinguished from a person's national identification which Kloskowska (1993, p.180) defines as 'self description in

national terms (which) depends on social situations'. The author (1994, p.79,81) contends:

> The motives and functions of national affiliation should be analysed on the personal, individual level. Because individual motives and values are embedded in the common, shared stock of symbols and meanings, they would be incomprehensible without the inclusion of intersubjective and cultural levels ... On the social and cultural levels identification may be related to a multiplicity of objects, institutions, groups, values and symbols.

Kloskowska takes the theoretical stand that identification may vary with individual cases, time and situations. The declared national identity, or the uncertainty of such identity, does not necessarily reflect the cultural valence of the subject. Some individuals may change their national identification more than once in their lifetime. It should be noted that Kloskowska's use of the term national identification is clearly related to an individual's sense of identification with a particular ethnic or cultural group rather than political commitment to a state.

The post-war period in Europe (and in the world) with the great transfers of state frontiers presented the Polish scholar with a focus for empirical research of borderland cases and situations between national and ethnic neighbours. National conversion in a mixed ethnic neighbourhood was the object of a 1994 study. For example, Wojciech Ketrzynski, a 19th century Polish historian, was born into a mixed marriage of a Germanized Polish father and a German mother. When, as an eighteen year old gymnasium student in East Prussia, he learnt of his Polish origin from a younger sister, the subject stated briefly that from this moment he was a Pole. His national conversion, instantaneous and integral, was confirmed by his participation in the national liberation movement but culturally he remained bivalent with German as his first language. The example supports the theoretical stand that a single national identification does not restrict participation in two cultures for a bivalent individual.

The analysis of memoir materials in this study permitted the construction of a nine cell Table based on the one developed by Kloskowska[1] (1993, p.11 reproduced below) which correlated the respondents' National Identification with their Cultural Valence.

FIGURE I: KLOSKOWSKA'S CONCEPTUAL MODEL

TABLE I NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION AND CULTURAL VALENCE				
xx — confirmed by empirical data x — to be confirmed by further research				
Cultural Valence National Identification	Univalent	Bivalent	Ambivalent	Polyvalent
Integral	xx	xx		xx
Twofold (double)		xx	xx	x
Uncertain*	xx	xx	xx	x
Cosmopolitan			x	x
* There are possible at least three sub-categories of that type: 1) identification with a local, pre-national community; 2) ambiguity of border region or minority group members; 3) transgression of any national attachment, close to cosmopolitan attitude. Hence, there are several possibilities of cultural valence.				

The Table II (p.293) involves the correlation of three types of national identification viz single, dual, uncertain, against three types of national cultural valence viz univalent, bivalent and polyvalent. The Kloskowska model was modified to the extent that, in the Australian context, it was not necessary to include her more peripheral categories as there were no ambivalent nor cosmopolitan cases among the memoir authors analysed. This was a significant finding in the Australian context of a multicultural society as compared to the Polish context of overlapping border cultures. Table II represents a snapshot photo of the particular era of the development of multiculturalism in Australia. This process continues in both directions from Univalent to Polyvalent.

---

[1] Kloskowska's (1993, p.12) ideal types were based on individuals who lived on the periphery of national boundaries and were referred to as 'borderland cases'.

Another important finding which emerged from the construction of this Table was the clear distinction between ESB and NESB memoir writers. All ESB authors were regarded as univalent and expressed a single national identification. None could be considered bivalent. On the other hand, all NESB authors were classified as either bivalent or polyvalent. None were univalent. The interest of the findings rests in the five ideal type groupings, none of which included a mixed composition of both ESB and NESB members.

Although all the ESB memoir writers fell into the univalent category of cultural valence, there was an important difference in attitude to be found among these respondents. Some revealed a very clear awareness of other cultures which could be interpreted as a positive attitude to cultural pluralism. Half of the ESB respondents could be classified as having such a pluralistic attitude. There was no evidence of such an attitude in the other memoirs categorized as univalent. It was, therefore, useful to include a new attitudinal category in the univalent grouping based on the writers' attitudes to cultural pluralism. The table as proposed by Kloskowska has been modified to take account of these Australian experiences by making an additional attitudinal distinction within the ESB univalent grouping which enabled the respondents to be categorized as either Monistic or Pluralistic in Attitude. As Kloskowska's concept of cultural valence has two aspects: competency or proficiency in a culture and positive sentiments towards that culture, findings required the extra attitudinal dimension to distinguish the variations in univalence amongst the ESB authors.

The findings of the Table II (p.293) also confirm Kloskowska's (1993, p.177) tentative conclusion of the 'possibility' for double national identification in bivalent individuals. Half the bivalent NESB respondents indicated a dual national identification, making a commitment not only to Australia but also to their ancestral nation. In line with Kloskowska's approach, their comments suggest that their identification with the new

homeland, Australia, is cultural rather than simply the political commitment of citizenship or permanent residence.

As is clear from a glance at the Table II, five ideal types could be identified from this analysis. Each of the ESB types is discussed in more detail below, with individual memoir cases providing empirical examples of each type. The NESB types are considered in chapter 9.

8.2 Univalent: Monistic Attitude. Single National Identification - Type I

All respondents included in the Univalent: Monistic Attitude type came from ESB A and ESB O Groups. Respondents had competency in one culture which derived values from the dominant Anglo group and some overlap with the overarching values in Australia. All were monolingual. Authors did not indicate any creativity or transformation in their personal cultural systems. For daily cultural and social interaction respondents activated Anglo-Australian values of the dominant group. The monocultural home and school milieu had not stimulated consciousness of cultural pluralism. Attitudes towards cultural diversity remained unchanged through monocultural experiences or the expectation of NESB members to assimilate. Individuals did not reveal ambiguity in their self-identity or modifications of core values. Interaction with a different cultural group remained at a superficial level with no participation and common or shared ownership across cultural boundaries. Their personal cultural systems drew on values which reflected the valence of the dominant Anglo group. Whilst writers had not responded to cultural diversity, this situation reflected monocultural educational structures such as the school and tertiary institutions. The Australian school (at the time) transmitted values of the English system. These univalent respondents had an integral or single national identification to Australia. Through future cultural interaction with NESB individuals, these respondents could move towards Type II in a multicultural trend with an attitudinal transformation to a Pluralistic one. In a further multicultural trend in response to educational and cultural influences, authors would become bivalent and classified as Type 1V.

TABLE II

TYPOLOGY: NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION AND CULTURAL VALENCE

CULTURAL VALENCE / NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION	UNIVALENT		BIVALENT	POLYVALENT
	MONISTIC ATTITUDE	PLURALISTIC ATTITUDE		
SINGLE **(Integral)**	ESB A 1 ESB O 4 ESB A 19 ESB O 21 ESB A 29 ESB A 31 ESB A 33 ESB O 36 *TYPE I*	ESB A 6 ESB A 10 ESB O 12 ESB A 15 ESB O 16 ESB A 20 ESB A 26 ESB A 35 *TYPE II*	NESB O 2 * NESB O 3 * NESB O 5 * NESB O 18 * NESB O 25 NESB O 34 *TYPE III*	NESB O 17
DUAL **(Twofold)**			NESB A 7 NESB A 9 NESB A 11 NESB O 23 NESB A 28 NESB A 32 *TYPE IV*	NESB O 8 NESB A 13 NESB O 14 NESB O 22 NESB A 27 NESB O 30 *TYPE V*
UNCERTAIN				NESB O 24

* Writer was studying in Australia on a temporary student visa.

8.3   Example of Type I: Memoir 4

Both parents of this author, born in England, were from the lower middle class. Early influences and memories were dominated by the transmission of Anglo values.

Family Structure. The author came from a nuclear family of two children who lived in a semi-rural market town. The author recalls the early influence of a grandfather who actively participated in family life by looking after the grandchildren during school holidays as both parents worked. This grandparent transmitted Anglo values of independence to the younger generation:

> Other early memories of my social circle include the need to be quiet and well-behaved in my grandfather's house when visiting. My brother and I developed a healthy respect for this very large, stern man who in later years took us on holidays to seaside towns ... After her (grandmother's) death, my grandfather continued to live in their house on his own and was a fiercely independent man, very self sufficient.

The quote brings out individualism which fostered the emotional distance exhibited by many English families of which the writer was aware as a young child.

The respondent refers to the practice of an English style extended family with pseudo-aunts and relatives who were close family friends. (Compare ESB memoir 20 who criticizes this Anglo practice). The small, rural community also provided an extension of his primary social network. Compared with the collectivist values of a NESB family, he felt the family was important but so was individualism at primary level.

Home and social environment transmitted the ideology that Britain was still a power and the superiority of English culture. At home, he was also aware of the clear recognition of class structure and the fact that his parents and friends liked to think of themselves as upper class whereas their occupations in industry and retail did not fit this mould. Family

and class were lower in hierarchy than the ultimate value of being British. The dominant Anglo values transmitted in the home were strengthened e.g. through reading English classics such as Treasure Island.

During childhood, the family values were reinforced through shared experiences within Anglo communities. Holidays were confined to Anglo/Celtic groups or the expectation of and it seems the family circle did not interact with NESB friends from Europe:

> Visits and holidays were a major feature of my development. Holidays, including trips to London, South Wales, the Isle of Man and Blackpool, extended my knowledge of the world or at least the English view of it. The ability to take holidays endows one with a particular view of things, perhaps it reinforces class affiliations. These trips were also important in that I heard many different accents.

These class values were transmitted through the mother who associated dialects not with cultural and regional linguistic differences but with class affiliations. The writer concedes this was class consciousness on her part: her family had to talk 'properly' to maintain their position as in her eyes the lower classes spoke ungrammatically. Such comments highlight the conflicting working class values of the father and the lower middle class values, with aspirations to social mobility, of the mother.

As both parents always worked, responsibilities were shared in secondary relationships and these slowly became more significant in the development of his personal cultural system. The home culture strengthened Anglo-Saxon values of self-reliance, independence and personal autonomy:

> The independence I acquired during my childhood was reinforced by the early secondary relationships and the small town environment. Because there was little traffic, small town community responsibility dictated that the children of the town became a shared concern and, as most parents worked, children played independently with little adult supervision. The informal learning which took place at this time tended to confirm individuality and separateness from one's family. This informal learning gave me many insights into human nature.

Collectivist (Anglo) values at secondary level influenced his early development into separating from family. The latter was finally realised in migration to Australia.

Rural to Urban Milieu. At the age of nine, the respondent experienced a change from a small town to a city environment. The social change from a rural market town to a large industrial city came as a 'shock'. His first experience of cultural interaction did not impinge on his personal cultural system as a comment reflects the ideology of assimilation in society. Anglo cultural values were not threatened:

> The small non-white minority, West Indians, Indians and Pakistani groups were too small to be viewed as a threat by the English population and coexisted with little racial animosity.

Outside the home, Anglo collectivist values at secondary level were activated by the Local Soccer Teams 'supporting the view that Anglo cultures tend to encourage inter-team collectivism, seeing sporting competition as healthy and desirable'. The changed milieu did not alter exposure to the transmission of Anglo values.

His mother bought a retail shop. The writer analyses how his parents' attitudes to education were rooted in working class values. Their aspirations for their children were based on experiences which evaluated a good education as a basic understanding of the three R's in preparation for a trade. Literature and academic excellence were negatively evaluated.

Language. English is the only language internalised in his personal cultural system, English being the only language used in the home and pre-school stage. He contends now that the English language as a core value of culture can be 'undervalued' in a monolingual society where there are few places one cannot be understood. His early experience was the expectation that everyone, even foreigners, should speak English and this attitude was unconsciously assimilated by English children. He has a positive

attitude to language as a powerful identification value (or a marker) as part of one's cultural heritage. In the hierarchy of Anglo core values, the respondent evaluates language above religion, class and family.

Education in the Anglo monolingual school system did not provide the opportunity to study LOTE. The secondary curriculum taught traditional languages which he negatively evaluated. He did not aspire to the 'A' stream class as:

> I was not keen on this idea as I would then have to learn French which seemed to be pointless at the time.

The home transmitted monistic attitudes and holidays within England provided no participation in, or ignored, cultural and linguistic interaction with ethnic minority groups. As mentioned before, the author's mother evaluated language with the transmission of class layers in society rather than transmission of culture. Migration to Australia in the 60's continued the activation and expectation of English as the only language for assimilation.

Religion. The writer gives his religious affiliation as Protestant Church of England, indicating a positive attitude to the Anglican religion as a core value of the Anglo group but personally he does not activate religious values. In his early home environment, the influence of religion was 'moderately important', church attendance was not regular and children were 'sent' to Sunday School conforming to group values. The family celebrated Christmas and Easter as a group but the religious significance at a personal cultural level was indifferent:

> Christmas was perhaps the most exciting time of year. Whilst its religious significance was not altogether neglected, presents were the most memorable aspect. As my relatives and pseudo-relatives were quite affluent my brother and I received many gifts, toys, books and clothes ... Such attitudes tended to

blurr the religious significance of Christmas. At Easter also, chocolate eggs tended to be the major feature of the holiday.[2]

Education. His first educational experience combined religion and education through attendance at a Church of England Parish school. His town did not have a Roman Catholic Church so the Protestant ethos was strong but 'not very pious' (and not under threat). The writer analyses his present positive attitude to religious pluralism as religious liberalism.

Following the move to the city, activation of religious values in the family, school or secondary social system are not recalled indicating religion as a core value was not internalised in his personal cultural system.

Primary School. During childhood and adolescence, formal education was not an important influence on his social and cultural development. One reason was the lack of encouragement from the working-class parents who evaluated education as competency in reading and writing skills in preparation for a job. They did not help with homework or positively evaluate curriculum content.

---

[2] Contrast the Polish cultural values transmitted at Christmas and Easter in Polish culture as described in Wladek's memoir. The values activated at group level were internalised by Wladek (Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, 1958).

P.2068   I knew well the custom of my parents, that there was always one cover too many on Christmas eve, so I would take it. I was also sure that before the first star they would not begin to eat. Soon I stood under the window of my parents' home.

P.2083   Thus came Pentecost. Mrs. K. sent us good brandy in a bottle and various meats and cakes. After breakfast I dressed myself and went to church for the main service.

P.2171   Meanwhile Christmas eve came ... First my neighbor's wife invited me to divide a wafer with her and treated me with brandy. Then my landlord did the same [then the carpenter, the blacksmith, the dressmaker.]

P.2181   After supper, which I ate with my whole family, I went to some of my customers in order to divide the wafer with them. Of course it did not end with the wafer alone, but everywhere I drank some glasses of brandy.

Indifference to academic achievement is the underlying attitude at primary school. The first years at the local Parish school were 'like organised play' and play remained the most stimulating aspect of school life:

> Major events during this time which I believe had more than passing influence on my development took place outside school.

At the time schooling seemed secondary to the social interactions of play and adventure. This fact also highlights that his interest in play underlines a lack of interest in curriculum content and perhaps parental involvement. The first school was an extension of the small town insularity and was a relaxed introduction to formal schooling. Anglo values of religion and language transmitted in the home were complemented at school.

One negative aspect was corporal punishment which was the 'order of the day' and his painful experience in the English school (c.1952). Corporal punishment was also a painful memory of secondary school and was 'quite normal' practice. This recollection gives the only direct reference to teachers as a negative influence viz as strict disciplinarians. It is a further indication that academic pursuits were either of secondary interest or resisted by the author.

When the family moved, formal education continued at a bigger and more modern primary school. The memoir gives the impression there was little synthesis and interaction between home and school milieus. The memory of the exam brings out clearly his feelings of dislocation and alienation from school:

> I attended this school for eighteen months before sitting the '11 plus' along with thousands of other 'baby boomers'. It seemed strange to sit this exam when I was only ten and a half but the significance of this and the exam was lost on me at the time. I had to travel to a strange school, several miles away to attend the exam and spent most of the exam time working out how to get home.

Secondary School. As a result, the respondent attended a Secondary Modern school where his interest in formal education declined until finally he left to start a Hair Dressing Apprenticeship.

The English schools transmitted the dominant Anglo values in society. The writer admits he was not outstanding at school and attempts to analyse why, if he was 'good' at most subjects, he was not interested or stimulated by school. As mentioned before, the prospect of learning French which could have provided intellectual stimulation, as well as cultural awakening, seemed pointless at the time - a product of the 'strong influence' of his parents' attitude to education in the home and the lack of encouragement and opportunity for LOTE language learning in the monolingual school. He assessed the curriculum content which transmitted only Anglo values as limiting in cultural terms:

> Most subjects were taught from an English perspective: English Literature; English History; even Geography concentrated on England and her Dominions. The insularity fostered by such a system was severely limiting in that it endowed most of its recipients with a very superficial view of the world which maintained and was reinforced by English socialisation outside school.

The monocultural curriculum fostered his ethnocentric view of the world.

The working-class values of his parents 'limited' their aspirations for their children in evaluating education for a trade.[3] The education system itself reproduced the class system from which he felt he could not move:

> This limited meaning applied to education [in the home] was also evident to some extent in the secondary school system itself. The employment opportunity for secondary schoolboys was limited to trades, even if they passed the General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.). This system maintains the social class structure which is still clearly differentiated in England.

---

3   Note article by Giroux (1983, pp.257, 268):

Radical educators have argued that the main functions of schools are the reproduction of the dominant ideology, its form of knowledge, and the distribution of skills needed to reproduce the social division of labor. Recent research ... emphasizes the importance of human agency and experience as the theoretical cornerstones for analyzing the complex relationship between schools and the dominant society.

Bourdieu: Working-class students often find themselves subjected to a school curriculum in which the distinction between high-status and low-status knowledge is organized around the difference between theoretical and practical subjects. Courses that deal with practical subjects, whether they be industrial arts or culinary arts, are seen as marginal and inferior.

The curriculum was imposed forcibly through the strict discipline of a headmaster who enjoyed giving a caning and male teachers who were ex-servicemen.

The writer rejected formal education and left school at the age of fifteen. Although he was aware that the home transmitted working-class values, it is interesting that the writer says he 'managed to persuade my parents to let me leave' indicating he opted out of the system for the alternative he had been 'educated' for viz an apprenticeship. His decision to leave was influenced not by the home but the interaction of primary and secondary social systems. In the last year at school, he found his personal values were diverging from those of his peers:

> During the last year at school my value system began to diverge dramatically from both primary and secondary groups. School visits to factories offering apprenticeships in the metal trades confirmed for me the distaste I had for factories, yet most of my contemporaries were content to enter such places or join the army. (He chose Hair Dressing). This job provided me with a good income for a fifteen year old and the opportunity to meet a wide variety of people.

The parents had not encouraged academic pursuits and in one sense the son activated this attitude by leaving school. At High School, 'organised' play in the form of sport, which he enjoyed and was good at, was again his preferred option to study.

This active resistance to the education system in which he had been locked was not resolved by leaving school. It closed other intellectual options and left the respondent with some dissatisfaction and regrets. Giroux (1983.pp.283-4) discusses theories of resistance and provides an illustration pertinent to this memoir:

> Willis's lads rejected the primacy of mental labor and its ethos of individual appropriation, but in doing so they closed off any possibility of pursuing an emancipatory relationship between knowledge and dissent. By rejecting intellectual labor, the lads discounted the power of critical thinking as a tool of social transformation.

Author 4 found a different outlet for resistance and opportunity for intellectual pursuit in a changed milieu and with maturity. A few years after migration to Australia, and in a

different education system, the writer returned to formal study as a mature-age student. This time as a Matric student his self-motivation contributed to making a return to study easier. After ten years of continuous study, he analyses this influence as the most significant one on his personal and cultural development. The stability of this period influenced him to decide on a new career path and in 1979 he entered the first tertiary nursing course.

Self-education. Through his resistance to formal education, self-education was an important influence on this writer's social and cultural development. Self-education which he refers to as 'informal' was an informal learning process and strongly influenced by his social interactions. For example, during the early years he reflects on the informal learning through interaction with peers under little adult supervision. At the age of fourteen he began to take an interest in literature and the arts. It is not clear from where the stimulus came but it appears social interaction. For example he recalls:

> My informal education, reading, the socially-interactive nature of my work, the outside interests of sport, guitar lessons and the arts, all broadened my cultural perspective dramatically.

Sport continued to be a source of social interaction. As a member of a sporting team he went to [...] an experience which had a 'dramatic' impact. Obviously, he felt restricted and limited intellectually in his career as a Hair Dresser and these social contacts fostered his 'pseudo-intellectual aspirations'. Intellectual activities were at a superficial level at the time and the new world of the arts was opened to him through social connections:

> I enjoyed the ballet and a whole range of theatre from Shakespeare to Beckett.

His view of 'my cultural perspective' remained a broadened Anglo perspective which was in harmony with his dominant Anglo values. He was also influenced by changing attitudes in society (1960's) which questioned parental and social values and abandoned some. Self-education was a search for intellectual knowledge which he felt had been denied him in formal education. The fact that his salon was in close proximity to a

university fuelled his feelings of lack of opportunity or equity. The intellectual interactions opened the entry into a 'whole new stratum of people'.

References to informal learning give insights into the writer's real interest in human nature which was activated by career choices in people professions. Self-education found its final fulfilment in the opportunity for a voluntary return to formal education in Australia where he has performed successfully. One factor could be the absence of pressure to conform in an intense class structure and the opportunity to develop his natural skills. One might conclude that success in his present career as a tertiary teacher has been embellished by memories of resisting education enforced by strict discipline.

Self-education has been an important factor in his personal development and was evaluated as the means by which to free himself of working-class values.

Media. The media was another strong influence on his social and cultural development outside the family. This interest was not consciously pursued as self-education but certainly extended his social perspectives and global awareness outside the working-class home:

> Holidays, visits, radio, cinema and later, the television as well as the people with whom I interacted were the most memorable aspects of my early years.

The media reinforced his ethnocentric view of the world and strengthened the Anglo values transmitted in the home. Everything, as in the school curriculum, was portrayed from the Anglo perspective as being superior to other ethnic minority groups:

> The media, radio, television and cinema also influenced my cultural and educational development. Radio news services were religiously and intensely monitored ... I first saw television during the coronation of Elizabeth II in 1953 on my aunty's set ... It reinforced my ethnocentric view of the world. Likewise, the cinema of the day clearly influenced my perception of what being British meant ... The major effect of this propaganda on me was to confirm the might and power of Great Britain.

These influences did not modify attitudes in his personal cultural system or stimulate an awareness of cultural pluralism in society. Later, he questioned such a 'xenophobic' coverage of world events.

Peers. The formation of secondary social systems grew to have a deeper influence on his cultural development than family and blood bonds. His one brother is mentioned in the concrete profile and not discussed further. Holidays widened secondary bonds but the values from this interaction little modified his primary social system. His interest in literature and the arts arose not from within the family but from peer interaction. One continuing activity was sport involvement which activated Anglo collectivist values at secondary level and stimulated social interaction. These relationships had more influence than primary ones. Without mentioning particular peers as close friends, the writer was a gregarious individual and enjoyed small group membership.

Travel. This has had some influence on the development of his personal cultural system. As a child, within England, holiday travel widened his experience of Anglo values and language dialects which crystallised the values he had internalised. The family did not travel to Europe or have cultural interaction with other ethnic minority groups. As a young adult it seems the writer was not motivated to travel outside England or perhaps the opportunity was not there.

Migration to Australia involved travel to another ESB milieu and exposure to the reproduction of dominant Anglo values. Reasons for migration are not elucidated. The memoir suggests that job opportunities and distance from a rigid class structure in society could have been the motivation. Living in a hostel for eighteen months provided the early opportunity in a multicultural society for cultural interaction with ethnic minority groups. Interaction was on a superficial level, mainly with ESB groups, the writer activating an attitude for the expectation of assimilation of NESB individuals and no awareness, or recognition, of differences in cultural values:

> There were twenty two nationalities on this hostel and this provided endless topics of conversation ... We got to know many other nationalities, although we interacted mostly with the English speaking groups. The communal dining hall provided much entertainment and multicultural eating habits were something of an eye-opener for most of the English migrants.

The writer and his family travelled around Australia which again widened his exposure to ESB groups. If there was social interaction with NESB individuals the policy of assimilation prevailed. His values were insulated from the threat of other cultural groups.

Travel both in England and Australia has been 'limited' to ESB environments such that new values have not impinged on or modified his personal cultural system. Plans for travel outside Australia or the learning of a community language, perhaps as a help in his career, are not seen as future activities.

Summary. The formation of his monolingual personal cultural system was not influenced by one individual but a combination of influences. As a young child, he internalised the Anglo values transmitted in the home which were reinforced by the school. His early ethnocentric view of the world is little changed. Travel, migration and jobs have not modified these values. He remains monolingual, a nominal Anglican with no personal involvement in a multicultural society. As a Univalent individual, the author derives values from the dominant Anglo group with some overlap from the overarching values in Australia.

There is no personal commitment to cultural interaction with ethnic minority groups which classifies the author as Monistic in attitude. Tertiary study has made the author aware of cultural pluralism but at present this has not been his cultural experience. His single national identification is Australian.

8.4 Univalent: Pluralistic Attitude. Single National Identification - Type II

Authors in this type were the bridge builders across cultures. The identification of this type was a significant outcome of the study in the Australian context because it indicated modification of monistic attitudes in the personal cultural systems of members of the dominant group. As a result of cultural interaction, authors were monocultural,but pluralistically oriented with values derived from the dominant Anglo values and the overarching values in Australia. Authors expressed pluralistic attitudes as an all embracing perspective towards all minority cultures not one specific culture. The change in attitude came as a result of a diffusion of values across cultural borders in the multicultural process.

All respondents in this type were from ESB A and ESB O groups. Dominant values in their personal cultural systems were drawn from the Anglo-Australian group and first internalised in the monocultural home/school interaction. Memoir authors had responded positively to their experiences of cultural interaction with another set of cultural values in the changed milieu e.g. tertiary study, marriage and travel. Activation of positive attitudes to multiculturalism was at a restricted level of linguistic competence but the importance of the finding lay in the change of attitude which could be activated in a future situation. Communicative competence was therefore a better understanding of another group's values without participation in the group in a meaningful way.

Statements in the memoirs indicated a modification of dominant Anglo values and the awareness that cultural interaction had bestowed a deeper sense of life. Whilst the individual personal cultural systems had not been transformed, there was evidence that further interaction or 'friction' (Eliot's term) at the edge of culture could see the possibility of the individual moving towards Type III and becoming bivalent. In this sense, their multicultural attitudes could be seen as the next step towards a dynamic and creative interaction.

All respondents expressed a single national identity to Australia although variations appeared in the type. For example, author 12 reveals a complex of national strands in her self-identity. She is classified as an ESB respondent who activates three British strands viz Irish, Scottish and Anglo. These strands form one Anglo national valence but belong to different life experiences and coalesce in her cultural and national identity. Her example highlights the attitudinal distinction between this type and the first type. This memoir example illustrates the point made by Smolicz (1994, p.23) when discussing the multi-ethnic composition of Australian society:

> The presence of ethnic minorities, such as Greek- and Polish-Australians, is always understood in the context of the majority group itself being made up of Anglo and/or Celtic *ethnic* components, which may be further differentiated into English, Scottish, Welsh or Irish components.

Memoirs in this group suggest the possible outcome for authors to become bivalent, or Type IV, as a result of interaction with cultural pluralism in Australia but would retain a single national identification as a further stage in a multicultural trend.

8.5 Example of Type II: Memoir 6

Home. Born into an ESB family of Anglo-Saxon origin, the early years (1950's and 1960's) of this writer were influenced by the transmission of Anglo values in the home. English was the only language spoken in the home. These were the values to which she was first exposed as she recalls:

> I speak at some length of my grandmothers and my parents as they had a significant influence on my life, at least until I entered University.

Influence of Grandparents. Both grandmothers transmitted British ways and traditions in their families in the hope that these could be 'happily' transferred here. The author states:

> This was never to be the case.

The British heritage and traditions brought directly from England by the grandmothers were re-evaluated and modified by the Australian family. Activation of these values seemed artificial to the country grand-daughters growing up in a remote area of rural Australia and attending a rural school. In the harsh environment of her home, maintaining high standards, such as afternoon tea using the English silver with 'snippets of elegant French' to conform to family expectations in England, were negatively evaluated and not imitated by her own family.

On reflection, this affected Englishness is now regarded with some humour and tolerance. The attitudes of the grandmothers towards those 'less fortunate' than themselves are not seen as any more narrow-minded than those of many individuals in the community at that time and their forms of prejudice seen as pretensions of gentility. For example, an intense aversion to Catholicism and Catholics was an accepted form of prejudice. Some Anglo values were activated by the family in a collectivist spirit: the maternal grandmother contributed significant financial assistance to her parents for education at a boarding school, based on the traditional Anglo model, run by Anglican sisters 'who had been highly educated English women'. The paternal grandmother provided a role model of a fiercely independent woman who ran a cattle property single-handed.

Influence of the Parents. The respondent was aware that external influences had modified traditions in her personal cultural system in this changed social environment:

> My parents were of an entirely different generation. They were both much more fiercely Australian. They also recognised the narrow-minded prejudices of their parents and reacted against it.

Her home did not just imitate the 'Old World' ways but re-evaluated traditions, positively evaluated some, and modified others rather than substituting a new set of values. The home clung to the Anglo value of independence, struggling to develop an isolated rural

area. Education was positively evaluated, but in an Australian way, as a means to broaden one's horizon outside the local community and with the aim:

In theory at least, to think for ourselves.

Her parents recognised the grandmothers had a limited vision for themselves and for their Australia.

Education, not simply vocational, was encouraged in the home by parents who felt this would provide opportunities for their children and 'Australia's development'. This education, as a means to an end, was a generous and costly vision for the parents. In reality, preoccupied by hard work in developing a property and distant from cultural interaction with NESB members, the home values remained in the past, rooted in Anglo ways. Her parents were 'eventually' taken by surprise when the political and social changes came from the cities sweeping out to rural Australia. The writer hints that her parents have remained little changed in their attitudes:

Multiculturalism is something they may not now strongly protest but it is something they would not have thought of.

It is on reflection that the writer is aware of a change in her personal cultural system viz a consciousness of and a positive attitude to cultural pluralism, as compared to her parents.

The writer accepted the dominant Anglo values in the home as a child but considers them now as being out of touch, not modified to the eventual reality of a multicultural society. She has internalised a modified set of cultural values but not a dual system of values as yet. By her own admission, the fact that much scope in the memoir is devoted to the influence of parents and grand-parents indicates a close and lasting educator/educand relation of the early years. This educational guidance in the family was the transmission

of and continuous exposure to Anglo values. The author felt her early training was for a society which did not exist in Australia in her adult years.

Family Structure. Znaniecki writes (1936, p.195) how in a pre-literate society:

> A peasant child is taken to the field and given a hoe to dig potatoes; after he has started awkwardly and badly, he is shown the proper way of digging, urged to try it repeatedly, watched, and corrected until he has learned enough to be a real help.

The learning experience is here an outgrowth and a part of the co-operating complex. A child may in later childhood and youth be moved by a feeling of duty to help a mother or a father at home. This respondent was shown in such a learning complex how to help and co-operate in running the property. Anglo values of independence were modified for collectivist ones:

> We were country children ... in our spare time learning about riding rough old horses, collecting wild mushrooms, sewing-up bags of grain at harvest, mustering and cooking at shearing, 'helping-out' in the continuing struggle to make a living which was my parents' lot as they cleared the scrub and developed their farm in these years.

This educational guidance was determined by economic necessity and shared collectivist values more than for a future role in society.

Primary School. It is apparent that influences and experiences in the home dominated those of school. Formal education took place in the monolingual, monocultural Australian school where values reinforced those transmitted in the home. The primary school milieu was as follows:

> In the isolated country schools of my childhood I was a part of the strongly Anglo-Conformist environment, an environment that was in every part built on a monocultural prejudice and which actively sought to exclude from its "inner-ring" anyone who was different.

Interaction with other ethnic minority groups was not actively encouraged where assimilation was the expectation. NESB children e.g. a few Aboriginal and Italian ones,

were regarded as a curiosity with no meaningful social interaction allowing values to impinge on her personal cultural system nor the opportunity to learn LOTE. The local community reinforced the monocultural attitudes and values of school where:

> In spoken and written form, English was all pervasive in the teaching and conversation at our school, in all the public notices in our district, in all the local newspapers, and, as far as I can recall, in all the radio programmes that reached our isolated area.

The author reflects that in the climate of values it was an essential prerequisite for anyone of a different ethnic origin seeking membership within the Anglo-Australian environment, to speak English fluently. No other option was even considered. A cameo description of the given social identity of the 'half-caste' children indicates that social and cultural experiences outside formal education impinged on her consciousness at an early age:

> (These) children were seen, I am ashamed to say, as members of a group of dirty, drifting, fringe-dwellers, living in humpies, 'eking out an existence', outcasts from Anglo-Australia, dependent on the paternalism of the white "boss", a people to be looked down upon if not derided, no-hopers at best to be pitied.

Her empathy for minority groups contrasts with the attitudes of the home which felt the 'poor blacks' were not capable of reaching the same goals in society. The cultural experiences left a deep impression and sowed the seeds for a life-long interest in indigenous peoples.

It is significant that the Aboriginal children are recalled with such clarity whereas the teachers, even an individual teacher, as educators are not mentioned. It seems their role was a formal and impersonal one. She recalled the oppression of minority groups and their languages and makes the important point:

> In that place, at that time, there was certainly no contemplation of the permanent existence of any other cultural group retaining its own language as that would have appeared to be to the exclusion of English. The erosion of ethnic languages was seen as a natural and positive consequence of successful assimilation.

The writer gives another example of Anglo-Indian children who could not take advantage[4] of their bicultural heritage. Primary school experiences were dominated by an awakening interest in cultural interaction more than the formal education.

Secondary School. Formal educational experiences at high school, partly in a co-educational country school, partly in an Anglican girls school in the city, are dismissed in a few brief sentences. Apparently, these years provided no new nor stimulating experiences to modify values in her personal cultural system. The years were simply assessed as a cementing of the pattern of Anglo attitudes developing in the earliest years. From the later context of the memoir, the author reveals the influence of the Anglican Sisters and the transmission of religious values were internalised in her personal cultural system. Study of the French language, as an academic pursuit, did little to modify her Anglo-conformist view of the world nor did the change from a rural to an urban milieu where the same (Anglo) values were reproduced.

The writer does not hint she was unhappy at school but suggests she accepted the only values she was exposed to, and had imposed on her, both at home and at school.

---

[4] In her book *Minority Education: From Shame To Struggle*, Skutnabb-Kangas (1988, pp.14-15) asserts that it is not only an advantage for minority children to learn their mother tongue but also their right and the duty of an education system to give every child, regardless of linguistic background, the same chance to participate in the democratic process.

She presents the position of minorities and majorities in the following way:

> *Minorities* (like many non-European and non-Europeanized countries) think that genuine multilingualism is a perfectly normal and desirable state. It is possible and desirable to have multilingualism as the linguistic goal in the education of all children. Mother tongue medium education is often a good way to bilingualism/multilingualism for minorities. Learning one's mother tongue is a human right which does not need any further legitimation.

> *Majorities* think that monolingualism in the majority language is the normal and desirable state. Societal multilingualism is divisive and should not be a goal. If individual multilingualism has to be accepted the emphasis should be on the learning of the majority language. If mother tongue medium education for minorities has to be accepted, the only legitimation for it is that it leads to increased proficiency in the majority language.

Tertiary Study. This was a pivotal experience which influenced and transformed attitudes in her personal cultural system.

At Matriculation and First Year University level, the possibility of thinking in another language began for the first time to penetrate her consciousness. Even then, the study of the traditional, French language in the milieu of tertiary study, was artificial and questioned by the writer who felt 'uncomfortable' with members of the French Club who, she felt, took their identification with this foreign, even if acceptable language, rather 'too far.' Through formal education, she was starting to be exposed to different values and to modify those she had internalised. This change was stimulated through the close friendship, and cultural interaction, with two of her closest friends born in Czechoslovakia and France.

It was in the changed environment of tertiary education that emerging views moved away from values transmitted in the home. Until this time her values had been reinforced by home and school. At University, the writer was not, in Znaniecki's term (1939, p.383) 'a young *revolte*,' and she admits to not yet being intellectually adventurous, nor was she as a student politically active. Personal conflict with the values of the home was contained with little disturbance.

The influence of tertiary study can be evaluated in the memoir which devotes more recollections to tertiary study than schooling. Her self-educational tendencies grew almost imperceptibly during a decade up to 1975 in a milieu which was favourable for her changing attitudes. In contrast to education for predetermined ends, her emerging attitudes towards multiculturalism at this time continued to be almost accidental, but growing out of tertiary study. Her 'discovery' of the Aboriginal communities came not through formal study of Australian History, but informal reading through a series of articles in a student magazine. This exposure came as:

> a considerable shock ... I was shocked by my own ignorance.

The education system had failed her. These emerging positive attitudes to Aboriginal culture and cultural democracy were not repressed in the home but tolerated with interest and good humour as a student aberration. The home transmitted the attitude of 'we' and 'others' in respect to indigenous peoples which reflected attitudes in society at the time. Until this time the author's values had been a synthesis of home and school values.

Tertiary study provided the context for interaction of cultural pluralism through the curriculum rather than direct implementation of University policy. An awakening to multicultural values did not spring from formal study of the traditional French language:

> It was much more in the study of Indian and Chinese History and in the close friendships formed with "overseas" students, chiefly Chinese from South-East Asia.

This social interaction did impinge on her personal cultural system in an immature way as she recalls a change in her thinking:

> I began to consider quite seriously though not with great clarity, the strangeness of a monolingual, monocultural outlook. The possibility was emerging for me to accept a cultural pluralism in Australia, though I did not think of it in these terms.

The 'discovery' of Aboriginal culture and those of other minority ethnic groups was not an intentional cultural or social activity of tertiary study. The interest in these groups arose from her studies and social interaction and was later developed as a consciously directed activity.

Religious Values. Anglican religious values internalised from home and school were activated and developed during tertiary study. A continuing study of the scriptures begun in the years at University had a deep and life-long impact on her personal cultural system analysed as:

> A re-enforcing experience that should not be overlooked.

Studies in historiography were perceived as 'explicitly' multicultural as regards practical social relationships. These experiences deeply influenced the development of her cultural becoming and brought a sense of newness and discovery with value changing consequences. These studies deepened her empathy for minority individuals in social relationships (and evident in the context of the memoir) and reinforced a positive attitude to cultural pluralism.

The writer does not disclose the influence of her religious studies for example, a conflict or challenge to her personal religious values from peers, NESB peers, the influence of one person or group members, or a desire to strengthen religious values reproduced at school. It is clear that at tertiary level (assumed Anglo) religious values were reinforced in an individual effort not a change in religious values and certainly were continued as a conscious activity. Religious values are deeply personal and committed ones for the respondent and ones which she chooses not to discuss. For example, formal religious content of boarding school life was not detailed in the memoir. Religion at the school would have been an imposed cultural activity, transmitted by the Anglican Sisters. One can suggest the individual study of the scriptures as an adolescent and adult arose from interaction with her formal religious educators (Sisters) and who provided role models. It is assumed the home transmitted a positive attitude to Anglican religious values which were activated in sending the daughters to an Anglican boarding school.

At University, the nature of the value changing consequences as a result of study of the scriptures was viewed as a modification or development of dominant Anglo values internalised within a wider cultural context in her personal cultural system. These experiences further developed her cultural humanity in which religious values remain dominant.

Professional Life. Znaniecki argues (1930, p.383) that if the individual succeeds in finding a new social environment favourable to new ideals, s/he may develop into an

original and constructive personality. For the author, professional work provided a new cultural milieu.

Following University studies, work experience as a young graduate, and in a changed milieu, provided a cultural interaction and the stimulus for self-education viz a desire to learn LOTE. The participant worked for two years with NESB students in Australian Universities. Her precise role as educator is not defined but one can assume it involved aspects of educational guidance for Overseas students. As a visitor to Papuan and New Guinean Universities and Colleges, the writer was exposed to a NESB milieu outside her Anglo culture. The respondent experienced a culture shock:

> I was for the first time in my life in a situation where I was, in a very conspicuous way, different from the majority, an outsider. I felt handicapped and impoverished, but at the same time eager to learn to speak at least a little of their language, to come a little closer to them.

Monolingualism was a disadvantage. Language was viewed as giving access to a different culture and being additive:

> I did not want to throw away my own language and culture but to be able to have the means to develop a richer, less superficial relationship with these people.

This positive attitude was not activated at the time but had the seeds of a pluralistic attitude.

The writer may be an unassuming person, but the memoir gives no detail of a personal career in education since marriage. It seems her personal ambitions have been sublimated to a co-operative role with her husband and family. Significantly, the pronoun 'we' replaces 'I' for experiences after marriage. Her parents valued education for enrichment, more than vocation, and she has fulfilled their preparation for her 'pre-determined' role in society. With some modification, her present attitude reflects that of her parents:

> There was always an assumption that I could eventually marry 'well' and probably be content to express my new-found freedom in married life at home rather than in any independent career.

The fact that the writer has returned to tertiary study indicates the activation of a professional life. She may have the freedom of an independent career, but this is secondary to the home life. Marry 'well' perhaps has a different meaning for the respondent as compared with her parents. Certainly, she assumes the role of mother, as a nurturer and educational influence to her three sons and as educator encourages their learning of the Italian language at school.

Marriage. Marriage was a significant influence in changing attitudes in the writer's personal cultural system.

As a tertiary student, to use Znaniecki's words, the writer's creative power was limited and cultural interests immature. On her own, positive attitudes to cultural pluralism were awakened but not developed. In her case a new social environment favourable to these positive ideals was needed. Marriage, and the geographical distance from the rural home, provided the changed social and cultural influences to transform the dominant Anglo values of her family.

Her spouse (who had some German ancestry) had a positive attitude to cultural pluralism which reinforced her own attitudes. He had already studied informally a number of languages, he had travelled widely in many countries and had close friends from a number of different ethnic groups. The couple preferred a honeymoon visit to Asia in place of a trip to England 'paid by Gran'. This decision indicates a modification of Anglo values and re-evaluation of tradition (Heritage and Tradition as theoretical concepts are explored in the Theory Chapter 2.5). As the writer reflected:

> My mother's mother did not visit England until she was in her eighties and her visit then took the form of something like a pilgrimage. She revered the Royal Family, (and) loved the images of England from afar.

The Author's Family. The author is married and her family is a close and nuclear one. According to the Anglo-conformist tradition, every individual is of vital importance. There is no mention of contact with any extended family of grandparents, on either side, a younger sister or other relatives. Their nuclear family could be partly an enforced situation due to the geographical separation from her family and infrequent visits.

Though not expressed, her own family (three children) is a close unit as members share many social activities as revealed in comments about 'our children', 'we have visited', 'we continue to travel together'. This emphasises a positive evaluation of the family and some collectivist values. Travel for cultural communication and a means of self-education is positively evaluated and transmitted to the younger generation.

Peer friendships during the school years are not discussed though it is evident the writer is a social person. As school was attended in a different state perhaps it has been difficult to maintain close friendships. Friendships, with both ESB and NESB peers, has been another sharing aspect of marriage. These friendships have further widened her experience of cultural interaction which is meaningful.

Travel. Travel has been an aspect of marriage which has activated positive attitudes to cultural pluralism. Travel has involved cultural encounters as a form of self-education, with a conscious intent to learn from other cultures rather than just sight-seeing trips. An early interest in interaction with indigenous peoples stimulated at primary school (discussed above) has been activated:

> We have visited the Pitjantjatjara people, in the Far North of our state, each year for many years in an attempt to come to know and understand something of the language and culture of these people, to try to appreciate some of the aspirations and some of the problems and dilemmas that confront them and to talk about these together.

The writer, and her husband, activated an empathy for indigenous groups. The phrase 'to come to know and understand' another culture reveals interaction was at an early stage as a comment highlights. It suggests knowledge 'about' a culture:

> We have continued to travel ... accepting the validity of each community's languages and our own interest in their view of things.

This form of self-education stimulated a pluralistic attitude towards social interaction with ethnic minority groups which has so far not been internalised through language learning, for example, in a dual system of values. The family has travelled overseas, including Europe, when the writer activated the restricted French in her personal cultural system.

However, travel has been a positive cultural influence which has encouraged some activation of learning LOTE at a rudimentary level in the home:

> Our study at home contains sets of language tapes and books for learning Italian, French, Standard Chinese, and Pitjantjatjara into all of which we have dabbled.

Dabbled indicates interest rather than a deep commitment to second language learning. This could be activated in the future through social interaction with friends as the couple 'have many close friends in a wide variety of different ethnic groups'.

At university the writer formed some NESB friendships. Through travel since marriage, the respondent has had the opportunity to develop friendships with NESB friends at both primary and secondary social levels. The cultural interaction from these friendships with NESB members is valued by the writer as giving access to other cultures. It is significant that ESB friends are not mentioned but accepted as they do not provide interaction with different cultural values.

Self-Education. Znaniecki asserts that self-education has its sources in social factors and its characters are distinct, and in a sense contradictory, to those of education. For this author, tendencies were first activated during childhood and adolescence through the

medium of books. Reading was an escape from the harsh rural environment and perhaps infrequent social interaction. It gave access to another world rather than a means to an end. She recalls:

> I cannot clearly remember a time when I could not read. Reading was an escape from the real world. It was an absorbing journey of discovery through Dickens, the Brontes, Tolstoy, countless romances, historical novels, detective fiction and many womens' magazines. It certainly widened my horizons.

This searching journey of discovery was mainly through classical English novels and Australian magazines which widened her rural horizon but did not have any 'marked impact' on her personal cultural system as the values were those shared with her family and local community. Though immature, the experience was a conscious pursuit, searching outside one's milieu. The use of the word 'discovery' indicates self-education was a journey (her term used in the quotation) which could have many turns, not a pre-determined end. The home encouraged these tendencies to 'think for ourselves,' evaluating this as essential for the development of one's personal becoming. This intellectual environment, her parents felt, had not been an opportunity for themselves. They evaluated education as a key influence for their children to be free and, as much as possible, within limits, to choose the direction their lives would take. This aspiration they had felt had not been as possible for themselves as their own lives had been restricted by Depression, War, and the prejudices of their parents. They felt limited by social attitudes and a repressive education.

In contrast, the author is aware that her educational and cultural experiences have transformed her monocultural attitudes to multicultural ones. She accepts that her positive attitude to cultural pluralism had been an emerging view which took place imperceptibly over a period of time as a result of self-education and other cultural influences. She remains optimistic about participating in the multicultural society in Australia:

> We look forward with impatience to the time when Australian society may
> adopt genuine interactionist values and respect every individual's real person,
> language and culture.

The author has a univalent personal cultural system which draws on values of the dominant Anglo group and the overarching values in Australia. Her memoir provides a good illustration of the way in which monocultural attitudes have been transformed to pluralistic attitudes as a result of self-education, especially tertiary study, and cultural influences from travel and social interaction.

9. CULTURAL VALENCE AND NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION: IDEAL TYPES AMONG NESB RESPONDENTS

This chapter considers the Ideal Types that could be isolated among the NESB respondents.

9.1 Bivalent: Single National Identification - Type III

The significance of this type in the Australian context lay in the fact that all authors were from the NESB O group. All respondents were bivalent according to Kloskowska's criteria of proficiency in two cultures with positive feelings and attitudes to both. Four authors were studying in Australia as higher degree students and were on temporary student visas only. They had internalised their first or ethnic minority group values in the homeland and some values of the dominant Anglo group in the colonial society, in particular English language, as the second set of values. It was their intention, on completion of studies, to return to the homeland for a career. In the Australian milieu, the students expressed a single national identification with their home country, not Australia. This reflected the temporary status of their stay.

It proved necessary to modify Kloskowska's (1994, pp.92-3) concept of bivalent proficiency in the context of cultural pluralism in Australia:

> I propose to use the term 'bivalence' to denote such non-conflicting interlinking of elements selected from two cultures, possessed, approximately, in the same degree and accepted as close to one's value system.

Balanced bivalent individuals were not the criteria nor the outcome of the study. The findings confirm that NESB authors in Australia find it very difficult to maintain and activate core values of their minority cultures. This is especially the case for a minority language. For example authors 2 and 3 made the conscious effort to write letters home to parents in the home language in order to maintain aspects of language and culture. This was a maintenance level of culture, requiring a dictionary, and did not extend to aspects

of high culture. They are bivalent but not balanced bicultural individuals in the sense of activating elements of two cultures to the same degree. For the purposes of study these students need a proficiency in the English language whilst in Australia in order to actively participate in society. Authors had internalised two sets of cultural values in which the additional values were at a level of competence close to the original value system. As NESB O students they had resisted assimilationist pressures in Australia and the move to Type I. Single national identification was to the home country, not to Australia. With a permanent status, respondents could move to Type IV in a multicultural trend with a double national identification. This type came out of the specialised group of higher degree students. All students were NESB. Single national identification was the outcome of Kloskowska's (1993) study on borderland cases. NESB Author 34 was a more recent immigrant who had come to join her family. After a short time the author had not developed any sense of commitment to Australia although this was a possibility following a longer period of residence.

Within each type there are variations which need explanation. One author, NESB O 25, migrated to Australia from Poland with her husband and family. Whilst she is bivalent in her Polish and Australian cultural strands her personal national identity remains strongly integral viz Polish. Her Polish and Australian cultural strands are separate with no overlapping. The memoir gives no indication of an affinity for, or sentiment towards an Australian or double national identity. The author needs to be bivalent to participate in the multicultural society in Australia and in particular to understand the education system in which her children are involved.

9.2   Example of Type III: Memoir 2

This NESB author writes that her Chinese cultural development and Anglo values were influenced by her early life in Singapore during the 1960's when the society was overshadowed by a colonial mentality. Her national identity is asserted in the memoir opening:

I recognise that I am Chinese.

Family. Discussion of family life reflects some fragmentation in collectivist values of a traditional Chinese family or for example the Italian family. The dislocation of the transmission of core values, and family solidarity she recalls, came through the death of her father when she was five. As the editor of a Chinese newspaper, and obviously a gifted linguist, he taught himself Malay and English and produced a Chinese-Malay-English dictionary. He 'could have' been the influence for his daughter learning Mandarin and maintaining the family unit as the patriarch.

Life changed. With his death came a lowering of socio-economic standard for the family and through the changed home milieu exposure to aspects of working-class culture. The mother, who was illiterate, had to work to raise five young children. The respondent refers only once to her older siblings but there is no indication of close relationships. A maternal grandmother who lived with the family is mentioned as an influence in the early years.

As a single parent, the mother had influence in her cultural development encouraging English acquisition in the home as a 'prestigious' language - the lingua franca 'in places where important things are done.' The mother and grandmother spoke a Teochew dialect in the home. Whilst the mother encouraged 'Western education', on reflection the mother regrets the emphasis on individualism which she evaluates as being in conflict with Chinese values.[1] For the mother the family was important as a core value of Chinese culture. This attitude is reflected in her daughter's assertion that the two core values of

---

[1] Compare the Indian memoir 3 from this same group which discusses the disappointment felt by parents at the changed attitudes of their siblings towards their ethnic culture as an outcome of the 'western education':

> My parents were bitterly disappointed with me as I began to evaluate negatively their many religious observances and rituals. They saw these developments as a punishment from their Gods for having 'over-educated' me ... Our rebelliousness seemed to confirm what our grandparents had warned our parents about initially - that girls are better off being uneducated and married.

Chinese culture are the family and language. The respondent respects the attitudes of her mother but has modified the family as a core value in her personal cultural system evaluating ideas in education more than the traditional perhaps folkloric ways of the mother. There is a sense of regret:

> My education ... has made me sceptical, even of the wisdom of my own mother. It has also made me totally reliant upon my own intelligence in responding and relating to the world which has become increasingly different from the one my family lives in. In other words, education has alienated me from my family.

There is no discussion about an extended family of relatives and friends who could have provided a close network and support for the transmission of Chinese core values.

The tradition of the Chinese family as a core value has been retained by the writer as a positive attitude which she has hopes to activate in the future with some religious modifications:

> I should like to work out more fully my Chineseness which includes learning Mandarin ... and one day, raising a Chinese family which will be Christian as well.

School. School was exciting because the writer, as an able student, found intellectual stimulation in science subjects and responded to the aesthetics of poetry and music. She was aware and accepted that the education system inculcated values of nationalism e.g. all children had to learn the national language, Malay, whereas today Malay is taught as a second language mostly to Malay students.

The influence of school had cultural repercussions:

> The alienation from my Chinese heritage was intensified when I started school, especially since that experience increased my attraction towards the English language.

As a result, academically she was successful, helped by her acquisition of English through efforts in self-education:

> I was enthusiastic about learning so I read voraciously and my English improved. That I was doing well in school encouraged me.

English was the medium of instruction. It was positively evaluated by the writer and her family to acquire knowledge for a professional career. If English gave access to knowledge why should she learn Mandarin? Mandarin was not used in the home and poor grades in Chinese reflect negative evaluation and lack of effort. The writer realises now that this situation would have been different had her father been alive and taught her Mandarin in the home.

In the schools, the positive evaluation of bilingual learning, in particular Mandarin, was absent in her time. The emphasis was on nationalism and Malay. It is apparent the respondent experienced learning three languages at school viz English, Malay and Mandarin. The education system imposed her identity as a Singaporean who happens to be Chinese rather than the reverse. The author describes her self identity, giving priority to her cultural origins:

> Being born a Chinese in Singapore is indeed a unique experience.

The school curriculum was based on and transmitted Anglo values e.g. through the literature of Shakespeare and Wordsworth. This curriculum satisfied her wide literary interests but not her cultural core. At school she accepted the curriculum for the sake of the academic content and seems to have enjoyed subjects for intellectual interest without a deep cultural involvement. Anglo values transmitted in the curriculum were internalised but interaction with western influences distanced her from some Chinese traditions e.g. the Wayang[2]. Individual teachers or peers are not mentioned as having an influence on her cultural development.

---

[2] South East Asian Studies Program (SEASP) REPORT, 1986-7, No.6, Singapore. W.K. Esmula (1990, p.64) provides a reference to the Wayang:

> Wayang Kulit, the traditional Malay shadow play depicting scenes from the Ramayana was in the past used at Rusembilan to entertain the spirits. This has long since been given up in the village as Chinese entertainers in Pattani regularly put on wayang kulit shows with a degree of skill not possible in most villages.

<u>Tertiary Study</u>. As with other writers, experience of the new milieu of tertiary study changed the attitudes of the writer away from the 'cloud of colonial thinking'. She recalled:

> I was no longer content with the Shakespeare and Wordsworth that were taught in school. In fact, I was rather resentful of the concentration on English literature under the subject called 'Literature in English'. I ... no longer saw English as a superior or prestigious language.

For example, in the subject 'Comparative Literature', she was exposed to the literary genres of other cultures. At first this was traditional Anglo or classical literature such as the *ILIAD* but later Chinese and Japanese literature - all in translation from a Taiwanese lecturer. She was exposed to higher aspects and values of different cultures but through the medium of English. The exposure to higher levels of literature opened a wider perspective on cultural pluralism but made her less tolerant of her own working-class Chinese culture. Exploration of other art forms viz music, drama and paintings, provided the author with the experience of symbolic values of diverse cultures.

<u>Peer Friendships</u>. An important influence of secondary and tertiary study was the formation of friendships with colleagues from other ethnic groups. These friendships provided social and cultural interaction with diverse cultures in Singapore. This interaction stimulated a positive attitude to cultural pluralism:

> At this time, I also began to sense that it was unhealthy to be locked in one's ethnic culture for insularity can only breed bigotry in the end.

Unlike her peers, she was prepared to enter a mixed marriage. This reflects not only a tolerant attitude to cultural diversity but at a personal level a positive evaluation of bivalence. Also, she was ambivalent towards aspects of her Chinese culture. Interaction with peers has highlighted an awareness of her cultural roots and the 'uniqueness' of minority core values. As an observer of other ESB groups, the writer gives a sensitive and comparative view of core values which were integral to ethnic groups in Singapore:

> The Chinese are not at all like the Malays or the Indians. The Malays were not immigrants and their identity as a people definitely lies in the common bond of their Islam religion. In fact, they are so much identified with their religion that the terms 'Malay' and 'Muslim' are often used interchangeably. The Indians in spite of their immigrant beginning never relinquish their links with their motherland. Rarely do you find an Indian who has not been to India.

For some years, the writer's close friend has been a Singaporean born not in Singapore but in India.

The author expresses sentiments towards her Chinese national identity was affected by the severance from her homeland in the past:

> The Chinese in Singapore (as inevitably with the Chinese in China also) had to sever their ties with the past after China came under Communist rule. My growing up was somewhat affected by this severance and my Chineseness for a long time remained ambiguous and alien to me for I could not identify with the China-Chinese. Somehow when one is denied one's origins, there is very little left as a frame of reference.

Professional Life. Following tertiary study, the author taught in Singapore. Teaching experience is not discussed in detail except the remark that she learnt about the wayang through teaching her students, not by the transmission of traditions from older relatives.

The writer has been academically successful. Education, which her mother encouraged, has alienated her from her family. Education and 'western values' have stimulated independence and an intellectual world of ideas which has become increasingly different from that of her family. Feelings of independence even rebellion culminated in moving out to live on her own:

> My independent spirit grew to the point of disregard and even disrespect for the opinions or feelings of my family.

Moving out of home was a rejection of the collectivist core value of the Chinese family and found disapproval in a moral sense.

Later, the respondent moved back home and initially found the loss of independence difficult. She learned after an absence to re-evaluate the core value of the Chinese family in a positive way, the strength of its collectivist values and sensitivity to the needs of members. Experience of independence had made her more respectful and tolerant of the family as a unit.

Religion. The 'discovery' of her Christian faith has been the 'most important thing in my life'. The influences of individuals or groups which led to this conversion remain private.

The memoir gives little indication of how religious values were transmitted in the home as a core value. Perhaps the loss of the father influenced the dislocation of transmission of religious values. Chinese religious traditions e.g. the wayang, were observed seriously by the mother and grandmother but the writer regarded these as 'simple almost naive'. Her response was to reject the wayang and ancestral worship. As mentioned above, any understanding of these traditions came when teaching and not as cultural transmission in the home.

The author regarded ancestral worship as being family-bound and did not evaluate the links with her heritage as a positive tradition. Instead she resented both the above traditions which for her represented materialism associated with Chinese culture.

As a Christian, the writer found that the acceptance of these Chinese religious traditions created a conflict with her Christian beliefs, particularly as she identified as a Chinese. Conflict in value systems came through a combination of influences:

> I found myself struggling with these crucial areas of Chineseness. The conflict arises not just because of my Christian bias but more basically because I am an individual with a past, an education, a personality and a value system.

In Australia, interaction with tolerant attitudes towards religious pluralism has modified her attitudes of resentment and alienation to internalise tolerance of traditional Chinese religious values but with non participation. Her attitude of acceptance was eased by the realisation that the traditions had roots in the noble Confucian ethic of filial piety. This is combined with the knowledge that older relatives especially the grandmother grew up with these traditions which were part of Chinese heritage.

Her family have noticed a change in her response to their religious observances and are more accepting of her non participation. Family members found it hard to accept her Christian faith not only because it was alien but culturally different viz 'Western'. The writer's negative evaluation of the wayang could have been influenced by a language barrier which restricted access to this aspect of culture:

I cannot understand the refined classical Teochew of the wayang.

Instead she associated religious fervour with histrionics, elaborate costumes, drums and crowds. The respondent remains a devout Christian. After several years as a student in Australia, she feels the modification to Chinese religious values in her personal cultural system have made her not less Chinese nor less Christian but more tolerant of religious pluralism as a bivalent individual.

Language. Language is positively evaluated as a core value of Chinese culture. For the writer, it has never been 'very significant' in her personal cultural system. This attitude has been re-evaluated since living and participating in a multicultural society.

Her mother tongue was the Teochew dialect used in the home and still spoken with the mother and grandmother. It was negatively evaluated as an aspect of working-class culture which she rejected during adolescence. Oral English was acquired in the home and pre-school from older siblings. This was encouraged by the mother who evaluated English as a superior language - for academic and career reasons. The opportunity and

stimulus to learn Mandarin (mentioned above) in the home was lost when her Father died. He activated a positive attitude towards Mandarin as core value of culture.

At school, English was the medium of instruction for the Anglo curriculum. The respondent acquired it readily through self-directed reading. English has been her first language in the academic sense and the language used in most areas of her social interaction.

Language Activation. The school curriculum transmitted a positive attitude to language learning but without the present stress on bilingualism.[3] Malay was compulsory. Mandarin was taught but it seems little effort meant restricted competency for the writer. The school must have taught three languages at least as part of the curriculum.

In Australia, she has come to re-assess her attitudes on linguistic pluralism living in a multicultural society. Her experiences of social and cultural interaction with Anglo-Australian colleagues has made her aware that language is more than a means of communication. After using English in her daily life she realised that language is also a vehicle of cultural values which were embedded in the culture of the Anglo colleagues and which she could not access. During tertiary study, the respondent had used English as a vehicle for complex thoughts and abstract ideas at an extensive competency level.

---

[3] In the Australian context, it is of interest here to quote the recent analysis of the 1991 Census by the Monash University-based Language and Society Centre directed by Professor Michael Clyne (The Australian, 10 November 1993, p.1):

> Sydney - where Arabic and Chinese have replaced Italian and Greek as the most widely used languages other than English - represents the new face of Australia's multicultural population.

> Professor Clyne said: 'the changes in language usage among Sydneysiders was significant as they represented a shift away from the traditional European languages to 'international' languages such as Arabic, Chinese and Spanish ... Our educational institutions must provide programs that not only help maintain these languages but make it possible for other people to utilise these language resources in Australia'. The Khouri family, which emigrated to Australia from Lebanon in 1951, believes the Arabic language is a vital part of its culture and identity. Mr Khouri who said his knowledge of Arabic was 'critical' said:

>> Our family, our background, our heritage and tradition are linked to the language and you can't appreciate any of it unless you speak it.

Living in Australia has stimulated the re-vitalising of her lapsed Mandarin through the cultural action of letter writing to her Mother in her restricted Mandarin. This experience has opened up and reinforced family links through the activation of language as a core value. The writer recognises how meanings are transmitted through the Mandarin words she uses such as 'filial' and 'family well-being' associated with Chinese folk-lore and traditions. Letter writing has motivated the author to work hard at Mandarin not for academic reasons but as integral to her ethnicity and sense of family unity.

Study in Australia. Leaving home a second time was accepted by the family as a 'normal' process because further education was held in high esteem in Chinese culture.[4]

From a personal view, the writer felt coming to Australia had a lot to do with her fear of being insular viz ethnocentric in an intellectual and cultural sense. She has responded to migration and living in a plural society in ways perhaps she did not expect viz the realisation of the significance of her cultural core for her well-being. For example, from a distance the writer has come to re-evaluate her Chinese ethnicity and activation of core values in a positive way.[5]

Former rejection of Chinese traditions such as the wayang and ancestral worship were now tolerated and accepted as the heritage of working-class culture for the transmission of Chinese religious values. Her strong independence or self-interest had been modified to include sharing values with her family.

Studying overseas had been a crucial learning experience and a changed milieu in a cultural sense and socially to find herself. This experience has not been the internalising

---

[4] Compare the Italian author 23 who moved from a rural milieu to the city for the purposes of tertiary education. This move away from a strongly ethnic home was accepted by his Italian parents as necessary for his education.

[5] An important influence could have been the course at the University on Multicultural Society.

of a new set of values but rather those of her own culture. This changed perspective is expressed in a new heading:

RETURN JOURNEY. THINGS HAVE COME A FULL CIRCLE.

Living in a plural society, the author became accepting and tolerant of her Chinese culture. Her experiences deepened the awareness that people can activate the core values of a minority group within the overarching framework in Australia. Currently the writer had a positive attitude to aspects of Chinese culture but claimed not to activate some of these:

> I cannot in all honesty subscribe to these Chinese traditions. Much as I want to identify myself as a Chinese ...

She felt unfamiliar with some traditions but aimed to replenish her cultural stocks:

> I should like to work out more fully my Chineseness which includes learning Mandarin, learning Chinese history and reading Chinese literature in Chinese this time, learning to order dishes in Chinese restaurants, wearing the sam-foo (the Chinese pant-suit).

The two main cores of Chinese culture according to the writer's view - family and language - have been strengthened in her bivalent personal cultural system. Reinforcing these strands could be a slow process she feels, but a significant one for her cultural development.

Self-Education. This had been a significant aspect of her education and personal becoming especially in respect to language learning.

At school the writer was enthusiastic about learning on her own volition and read voraciously. As a result her English reading and writing skills improved and so did her school progress.

Reading was the medium for self-education and a search for a new culture and identity through literature. This activity was self-directed:

> The development of my literary tastes reflects this attitude. On my own, I was beginning to read Russian, American and Japanese literature.

One can assume that the loss of her father in the home meant the writer relied on her own resources. In Australia, she activated her father's example in language learning. It is reasonably clear the efforts to keep-working at her Mandarin are self-directed with the help of a dictionary. There is no reference to attending classes. The inspiration has come through writing letters to her mother in Mandarin. In this aspect, self-education maintains Chinese culture and family links for cultural reasons not academic success. For her father and the writer, self-education has fulfilled a need which was not part of formal education. The author is bivalent with a determination to strengthen her Chinese cultural strand. In Australia, the author draws on values of her Chinese minority group as well as values in the overarching framework. She has worked hard to deepen her feelings towards her single national identification as being Chinese.

9.3   Bivalent: Dual National Identification - Type IV

From her study of biographies, Kloskowska (1993, p.177) confirmed the autobiography as the best method to disclose the falsity of stereotypes particularly when applied to individuals who lived in the borderlands or national peripheries. She found:

> The use of such materials by the present author has lead to the following conclusions:
>
> 1. there exists a possibility of multiple, notably double, national identification.

The thesis study, in the context of a plural society, confirmed this possibility as authors in this type emerged as bivalent individuals with a double national identification. All were NESB respondents who were born in Australia, except for author 23 who migrated as a pre-school child and was educated in the Australian school. The fact that all participants had resisted pressures to assimilate was a significant finding.

Authors had derived core values from two ethnic groups viz their own minority group and the majority group within the overarching framework of values. The latter was a second system of values. They could participate in two cultures according to everyday customs and situations with a depth of knowledge which author 23 expressed:

> I am an Italian at heart, with a working knowledge of[6] living in a different culture. My Italian nature now co-exists with my Australian life, helped especially by these times of recognition of the value of the many cultures which make up our Australian compatriots.

Analysis revealed that NESB core values were internalised in the home. Some Anglo linguistic values were internalised before starting school from interaction with grandparents, parents and older siblings. Analysis highlighted the fact that where NESB values were established in the home as the core of an individual's identity, the individual's confidence and self esteem was strong enough to be maintained when exposed to the reproduction of Anglo values in the school and curriculum. Authors expressed pride in being bivalent but memoirs revealed difficulties in maintaining core values to be proficient in minority cultures in the Australian context. Balanced bivalent cultural systems were the reality in some cases and not a criteria for the study.

The following quotation, from a study of languages and language varieties, indicates the need for opportunities and access to cultural content in the education system (Smolicz and Secombe 1989, p.497, 7.4):

> (...) it is nice to know another language. When I was at school, I wanted to do music and that had to be done with either German or French. I chose to do German. Mandarin was not offered then. Otherwise I would have done Mandarin. I have lost most of my German.

As distinct from the previous type, the significance of this type was the crystallisation of a double national identification e.g. as a Greek-Australian and the desire to be accepted in this way by peers. Memoirs highlighted the feeling that the culture of the author's own

---

[6] My underlining to illustrate the point made by Kloskowska (1993, p.11) in reference to Schütz.

ethnic group played a special and unique role in national identification. At the same time, having lived in Australia for some years, authors expressed warm sentiments of identification with Australia. This point was clearly expressed: I am an Italian first and Australian second. That is an Italo-Australian where the ethnic root has a special place. Author 23 described his bivalent cultural system:

I am aware that I belong to both cultures, but not to either of them exclusively.

In a culturally plural society such as Australia, the typology of bivalent culture and dual national identification represents a harmonious solution to cultural pluralism. This solution may be the more frequent situation as marriages between ESB and NESB individuals of younger generations take place. In the same way as a language is additive in a personal cultural system, a bivalent culture could become polyvalent in a future situation of cultural interaction. In this multicultural trend, Type IV diffuses across a cultural border in a cultural transformation to become Type V.

Because of the dynamism of cultural interaction, memoir writers responded in a variety of ways to cultural encounters in Australia. The memoirs showed that the combination of cultural bivalence with single national identification did not occur amongst these bivalent individuals Authors, as higher degree students, could be compared with the subjects of Kloskowska's (1994, p.96) study as having 'a high level of intelligence, education and self-reflection'. Their memoirs clearly identified a double national identification as an outcome in the Australian context. Findings confirm this process came as the result of living and being educated in Australia with a personal commitment to Australia as a multicultural society.

9.4   Example of Type IV: Memoir 9

The parents of this memoir writer migrated to Australia in the 1960's and have been an important influence in the transmission of Italian cultural values in the home. As a result, the respondent identifies strongly with her Italian ethnic group. She was educated in the

Australian school system yet her memoir has a distinctly Italian flavour. By analysing the cultural and educational influences in her life, one can trace the development of a dual set of cultural values in her bivalent personal cultural system.

Family Influence. Her home transmitted Italian core values 'predominantly' centred around Italian relatives and family friends. Home values were reinforced by the extended milieu of the neighbourhood which had a concentration of Italian immigrants. From the early days, her personal cultural system was exposed to and drew on the core values of the Italian group. The family provided the sound base and positive evaluation for the establishment of her ethnic identity which gave her confidence and self-esteem when she participated in the school system.

The writer neatly sums up the significance of the family and language as core values of Italian culture:

> Language and family ties constitute the core values of the Italian culture. Among Italian families, including my own, the ethos of family life as a collectivist and tight component, is very important in daily matters. The family is thought of as being a whole unit, where the welfare of one person is the concern of all members. Children are expected to remain part of the family until they marry, and it is very rare to find Italian youth moving out of home until they are married. Finances and resources are shared and parents are generally strict and protective in the up-bringing of their children. Obedience and respect for elders is an integral part of belonging to an Italian family.

Within the social milieu of the extended family and neighbourhood, her parents exerted a firm discipline which was not authoritarian. In fact, as she grew older, the respondent activated Anglo values of independence and a strong disposition when her values were under threat. The home transmitted and activated a dual national identity within a framework of an Italo-Australian way of life. For example, Italian values were dominant in the home, but her parents took out Australian citizenship in accepting the overarching values in Australia. The parents hoped that citizenship would provide better opportunities for their children. This memoir writer grew up in an atmosphere where it felt 'normal' and comfortable to internalise a dual set of cultural values which, in a plural society such

as Australia, could be activated according to the social situation. The presence of older relatives was important for the transmission of Italian heritage and traditions to the younger generations.

Language. The home encouraged the maintenance of Italian language in her personal cultural system. Language activation in the home strengthened the sense of family unity. The southern Italian dialect, as a core value of Italian culture, remained, the home language and the language internalised in her personal cultural system as the mother tongue and continued to be used between the parents and siblings. Again this was naturally her mother tongue from her earliest years and the language used at family gatherings by relatives, older ones especially, and close friends. She recalled:

> Exposure to my family's dialect was intensive and linguistically consistent, dominating my pre-school life. These dialects are the first language of all children born to Italians anywhere in the world. They satisfy all the communicative needs of the household, between siblings, parents and other adults who enter the social life of the family circle.

The siblings still communicated in Italian with family and friends but used English between themselves. From the established linguistic base, the writer acquired (oral) English in the pre-school years from a brother and cousins who had already started school. This was reinforced by social interaction with local children comprising more Greek than Italian peers so that English was the common means of communication. Exposure to a bilingual milieu was an early experience.

The respondent chose not to discuss the Catholic religion as a core value of her personal cultural system but concentrated on language as the transmission of culture. However, as she attended Catholic schools at both primary and secondary level, the Catholic religion was positively evaluated in the home and activated at group level with relatives and friends at Church attendance. It can be said that religious values at school strengthened those of the home as a core value of Italian culture.

<u>Primary School</u>. The tone throughout this memoir is most confident as the author maintained a positive self-identification in the mainstream school. Firstly, the Italian strands in her personal cultural system remained strong and continuous throughout the transition from home to school which was accomplished without dislocation. Secondly, the choice of schools helped to maintain, though tenuous at primary level, the core values of the home. For example, the writer (at the age of 5) attended a Catholic primary school and found it comfortable to mix with other children because more than half of the school population was Italian. The ethnic mix of the school complemented the home milieu and social (local) environment. Although Italian was not taught in the school, she could activate the language in social interaction with Italian peers, some of whom attended Saturday morning school. However, she and her brother did not attend these classes but it appears the Italian language was a strong influence and maintained in the home.

Having internalised the Italian dialect and some oral English, acquisition of written English was 'easy' at school. The memoir reveals the writer had ability in linguistic skills with a good command of written English. Also her oral Italian was established in her personal cultural system before the acquisition of English. She understood at the time of writing that the lack of opportunity for learning Italian at school resulted in the development of her mother tongue being unable to keep pace with the development of the English language. She relied upon the family environment for the maintenance of the mother tongue.

In response to changes in social attitudes to ethnic diversity, the monocultural primary school transmitted a change in attitudes towards the cultural needs of the NESB students. In response, some Italian core values were activated which created a sympathetic cultural milieu for her Italian identity. For example, in grade V the school began to hold Annual Italian festivals and newsletters to parents included Italian translations. At least this was a beginning for cultural inclusion of minority ethnic groups in the monocultural school and exposure for all students to minority core values and aspects of culture. The author felt

her ethnicity was valued and could be shared with ESB students. It is interesting to note that her best friend at primary level was an Anglo-German girl - who did not speak German and was very 'Australianized'. Author 9 resisted pressure to assimilate and mixed freely with peers. The writer herself felt this was not 'unusual' in her school where all children mixed freely rather than staying in ethnic clusters:

> Due to the nature of the composition of my primary school, I never felt uncomfortable being an Italian. I never experienced any form of discrimination and the whole school population interacted with naturalness and peace. The Anglo-Saxon children and other minority groups such as Maltese, Polish and Greeks all got along well with one another. We were all friends and there were no divisions.

Therefore, primary school was a comfortable experience before the transition to the milieu of the mainstream secondary school. The monistic attitudes of the school were slowly changing to a positive evaluation of cultural pluralism in response to NESB minority students. The home maintained the Italian core values in her personal cultural system whilst in the primary school the respondent began to develop a dual system of values.

Secondary School. This was an important cultural influence as the writer was introduced to her first encounter with the formal instruction of the Italian language. She had access to a culturally inclusive curriculum in the Catholic school. This influence reinforced the positive evaluation of the Italian dialect in the home as a means of communication. The dialect (Basilicata) is regarded as 'unique' by the author and she feels that the activation in the early years helped with her learning the standard form of the language especially as her dialect 'was not so different from the standard form as some others'. No doubt her positive evaluation of the Italian language and culture motivated her to do well in Italian. Importantly, as the subject was taught as a mainstream subject and so given status by the school, ESB and NESB peers, her self-esteem in her ethnicity was raised. As well as the development of written and oral language skills, students were exposed to other aspects of Italian culture such as Geography, History and Literature. Aspects of high culture opened a new window on Italian heritage and traditions for the writer herself as a

growing bicultural individual - cultural aspects which perhaps the home on its own could not transmit but could encourage in the school curriculum. The language learning of the mother tongue at school was crucial in developing Italian core values in her personal cultural system in the milieu of an educational system where, she was aware, 'all subjects are geared toward the Anglo-Australian dominant group value ideology'. For her bivalent cultural systems, this respondent had the opportunity to develop the Italian and Anglo-Australian strands in an unbroken thread (though at different levels) in her cultural system in the mainstream school. The author matriculated in her native Italian and was able to continue studies in Italian language and literature at the university.

Tertiary Study. The growth of her identity as a bilingual and bicultural individual was further stimulated at tertiary level. Not only did she gain access to the institution but also access to curriculum inclusivity by having the opportunity to study Standard Italian for two years. Language study was extended by the formal study of Modern European History and history of the Italian language As a result, tertiary study nurtured an appreciation of the high culture in Italian literature and a deeper understanding of the standard literary form. As the writer studied English at tertiary level, she has extensive competency level of language skills and is a balanced, bivalent individual.

From her experiences, perhaps her most telling comment on the influence of language as a vehicle for the transmission and preservation of culture is:

> Children from an ethnic background such as myself are exposed to a different
> way of seeing the world.

She found that her study of Italian strengthened her learning of English, particularly understanding of grammar terms. This experience reinforced a positive attitude to bilingualism. It is important for her cultural well-being that her fluency in standard Italian maintained, and even improved, through the opportunity of her teaching career. The author is dedicated to teaching Italian to primary school children and transmitting core values to the younger generation. At the same time, the author positively evaluated the

use of the home dialect. On a personal level, teaching activated the Italian strand in her personal cultural system in an educational milieu which encouraged the teaching of the Italian language in the Australian school. (But she admits once a week is not enough for a child to become a bicultural individual). Her cultural identity was given freedom to develop through educational experiences, both at school and at university.

Education. It has been mentioned how the core values of Italian culture were transmitted in the family unit, extended to relatives and close friends. As the educational experiences of the memoir writer were spent in Australian schools, one can ask 'how did she respond to the reproduction of the dominant culture?' At the time of primary education, the school transmitted an assimilationist ideology of the dominant group being monolingual and monocultural. English was the medium of instruction at school and, as the writer recalled, this ideology was reinforced by T.V.: both mediums provided a 'crash course' in the acquisition of the English language. She accepted English, as did her parents, as an overarching value in Australia because not knowing English automatically puts a minority ethnic individual outside the mainstream of economic and occupational activity. However, the dominant culture was imposed through the mainstream curriculum and the (hidden) attitude of teachers of which this respondent was well aware:

> The Australian school system ideology believed that the simultaneous learning of two languages had an adverse effect on the learning process for immigrant children. The negative aspect was covert and while some of it was perpetuated by the teachers, on the most part it was the school, in the phenomenon of the hidden curriculum, that reflected this. There was no attempt at presenting different ethnic heritages in the school curriculum. The ethos of the majority group was transmitted through the educational system, the peer group and the media.

The prevailing attitude in society for assimilation of non-English speaking background students and pressure to conform to the dominant group was transmitted in the school. The writer returned to this theme throughout her memoir as she valued her Italian identity and cultural values. She resisted pressures to conform and asserted that in Australia 'I am very much an Italian'. Her response was to internalise the overarching values in Australia but the author stated that this cultural interaction should include both ESB and

NESB students in a two-way interaction. The writer herself was not disadvantaged in her education mainly through choice of schools and the following remarks sum up her present view from the role of a teacher:

> Australian schools function as agencies for the transmission of academic knowledge and cultural values which are most highly regarded by the dominant Anglo-Australian group in society. There is a lack of understanding and transmission of European History and ethnic cultural differences in the school system. What is essential is to increase the spheres of history, literature and geography of Italy and other countries in the curriculum. Non-ethnic students should also be exposed to these subjects.

Her educational experiences influenced her present career as an Italian teacher in making her aware of the need to include aspects of the cultural background when teaching an ethnic language. At high school, her Italian teacher was Anglo-Saxon, and this experience highlighted the preference for a minority language teacher to be a native speaker both for the transmission of oral skills and cultural values. Her remarks also raised questions, discussed by Bourdieu, as to whether education can be neutral, particularly in the evaluation of high and low status subjects which reproduce the values, and class structure, of the dominant group in society. Experiences in the Australian School system provide a useful illustration, and comparison, of Bourdieu's theory of reproduction of culture through the curriculum and authority of the teacher. Included in this is the reproduction of power relations:

> Throughout my schooling there had never been any outright discouragement of my ethnicity, but at the same time there was also no encouragement to preserve my Italian culture. In High School the situation changed as I began learning Italian. My teacher was an Anglo-Saxon and although she promoted the learning of the language and culture the Anglo ideology seemed to prevail in her lessons. Many schools now provide the learning of different community languages, but they are not given the same status as other subjects such as Maths and Physics.

As a student, she recognised that the Anglo-Saxon way of doing things was emphasised as being 'superior' to all other cultures which was a disadvantage to an ethnic child 'as it undermines her/his very existence'. It was a revealing experience, even a surprise, for the writer to return to her former school as a student teacher and to note changes in

attitude in the monocultural school system and a group of NESB teachers which was indicative of changing attitudes in society:

> Today half of the teachers at the school came from an Italian background. I returned there for one of my teaching practice blocks and was surprised to see the changes that had occurred. Half the population of the school are Italian girls. Even the head prefects were Italian (a situation unlikely in my day).

Resistance to the Reproduction of Culture. As Giroux points out, there are various ways in which an individual will resist the imposition of a dominant culture on all students. This memoir writer was not a passive recipient of a banking type of education (as outlined by Freire) but resisted the monolingual, assimilationist ideology of the Australian school in a creative and active way.

One reason for her survival was her strong feeling of security and confidence in her Italian identity which was established from her early years and was maintained, and nurtured, during her schooling. In fact, this thread of high self-esteem and confidence pervades the memoir:

> I have never felt disadvantaged or different being an Italian. I have always been proud of my origins and learned to appreciate my culture and heritage further at university.

As an individual, her ethnic identity was very important and positively evaluated. It is apparent from the good literary style of the memoir that the writer had extensive skills in written English which enhanced her chances to survive a system in which she had to acquire a different language for instruction from that to which she had been previously exposed (pre-school). Her means of survival was to internalise and activate a dual set of cultural values according to the social situation. Acceptance and modification of some Anglo values such as individual autonomy and self-reliance combined with her own personal traits to resist dominance enabled her not only to resist assimilation but do very well at school:

My own determination and persistence paid off and my grades even surpassed those of other Anglo children. I was always in the top English and Maths classes throughout primary school and even in high school.

It seems she was highly motivated to do well in high status subjects. Her determination for academic success was also encouraged in the home by the attitudes and expectations of her parents who evaluated education for the social mobility (which they had missed) through a profession, a good job and economic prosperity.[7] She perceived that academic success was also a means to gain acceptance by the dominant group.

Social Interaction. In social interaction with teachers and peers, this writer developed her own means of resisting assimilation and expressing her cultural humanity. For

---

[7]   VIII INTERNATIONAL ORAL HISTORY CONFERENCE 'Memory and Multiculturalism' Siena Lucca, 1993. Paola Filippucci presented a paper on family change as a symbolic domain. She studied three generations of women in the urban context of a Northern Italian locality. Her results show (p.85) ' a change has taken place in the way women think female personhood'. The following quotations are relevant to the female role in a Western society of author 9 and in particular her career aspirations after marriage.

p.80   The Oldest Generation (b. 1900-1925) Rina, b. 1912, daughter of urbanised peasants: 'mum looked after the children: women did not go out to work in those days'. 'I went to service at age 9, to clothe my brothers'.

Luigia born in 1908 in a sharecropper family: I have always worked, I was the healthiest, even more than my brothers; I was always working with the men; sawing like a man, load and unload wood (shows corns on hands). A woman must be respected for what she does.

The Middle Generation (b. 1925-1950). Examples show a modified evaluation of the spheres of 'home' and 'work'.

p.82   Gina (b. 1940). Gina does not call housework 'work'. Work for her is needleworking that she does when she is free from household chores. The two spheres have a different evaluation. 'When I was a teenager in the evening we girls would sit in the kitchen, embroidering our dote ... As soon as I finished elementary school, I was sent to be a needleworker in an atelier.

The Youngest Generation (b. 1950 onwards). These women pertain more to hopes and projects than they do to memories. They see their mothers and grandmothers as having been 'submissive' and thwarted in their ambitions, and themselves as richer in possibilities and options.

p.84   Now, a job is seen as a matter of choice and clear-minded strategic planning, as it was not for mothers. 'I shall keep my job on after I get married, so at least I get out of the house' (Elena, b. 1964, shop assistant, engaged to be married).

For the younger generation, lavoro is the focus of self-possession: autonomy, dignity, something that you chose to do as you plan your life. It is also what gets you 'out of the house'.

In this study of family and family change from Women's Life histories, participants selectively recapitulated their past in order to envisage their present and plan their future.

example, at a personal level, she was upset at primary school when teachers had trouble (persistently) pronouncing her name - even though the school had many Italian children. Culturally, it made her feel 'different', when there was pressure to conform. Finally, she 'simply ignored the problem' in a form of passive, or least, resistance.

To a certain extent, Anglo values of independence and individuality helped her to resist domination by being like or better than her peers academically. At the same time she activated and internalised a dual set of values in social interaction. Certainly she did not feel disadvantaged:

> My academic advancement through school was not hindered in any way by the teachers or the education system. However, I proceeded with my own will-power and need for high achievement ... I did not let stereotype images of the typical Italian girl (dropout of school, get a secretarial job, get married, have children) hamper me in any way. I survived the prejudices by adopting a duality in my interaction with others.

The writer developed a critical understanding of her situation, and active means of resistance, in relation to the dominant culture which had been imposed and reproduced in the educational system. Her reflections reveal some critical thoughts on how to transform this situation in a plural society through a succession of didactic remarks. For example:

> If the concept of Australia as a multicultural society is to be promoted, then it must be reflected not only in individual attitudes, but also in the school curriculum. Ethnic children must be given a chance to formulate the ethnic component in the cultural systems.

There is no discussion in the memoir about support from or the influence of teachers or a particular teacher. She found her own way to survive in the mainstream school. The main thrust is a focus on peer pressure and how the respondent found a resolution in an individual way to the monocultural milieu. The author realised how sporting prowess facilitated acceptance in ESB and NESB groupings.

She was sensitive to cultural differences and made the pertinent comment:

As an Italian, it is easier for myself and my family and relatives to interact with other ethnic groups, rather than with Australians.

The respondent grew up with a love of collective life transmitted through the unity of the Italian family, extended to relatives and close friends, as a core value of Italian culture.

Socialization in the family has been activated through the parents who have modified their traditional attitudes towards marriage to an Italian spouse. Within her family, the ideal situation encouraged members of the same ethnic background to marry and establish homes. Her brother has been friendly with an Anglo girl for two years and a female cousin is about to marry an Anglo-New Zealander. The parents have modified their traditional attitude and accept a marriage partner from another ethnic group 'as long as we are happy'. The 'new' partners of siblings have already found enrichment by sharing the cultural values and ideas with the Italian family (as well as the food).

These modifications have re-vitalised a positive feeling of Italian ethnicity which is integral to her cultural well-being, a feeling which concludes the memoir. The participant expresses a dual national identification:

I will always be an Italo-Australian no matter what anyone says or what others may try to label me as, and with this, will preserve and transmit my cultural heritage and language to my offspring. My Italianness goes deeper than just physical appearance and name. It is what perpetuates and influences my ideas, values and individuality as a person.

Self-education. This has had some influence on the respondent. From the early years, the author's avid interest in reading as a 'bookworm' was encouraged in the home and she developed linguistic skills in English:

I acquired the English language with ease, as I spent a great deal of my own time reading. I was an avid bookworm from an early age and my parents bought me many books to read during my childhood years.

Reading was part of her life from an early age. It is most likely that her academic achievements were helped not only by her command of English literacy but a natural

desire to read widely in a variety of subjects. Self-education has widened academic interests made possible by the bivalent proficiency of the author.

Self-education has stimulated ways on how to be a creative teacher, beyond formal grammar. As an Italian teacher, the writer enjoys teaching Italian and providing different materials to promote learning in a creative way. Surprisingly, the memoir makes no reference to travel to Italy for cultural reasons and self-education, nor a visit to the Basilicata region and ancestral links. Travel could be fulfilled in the future as further development in her Italian culture and language. In the memoir there is no discussion about other hobbies or recreations. Her main interests appear to be family centred in the context of the Italian community. The writer gives the impression of being self-sufficient and reading may be one way to gain access to another culture in a literary sense. One can conclude that reading is positively evaluated as a pre-occupation which has enhanced academic success and leisure activities.

Culturally, the author showed determination and tenacity to maintain her Italian identity whilst internalising Anglo-Australian values of the overarching framework. The author is a balanced bivalent individual and has a dual national identification with sentiments for both Italy and Australia.

9.5   Polyvalent: Dual Identification - Type V

The term Polyvalent implies the knowledge of and understanding across any national attachment and has unique advantages.

Authors in this type came from NESB backgrounds both in Australia and Overseas. A pattern in the formation of their polyvalent cultural systems could be identified. Authors grew up in homes which activated core values of two cultures at least and transmitted multicultural attitudes. In Australia, authors interacted with and internalised values of the majority group from within the overarching framework to become polyvalent. Values of

their minority home culture formed the main strand in their national identification and had a special place. In Australia, identification with the overarching values contributed to the crystallising of a double national identification e.g. Greek/Australian. As this strand is additive in response to interaction with multiculturalism, it can be conceived that this national identity could become cosmopolitan and cross any cultural border in response to a changed cultural milieu.

This type implies a value system which is inclusive, not exclusive, of cultural values from several ethnic groups. For example, an individual may be bivalent in home/school interaction and at tertiary level cross another cultural boundary through the academic curriculum and student interaction to be classified as polyvalent. One NESB O author (14) who was bivalent at pre-school level found this facilitated the step of English acquisition and being polyvalent in the mainstream school. For her, as well as having pride in being bivalent, language as a core value of culture was additive and through language gave access to a different (Anglo) culture and a polyvalent cultural system.

In this study, there were no cases of national identification which could be classified as cosmopolitan. Table II brought out two interesting single examples of polyvalent cultural systems which drew further attention to the variations within types. These two cases confirm Kloskowska's (1993, p.13) argument on polyvalent individuals:

> If cultural bivalence could be considered as one step towards universalization, polyvalence signifies a broad inclusion of affiliated cultures from the outside of its own national culture syntagme. It could be supposed that cultural polyvalence coincides exclusively with national uncertainty or cosmopolitanism. But this is not the case.

9.6   Example of Type V: Memoir 8

Home. From ancestry in Upper Silesia, the author was one of an extended Polish family as both grandparents and parents came from large families. The extended family had

been separated in the political past. He had one sister. As a small child, he felt he had no great-uncles or great-aunts as:

> They hadn't died, but coincidentally didn't live with us and were somewhere in a strange land called Germany.

Little was said about these relatives and the comment highlights the code of silence transmitted in this Polish home during the era of Stalin. The extended family in Silesia maintained close links at countless gatherings and activated collectivist values every Sunday when the wider family met together.

From an early age the writer was conscious of a code of silence transmitted through older relatives in connection with the imposition of a 'strange culture' on his Polish culture. This theme permeates the memoir and detail is devoted to the writer's response to his cultural interaction with communism.

Home Language. As Silesians, both parents were fluent in Polish and German. Polish was the only language used in the home which positively evaluated Polish language and culture. His Father was born in a small industrial settlement where only a Polish dialect was spoken. However, during seven years of primary schooling the (father's) language of instruction was German and it was 'not recommended' to speak Polish in school. Both parents were bilingual but activated the Polish language with the siblings. During his childhood, the parents spoke only Polish and this was the language used at the regular Sunday family 'get-togethers' except for older members who used German in order to converse freely in front of the children. He was aware that German was used as a secret language. Polish language and culture were transmitted in the home as the first language and Polish was the mother tongue of the writer.

Primary School. Primary school years were a different milieu from the home. Their significance as life experiences are realised by the deep recollections of the writer at a distance. He experienced the imposition of an alien ideology through the curriculum

which was not transmitted nor encouraged by the home. In fact, his parents maintained their code of silence at all times. On reflection, the writer recalls that he was strongly indoctrinated by the pedagogy but was not conscious of this at the time. The school programme reproduced the ideology of the oppressor:

> In school we were very strongly indoctrinated meaning two things were impressed on us which really shouldn't have belonged to the school programme: belief in communism and a hatred of Germany and U.S.A. I must confess that these pedagogical efforts didn't leave me cold.

Communist ideology was transmitted through the hidden curriculum. For example, readers for the Polish language were full of references to 'inhuman' American capitalists; communist fabrication infiltrated Geography lessons when students were told not only where the Korean Peninsula was but also how the American Air Force attacked the freedom-loving Korean peasants with bacteriological weapons. Capitalism was tacitly imposed through the evaluation of Science subjects. Reflecting on education which repressed creative thinking, the writer reproduced the words of the teachers:

> Mathematics was also a subject at school, which was why I knew that in several years the whole communistic community of brothers would produce more steel, cement etc than the imperialists.

When questioned, his father, who had an economics degree, would not argue.

History lessons taught him as a scientific fact that communism was the highest stage in the developmental stages of humanity.

His formal education illuminates Znaniecki's theory about traditional forms of education as enforcement and repression and Freire's banking concept of education. It was compulsory to read a few dozen books during the school year and the teacher checked if one had really read them. Reading was one aspect of school which he enjoyed but his personal choice of material was confined to the home where perhaps it was also a means of intellectual escape from the imposed curriculum. Power of indoctrination of children through the curriculum was reinforced by the teachers. For example, when he learned

about 'the wonderful possibilities in the Soviet Union' for work (his father was unemployed) this was confirmed 'by my teacher'. Again, the family remained silent and his mother interrupted when her son attempted to seek advice from an uncle.

Russian was a compulsory language at primary level (three years) but was negatively evaluated as 'we very seldom really learned much of it', language being another means of inculcating ideology. It is evident the respondent resisted learning the language of an imposed and alien culture. In contrast, he tried to conform and gain acceptance from peers through the Polish language:

> I had also thought that one should speak without an accent in school. In primary school I was the only Silesian in the class and I wanted to speak like the others, without an accent, which I achieved.

His parents did not try to influence his unquestioning acceptance of communism. Primary school was a special school with a music program, music being the first interest of the writer and now his profession. There is no reference to musical activity at school as the hidden curriculum was the significant memory of the writer. He confessed that at the age of thirteen he was a convinced communist but from his present position regards it as a 'shameful fact' of which he was not aware at the time. As he points out, he saw no poverty. Giroux argues (1983, p.261):

> There are never any guarantees that capitalist values and ideologies will automatically succeed, regardless of how strongly they set the agenda. As Stanley Aronowitz reminds us, 'In the final analysis, human praxis is not determined by its pre-conditions: only the boundaries of possibility are given in advance'.

In this case, childish beliefs were not internalized without support of the family where his Polish identity had been established at an early age. As a result, when the writer realised the reality of communism, his change in commitment was immediate and decisive. His change in understanding, or gestalt switch, came through the media. For example, he listened to the new family radio which transmitted Polish programs from 'Radio Free

Europe'. The simile highlights the surface level of the ideology in his personal cultural system:

After several days my communism disappeared like snow in the sun.

As an adult, his personal cultural system rejected communism but school experiences left some traces viz a negative attitude towards communism and the shame that he once thought this way. On reflection he asserted that school should serve education not ideology.

Secondary School. This was a different experience in education rather than ideology. The respondent wished to transfer to a Music gymnasium but had to give in to his 'inflexible' parents who positively evaluated his school's language teaching. The gymnasium had a special director who was dedicated to serving education not ideology who located and hired a special teaching staff (also to protect the school). Teachers were hired (mostly from East Poland) whom the Director had chosen personally and who were strongly anti-communist because of war and pre-war experiences. Secondary school transmitted a different ideology and was more easy-going. for example, teachers and peers did not create pressure to lose one's Silesian accent. There was less pressure to conform than in his primary school experience. The writer responded to the positive evaluation of education and the liberating critical thinking transmitted by the Director and teachers.

Secondary school was tolerated in a positive attitude but remained secondary to music. Science subjects were regarded as practical subjects for a vocation especially by Silesians. Humanistic subjects had an inferior status to Science subjects although his parents evaluated foreign language learning. Students had to study a foreign language - Russian (compulsory) and either English or German. The language teacher was not creative but simply followed the school programme and transmitted a negative attitude towards some students. Weaker students were graded as 'untalented' which the writer

felt wasn't quite fair. The curriculum provided the milieu of linguistic pluralism even though it was evaluated by students in various ways.

Influence of the Mother as an Educator. Conversation was stressed in class and in order to keep up the author had to ask his Mother for help, concluding that at the age of fourteen he started learning German at home not at school. Home was the dominant educational influence especially for language learning and complemented, almost replaced, the school language programme. The father had a tertiary qualification but it is not clear whether the mother had post-secondary schooling. In the home, the mother took the role of educator:

> It was also explained to me that the gymnasium was chosen because of language ... It would be an exaggeration to say that I learned and could use the German language at school.

Polish was the language of the home, with family and friends whereas there was 'no opportunity' to practise German outside school and again perhaps he resisted learning this language. Some years later when the writer went to Germany for work he acquired German quickly. The school curriculum was not his real interest: learning the violin at an afternoon music school as an extra-curricular activity, was his first priority.

In contrast to primary school, secondary school accepted and positively evaluated cultural differences. For example, the writer became aware of his identity in the first place as Silesian. He felt no tensions between Silesians and the 'others' in the school. The pattern at school was seldom to cross sides and his contacts were 'with those similar to me' indicating a residual fear or mistrust of other cultural groups which was transmitted in the home. He and his friends weren't teased but were regarded as 'different' Poles with origins in different historical episodes:

> We were Poles, but 'different' Poles. The recent past contributed to this.

An attitude of tolerance was transmitted by the teachers who set a good example:

> Our teachers didn't personally observe this separation and their behaviour was exemplary.

Individual teachers did not have a significant influence on the writer. The participant negatively evaluated German at school as not being useful. At the time, he did not fully understand the cultural meaning of his identity as a Silesian:

> Because I had so much to learn, I tried to have as little to do with it as possible.

The writer continued to activate Polish as his mother tongue and internalised German and English as second and third languages.

On reflection, the memoir still reveals strong feelings about the influence of indoctrination in the primary years. It displays a strong but passive resistance to imposed values and ideologies. He felt helpless:

> But what could be done against it?

Apart from school experiences, the current political situation is vividly outlined to put the school in the context of society. The respondent considered the significance of the history of the land in the opening line of the memoir as integral to his sense of identity:

> First one should begin with the geography and the history of the land where I was born and spent 19 years before I left ... Nothing else will do. Otherwise it would be impossible to explain why I, when asked about my nationality, for almost 30 years have answered: I am a Silesian.[8]

---

[8] This is the approach adopted by Kloskowska (1993, pp.5&7) in her discussion on National Identification:

> My considerations focus at the outset on the macroscale aspect of the relations between nations and between the nations as related to ethnic identity groups. The final aim is to elucidate the present state and the expected development of interethnic and international relations in Polish social context after the essential systemic changes in this country and at a time of progressing international unification. But historical perspective has to be included in the considerations of that process as well.

> The geographic location and the history of the country contributed to a very mixed ethnic composition of the population of the First and the Second Polish Republics.

The recent past contributed to his identity as a different Pole. Some classmates (Poles) went to England for holidays - this was safe - and could speak freely about their experiences. In comparison, the visits to Germany (by Upper Silesians) were only discussed among good friends:

> The social pressure was so strong that the fact one had relatives in Germany was better kept quiet.

These experiences had an influence on his personal becoming and made him think deeply about his national identity as a Polish Silesian in the context of changing political boundaries.

Interaction of Home and School. It is apparent the writer had few personal choices during formal education. Communism was imposed during primary years and the home maintained a code of silence. Secondary school was decided by his parents. The respondent was able to accept this decision without conflict by being 'kept busy with violin' as extra-curricular subject. His real interest lay in the afternoon school not in the formal curriculum. His passivity was his mode of resistance to the Science subjects evaluated by the school and foreign languages of an 'alien culture'. His school years were spent in a milieu where changes in society were reflected in the school curriculum, were often enforced and where one's ethnic identity was sometimes denied.

He recalled how, at the outbreak of World War II, Polish Silesians who 'felt' Polish and often didn't speak German well, declared themselves German rather than the clear alternative: resettle in the occupied part of Poland. After the war (1958-1963), he was conscious the anti-German divisions in Polish society were very strong.

The memoir does not reveal many details of the respondent's intentions, hopes for a career or ambitions. The dominant aspiration was to pursue violin performance for a

professional career. Personal views are mainly realised through comments about society at the time and the fact that one's personal attitudes and values were subordinated to the oppressor. One clear aspect of his personal cultural system is the maintenance even strengthening of core values in the face of oppression of his Polish-Silesian identity.

Self-Education. In the home, the mother provides an example of a second language acquisition through social and cultural interaction with family and friends. This can be called partial self-education in the sense that it was not a consciously directed decision. She was born in [...], a city occupied equally by both Poland and Germany. Polish was the home language and the language of instruction in school. Her German was 'simply there' in the social milieu through playing with other children, friendships, and also through the fact that some aunts and uncles and grandparents preferred German. She positively evaluated and activated her facility in German especially on trips to Germany and transmitted a positive attitude to bilingualism in her home. Both parents transmitted the maxim that German and Polish languages are core values of Silesian culture. As Polish was the home language, it is evident that their son regarded Polish as his mother tongue and Polish cultural values as dominant in his personal cultural system. From his early years and in spite of the school ideology he read widely in Polish literature and developed a special interest in Polish history. This seems to have been an activity self directed by the individual in the home the environment which encouraged and fostered Polish language and culture. Reading widened and developed his knowledge of Polish history and culture which in turn strengthened the Polish core of his personal cultural system and his affinity with Polish national identification.

Polish language is mentioned as the main aspect of culture in the home. However, the Catholic religion as another core value of Polish culture was activated in the home. For example he recalls how his father asked him 'to hunt all over the city' and purchase the Catholic weekly newspaper *Tygodnik Powszechny* every Thursday. This indicates the Catholic religion was a regular activity of home life as a core value of culture. In spite of

the code of silence, the home could not completely insulate or even protect the writer from the influence of the media. This influence was not intended by the parents but a combination of several influences external to the home proved more influential than school ideology. He recalls three influences:

> Three things happened at almost the same time. My father bought a very good radio, I was asked to hunt for the catholic weekly newspaper "Tygodnik Powszechny" every Thursday and a gymnasium which I hadn't wished to attend was chosen for me.

These influences had a combined effect to 'open his eyes to communism'. The radio had a good short wave receiver and the Polish programmes came from America. Another, but unintentional peer influence of the gymnasium chosen by the parents, was the fact that it was attended by children of high party functionaries. A latent function came through one daughter who gave the writer access to an anti-communist journal 'Kultura' (Paris). The respondent found this forbidden fruit an intellectual challenge.

The writer as a young boy relished reading, especially Polish history which strengthened the Polish strand in his personal cultural system. In resisting the school curriculum, he replaced it with his own reading. It is also clear his rejection of an imposed ideology was not due to a single influence, not one individual, but a combination of several cultural and social influences. His school years particularly primary had undercurrents of mistrust which were confirmed by the media. These influences though not 'intended' were consciously directed and pursued by the writer as individual development. He responded in an active way to external forces which were in sympathy with his internalized values. Self-education was an important influence in maintaining and strengthening his ethnicity and sense of Polish identity.

The main activation in self-education during childhood and adolescence was playing the violin. This was developed in spite of his parents' encouragement for language learning combined with the Polish culture and school evaluation of 'concrete' Science subjects for

a useful vocation. The violin as a personal interest was pursued throughout the school years.

As an adult, reading continued to be a self directed activity as self-education. Before migrating to Australia, the writer turned to literature to discover more about the culture and society in Australia in relation to the acceptance of Polish culture. His self-education has been an informal discovery through reading and access to further information.

Work Experience. School and the Polish culture evaluated science subjects as a base for vocations. For example:

> After matriculation, only four people decided to study humanities subjects, the rest continued their education in more practical subjects. Among Silesians there was the broad opinion that it is better to have a concrete subject in hand.

The respondent was one who had resisted learning science subjects at school and on leaving school made his real interest viz the violin his profession. As a form of partial self-education he had studied the violin as an extra-curricular activity or informal study in parallel with formal study.

The participant spent the next ten years studying violin performance in [...], including the last five years when he wasn't allowed to leave Poland. His professional career was continued in Germany. He has worked and lived in Belgium, Holland and Switzerland to further his career. There is little comment on cultural or social interaction in these places and it seems that his profession was his consuming interest. It is also apparent the respondent had to move around in changed cultural milieus in order to follow work opportunities.

When he went to Germany for work, the author felt the need to assimilate. He was granted German citizenship[9] soon after arrival and there after 'acquired' the language through cultural and social interaction with German friends and a few relatives rather than formal education. After years of living in Poland he felt that no one 'thought I was different' or were cultural differences not recognised? It is evident he made the conscious effort to assimilate or to appear German. In his personal cultural system, he maintained his Polish language by subscribing to Polish press from Paris and London and activated family bonds through regular visits from parents and sister in Germany. In an effort to assimilate, he makes the revelation that:

> I severed all Polish friendships and acquaintances.

To be accepted as a German citizen, he felt he had to cut Polish links. Underneath, whilst acquiring the German language, his Polish cultural values remained dormant but dominant in his personal cultural system. After working for several years he was aware that he was observing Polish interests and Polish culture from a German point of view. He was internalizing a second set of core values and remarks 'Germany had begun to assimilate me'. Polish identity remained the dominant core in his personal cultural system whilst internalising values from a different culture.

---

[9] The status of guest, or unskilled, workers in West Germany who are 'invited', but are not fully accepted as 'new' Germans nor do they appear to crave this type of acceptance by immersion, is discussed in an informative article by Smolicz (1990, p.27) from an Australian Multicultural perspective:

> In Germany, government(s) and public opinion still generally believe in the classification of guest-workers as temporary residents, and in Germany as a non-migration country. Contrary to expectations, however, most of the 'guests' are not departing ... At the same time, there is a refusal to accept as permanent fellow-citizens guest-workers who remain different from the rest of the population in important aspects of culture.

In contrast in Australia, following the Second World War, two kinds of migrants were needed viz skilled and highly educated persons and unskilled migrants to eg do night and shift work. Smolicz (1990, p.39) makes the point:

> The difference between Australia and Germany is that in many instances the children of such 'New Australians' have succeeded in entering professions and skilled trades.

<u>Migration</u>. Polish friends, in England, said the writer could not become an Australian nor an Englishman in the first generation - this implies in the Anglo way. The comment indicates the author had warm feelings towards adding the Australian strand to his national identity in Australia. His harmonious resolution to cultural pluralism was not assimilation but internalising three cultural strands viz Polish, German and Anglo-Australian with Polish culture dominant in his polvalent cultural system.

Now married and living in Australia the respondent is free to activate and acknowledge his Polish identity as a Polish-Australian. He identifies with his Silesian or regional links as a Polish Silesian. After his experiences of domination and oppression he can 'peacefully' care about Polish culture. The respondent transmits language core values of two cultures to his children and activates this positive attitude by sending them to Polish and German evening school. The writer is now trilingual and transmits the maxim of his parents that a genuine Silesian must have two languages - Polish and German. He has re-evaluated his negative attitude to German as a child and now has the freedom to activate his positive attitude to linguistic pluralism in his personal cultural system in a changed cultural and political environment. The author has fulfilled early aspirations to have a professional career in violin performance.

The memoir is a complex one with three interacting strands of the Polish home, school milieu and the political situation in society. In a sense the author worked through these interactions to analyse for himself his present personal cultural system. In particular, the formation of a sense of identity is a recurrent theme. This sense of cultural identity was important for the author as a child when under threat from an imposed ideology. His sense of identity was closely related to a feeling for Poland, especially his region, and its heritage and historical background.

In Australia, the author maintains a strong Polish-Silesian identity but has made efforts to internalise overarching values in a dual national identification as he considers his Australian strand:

> one could consider oneself as such.

The writer grew up in a multilingual milieu both at home and school which were the early origins of a polyvalent cultural system. Since migration, the author retains a strong affinity for his Polish language and culture but also derives values from the overarching framework in Australia. He has a dual national identification towards Poland and Australia.

9.7 Other Polyvalent Individuals

Single Identification. This example shows that polyvalence can be combined in Australia with the single national identification. Author NESB O 17 grew up in a multilingual milieu in northern Malaysia. Tamil was her first language and was strongly maintained as the home language and encouraged as a subject at secondary school by her parents. English was the language of instruction at her Catholic secondary school. Following tertiary study, she taught in secondary schools in Malaysia for nearly thirty years using the Malay language. The author has competency and positive sentiments in three cultures to classify her as polyvalent. In Australia, she maintains the three cultural strands but has a single (Indian) national identification which has not wavered since her childhood days and had origins in the positive evaluation of Tamil by the parents. She declares:

> (When living in Malaysia): I am proud of being an Indian.
> (When living in Australia): Basically, the identity as an Indian, nothing to be ashamed of ...

The quotation illustrates the hubristic strand of national identification to which Kloskowska (1994, p.86) refers. In addition, the memoir illustrates how cultural polyvalence does not exclude a particular attachment to one's own national culture. The author did not identify with Australian national culture.

Uncertain National Identification. This example provides another dimension to being polyvalent and extends the variations across types. Cultural polyvalence acknowledges bonds linking the individual to other cultures and nations. Author NESB O 24 grew up in a multilingual and multicultural milieu in Egypt. Ancestry drew on multicultural origins. As five languages were spoken in the home (the order of frequency is given in the concrete profile of participants), the author has proficiency in several languages including Armenian, French and English. The milieu of his early years and adolescence provide the background for his polyvalent cultural system. Whilst the author evaluates Armenian core values as a dominant strand, participation is dependent on his situation and the restriction of activation is reflected in an uncertain national attachment. In Australia, he has limited opportunity to activate Armenian cultural values but makes an effort through the medium of radio and television. National self-identification was more difficult to describe and remains uncertain as the author asks:

Who am I? Where do I belong?

In the future, this situation of national identification could become 'cosmopolitan' in which case the individual can cross any national boundary. There were no examples in this study but the possibility is indicated on Kloskowska's Table 1. Kloskowska (1993, p.11) points to a possible three sub-categories for this uncertain type in which this author relates to the third:

3) transgression of any national attachment, close to cosmopolitan attitude.

In the Australian context, I would modify the use of transgression to imply cultural dialogue and a feeling of belonging with different cultures more than a forced crossing to another culture.

Korporowicz points to the advantages of being bivalent and polyvalent. Korporowicz argues how, in order for individuals to transform their personal cultural systems, cultural

encounters must be full of meaning to ensure competence in a culture at a deep level. In the context of education, structural changes are required to make cultural meetings meaningful. The author points to the necessity for knowledge of and understanding of the real dynamics of nationalities. This has the mutual outcome of understanding oneself more fully through understanding others. Korporowicz (1994, p.5) puts a challenge for education in the Australian context:

> The problem of the cultural neighbourhoods is a challenge to pedagogics and philosophy, to education and politics - it is a trial of our imagination.

Summary. Table II presents a compact model of the five ideal types of cultural valence and national identification that were found among the respondents in this study. The reality is a more complex picture of dynamism and two-way multicultural trends. The five ideal types identified a variety of responses to cultural pluralism. In a multicultural society, Type I highlights the disadvantage of being monolingual and monocultural. This outcome means an individual derives values from one cultural stock, the dominant one, and is disadvantaged through lack of access to the cultural diversity in society. From these types, two were more significant and showed the most creativity in transforming cultural systems viz Type II Univalent: Pluralistic Attitude and Type IV Bivalent and Dual Identification. These two types represent the bridge builders in a plural society. Memoir analysis highlighted the need for a new category in the Univalent group, which consisted only of ESB members, where some osmosis of values had occurred through cultural interaction to modify the monocultural attitude. This was a significant transformation for ESB authors who previously had been little aware of the 'others' and where meaningful cultural dialogue was not considered. Cultural encounters had been a one way interaction. In response to multiculturalism, some diffusion of values and sentiments towards other cultures had become a two-way reality.

Type IV was significant in this study because all NESB authors had resisted pressure to assimilate and had internalised a dual set of cultural values. These NESB authors expressed a double national identification in the context of Australia and confirmed the

hypothesis of Kloskowska for the possibility of a dual national identification. These participants 'felt an Italian at heart', for example, as far as their ethnic identity and culture was concerned and wished to remain bivalent. The role of *patria* and *ius sanguinis* remained a strong bond. Authors wanted in addition to be Italian-Australians and to be accepted with this identification by peers. The ethnic minority strand retains a special place in national identification. Authors chose to express their Australian national identification through the medium of their cultural background as e.g. an Italo-Australian. Polyvalent cultural systems e.g. author 24, reflect the multilingual background of the overseas home and school interaction.

One aspect of Table 11 elicits comment. This study is based on small qualitative research methods in which quantitative statistical procedures were not used. In the Univalent type there were eight ESB authors in each monistic and pluralistic category. ESB A and ESB O authors were spread across both types. NESB authors also showed an even spread of six participants in types III, IV and V. The significance of the type III, discussed above, was the fact that four were temporary residents in Australia and this status did not impinge on their feelings of a single national identification with their home country. As far as numbers can be analysed in a small scale study, one can conclude that in a multicultural society there will be a spread of variations of responses to cultural pluralism in both ESB and NESB groups.

The detailed memoir analysis (Chapters 5, 6 & 7) investigated the variety of educational and cultural factors which influenced the creative transformation of individuals' cultural valence and national identification. Memoir analysis revealed authors, especially ESB ones, were not so much reluctant to change individual attitudes and values but had not been exposed to cultural pluralism. Where some modifications had occurred, they realised the rate of change was slow and 'imperceptible' over a life time. There were no cases of an 'instantaneous and decisive' change in national identification as Kloskowska

(1994, p.85) found in one participant. In Australia, NESB individuals wanted to be accepted because of their cultural differences.

The memoir analysis and identification of ideal types of cultural valence and national identification provide conclusions which have implications for education in a multicultural society and, importantly, confirm the usefulness of the research methodology.

10. CONCLUSIONS

Perhaps we should already recognize a fifth type of society --- a world society. This ideal, long cherished by thinkers and leaders, has, I believe, begun to be realized.   Znaniecki

The purpose of the thesis was to apply the humanistic sociological approach to investigate the patterns of cultural becoming revealed by thirty six higher degree students whose memoirs had reflected on the influences and experiences which had helped to shape them as social and cultural beings. The educational theories of Znaniecki, Bourdieu, Durkheim, Giroux and Freire provided the theoretical basis for investigating how individual memoir authors responded to the school systems, as well as to the learning that flowed from other social and cultural experiences. The analysis of the memoirs was able to identify seven key educational and cultural influences in the experiences of the writers, three that could that be categorized as guided, and four that could be seen as self-generated.

The memoir writers constituted a highly specific set of respondents in that they were all mature adults, had a university degree, were in the profession of teaching and, at the time of writing their memoirs, were participating in studies toward a higher degree in education. Most specifically, at various stages they had all been involved in the study of multiculturalism in Australian society and its implications for education, exchanging ideas and experiences with the other students involved. Yet on many other criteria - birthplace, parents' birthplace, mother tongue, languages spoken and place of education - they were a very diverse set of people.

The detailed analysis of memoirs in chapters 5, 6 and 7 and the subsequent identification of five ideal types of cultural valence and national identification in chapters 8 and 9, have produced a clear pattern of findings in relation to the authors. Although these findings would be no surprise for shrewd observers of Australian society, they do represent an important research confirmation of such common sense knowledge - a confirmation that

is the more impressive because the results are so obvious and clear-cut in relation to the criteria of cultural valence.

All of the ESB authors not only identified with the Australian nation alone but in addition were culturally <u>Univalent</u>. In contrast, all of the NESB authors were culturally <u>Bivalent</u>, although their national identification varied from being focused on their home country alone, in the case of overseas students studying temporarily in Australia, to dual, in the case of those who chose to identify with the country of their home culture as well as with Australia. Through their learning and mastery of English, NESB authors had effectively built a bridge of interaction to the ESB respondents. The best that ESB authors had been able to achieve in terms of cultural interaction was the development of a positive attitude to cultural pluralism, and this was evident in only half of the ESB respondents. None had been able to achieve the cultural bivalence that was the hallmark of all the NESB authors. In addition, it is clear that the positive attitudes to cultural pluralism, in the case of half the ESB authors and cultural bivalence of the NESB, are most often the result of their own self-education initiatives, and not the consequence of formal schooling.

In this regard, the isolation of the five ideal types of cultural valence and national identification, two among the ESB authors and three different NESB types, has important implications that are worth further elaboration in relation to educational policy and practice in a multicultural Australia. Prior to this, however, a discussion of the limitations of the study, an evaluation of the memoir methodology adopted and a consideration of the authors as educators are presented.

10.1 Limitations of this Research

One limitation of this research which needs to be acknowledged arises from the fact that nearly half of the respondents were born overseas. All were successful academically at the postgraduate level. All were immigrants to Australia at different times of their lives and as a result their educational experiences had varied greatly. It was not possible,

therefore, to draw conclusions as to whether, for example, completion of primary education in the home country and in the home language gave a better opportunity for authors to be successful in the Australian school and to become bilingual and bicultural individuals.

Most fundamentally, this is a piece of small scale qualitative research which has the strengths of in-depth understanding and corresponding limitations of range. The study is not designed to permit generalisations to groups beyond the ESB and NESB memoir writers themselves nor to predict wider issues. The scope of NESB respondents covered those who were permanent residents in Australia and four (2,3,5,18) who could be classified as transient residents studying with a temporary visa status. Nevertherless, the inclusion of both ESB and NESB authors provides for the analysis of a range of experiences of and responses to cultural pluralism.

Questions for Further Research. A memoir study of more recent graduate students could investigate changes and transformations in their personal cultural systems in order to ascertain whether there were differences in the outcome of ideal types among those who grew up and attended schools in the period when multicultural policies had been adopted in Australia. It would be important to know, for example, whether there had been a reduction in the number of Type I authors, as a reflection of changes in favour of a multicultural society. It would also be of significance to know whether there were more Type IV bivalent individuals and in particular whether any ESB respondents could be included in this category as a result of their formal education. Also, a study of respondents other than the very specialised group of teachers doing higher degrees in education which is the focus of this study would provide important comparisons.

10.2 An Evaluation of the Memoir Methodology

The humanistic sociological data used in the study were memoir materials, which, as human documents, met the test of scientific criteria for which Denzin (1986, p.64) argues:

> Representativeness of data, adequacy of data, reliability of data, and decisiveness of data.

Classification of the data into concrete facts and cultural facts provided cohesion between the objective and subjective aspects of the data which would have proved difficult for researchers using other methodologies. The extensive analysis of the four groups of respondents on the basis of the seven categories of influences identified enabled the appropriateness of the theoretical concepts applied to the memoirs to be determined. Direct quotations from the memoirs established the clear link between the theoretical concepts and their application to the analysis of human documents. Interpretation of the data drew on direct statements in the memoirs. In this process, interpretations could flow from the materials and enable understandings of the analysis to be available and readily understood by readers. Actual analysis did not extend outside the content of the memoirs nor were conclusions drawn which were not embedded in and outcomes of the memoir texts. The wide use of footnotes reflected the technique of etic analysis of memoirs established by Kloskowska (chapter 4.4) by putting the material into wider historical, literary, geographical and sociological contexts. For example, close references to government policies in Australia during the 1970's, especially, helped to illustrate the shift in attitude from the expectation of assimilation in society and schools to multicultural policies for a plural society.

The methodology enabled understandings, variations and varieties of responses to flow from the memoir sources. It was not the purpose of the thesis to identify causal laws as has often been the aim of those using quantitative research methods that are based on the measurement of discrete aspects of personality or the environment. Some aspects cannot be quantified e.g language barriers and the poor performance of NESB students in I.Q.

tests based on Anglo culture. However, this memoir analysis has shown the advantages of qualitative research approaches which are not fragmented but multifaceted. Importantly, the individual is seen in her/his social and cultural context. It is a holistic approach.

There is even the possibility that individuals see personal benefits from writing memoirs. Writer 30, for example, concludes his memoir with a statement:

> Personally for me I have always thought it important to know and remember my past. Life is a constant addition to and a refinement of my past. I believe that it is by being aware of my past that I can adequately understand my present. (30)

Evidence of creative transformations in personal cultural systems was one of the dynamic findings of this study, which would have been missed by quantitative approaches. The analysis also provided an understanding of the extent to which the cultural influences which had transformed the lives of participants came through formal education or self-generated activity. There were variations, for example, amongst responses to the Australian school system but an important finding was the NESB respondents' resistance to the assimilation pressures to which they were exposed at school. Attitudinal differences, a distinct finding of the ESB group in the study, could not have been distinguished in such a fine and subtle way without a qualitative applied methodological approach.

The value of the classification of memoir data into concrete and cultural data enabled the identification of five ideal types as an outcome of the research. The criteria for identifying the ideal types emerged out of the memoirs and were easy to apply. Kloskowska's definition of cultural valence had two strands: knowledge of or participation in a culture and positive feelings or sentiments towards that culture. Memoirs proved an excellent source of humanistic sociological data for identifying the second, attitudinal aspect of cultural valence. In the Australian context, there were no cases of ambiguity which underlines the clarity of the criteria and its applicability.

Ambiguity is distinct from the two special cases (17,24) which were discussed as they highlighted important variations from the five other types.

The ideal types of cultural valence and national identification were not only crystallised for their own sake or for the purpose of enabling implications for education to be drawn. They gave meaning and understanding to the educational and cultural influences studied. Denzin criticizes the authors of The Polish Peasant for not distilling their concepts of three ideal types (the creative individual, the Philistine and the Bohemian) in their larger study. Denzin (1986,p.66) asserts that Thomas and Znaniecki left their study unfinished as they did not perform an interpretation of the experiences of the Polish Peasant:

> The authors neither pursued the ideal types back into the real world, nor extracted from the personal documents the contextualized meanings these types assumed in the daily lives of the immigrants. Consequently the personality types and their meanings remained suspended in analysis, lost in the document, so to speak.

What this study has highlighted is the fact that the ideal types with certain personal characteristics come from particular home and school backgrounds and do exist in reality.

10.3 The Authors as Educators

For some authors, the role of the Educand was replaced by the role of Educator in Znaniecki's terms. This reversal of roles was revealed when participants described the implementation of positive attitudes to multiculturalism in their professional contexts. ESB authors, classified as Type II, explained how they transmitted positive attitudes to cultural pluralism and positively evaluated policies implementing multicultural policies and had the opportunity to activate these attitudes. Aspirations to work with and understand NESB students provided another opportunity to reinforce multicultural school policy. In their teaching role, authors 15, 16 and 26 worked directly with Aboriginal students and influenced meaningful intercultural ESB/NESB dialogue within the Aboriginal communities.

Through an interest in classroom methodology, ESB A 33 author developed a closer teacher-parent interaction to influence classroom practice. His approach with both ESB and NESB parents was to regard them as partners working in an atmosphere of cooperation 'for the educational growth of their children'. He had found that this inter-communication had mutual benefits for all the participants involved.

As a result of their experiences in the monocultural Australian school, NESB authors expressed a deep resolve to not only transmit a positive evaluation of cultural differences amongst the student composition but to be active participants. Their intention was to teach curriculum which was culturally inclusive of language and content and to teach subjects from different perspectives, not only from the Anglo view. Authors aspired for their teaching to encourage a positive evaluation of and enhance the status of community languages on an equality with Science subjects. Author 23 for example not only taught Science subjects but his native Italian as well.

Three respondents (12,16,28) were Principals of their schools at the time of writing. All commented that their Primary schools included a growing number of NESB students. One outcome of their Masters Studies was a positive attitude towards the multicultural school population and aspirations to implement a curriculum which was culturally inclusive. As Principals, they were conscious they had some influence in implementing multicultural policies. They were in a position to transmit a positive evaluation of cultural differences and create a sympathetic atmosphere amongst staff and parents as a cultural milieu for teaching. Author 16 influenced the transmission of both religion and language as core values of culture in her Catholic school.

Three NESB authors (2,3,5) were returning home to teach and do research. From their Australian experience, their teaching could be expected to influence students by transmitting a positive attitude towards maintaining the home language even where English was being used as the medium of instruction.

Two ESB participants (4,31) lectured at tertiary level and had the opportunity to influence the shaping of attitudes and values of their students. Author 31 was conscious that her attitudes towards teaching students to work with groups were a direct influence of one Catholic primary school teacher (a nun). She realised that her own attitudes and methodology could influence her students in their professional lives.

As a tertiary student, Chinese author 30 perceived the need to initiate a Student Service for NESB students, particularly for those from Malaysia. His influence had been more far-reaching through interaction with parents who made visits to Australia to see their student children.

NESB respondents 13 and 27 were Advisers on Multiculturalism in different areas. For example, author 13 was an active influence in the Aboriginal community through her work in Government Departments at National and State level. Her commitment and influence amongst her own ethnic Aboriginal groups was extended through friendship networks arising from her professional life. NESB author 27 as an adviser in multiculturalism brings to her role the teaching experiences in the mainstream school which in turn initiate decision making on cultural pluralism.

In a different milieu, a Greek participant 11 whose professional work was in hospitals found he could influence Greek patients through cultural interaction and counselling. For example, drawing on the central core of his Orthodox religious values, he was able to discuss the reality of death in the context of Greek culture to older patients. In turn, their questions challenged his knowledge of aspects of Orthodoxy which motivated the author to further reading of this topic in self-education. Within his parish church, the same author was active in religious teaching with the youth groups thus transmitting Greek Orthodox values to the younger generation.

As well as formal teaching, respondents were active in various community activities. ESB author 10 had worked with NESB immigrants e.g. Latin American, in assisting with housing, employment and aspects of settlement.

10.4 Implications of the ideal types for education

The identification of five ideal types of cultural valence and national identification (see Table II, p.293) as cultural outcomes of the thesis enables implications for education to be discussed.

I propose to discuss the educational implications of the ideal types identified from three perspectives: personal, national and global. The conclusions do not intend to set out guidelines for educational programs. Statements in the memoirs highlight directions for educational policies.

Personal. ESB authors classified as Type I passed through their monocultural schools largely unaware of other cultures beside the British culture e.g. Author 29 recalled a curriculum designed primarily for tertiary study entry. ESB A authors were personally unaffected by the changes in the ethnic composition in Australian society. For monistic attitudes to change in their personal cultural systems to initiate a transformation of their Anglo values, authors would need to have been exposed to and participate in NESB cultures as part of a culturally inclusive curriculum. LOTE learning and NESB history and culture taught as mainstream subjects would have been accepted by authors in this cell if it had been a 'normal' educational process. This was the finding and recommendation from the Government report on 'Education For A Cultural Democracy' (1984, p.12):

> The policy of dynamic but lasting multiculturalism requires the introduction of minority languages and cultures into schools attended by all Australians. In a context that encourages cultural interaction, minorities are given an equal opportunity to participate in the social, institutional and occupational structures of society, while the majority group benefits from the advantages of knowing another language and culture.

The mutual benefits for ESB and NESB students would come through meaningful intercultural dialogue. For education to be intercultural, the above report recommended (5.5, a, p.22) that by 1995 English plus one other language be part of the education for all students. This policy, although not fully implemented, is being phased in.[1]

As the homes of this group of respondents transmitted Anglo values of the dominant group, analysis indicated that the school was the one domain that could have been an early influence for transmitting NESB values and culture. For a curriculum to be culturally inclusive, the curricula, resources, organization and staffing of educational institutions at all levels should reflect and respond to the ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity of Australian society.

Such culturally inclusive policies apply also to tertiary institutions so that together ESB and NESB students can gain access to both these institutions and to culturally relevant curriculum content. These Type I authors went as far as graduating from tertiary institutions uninfluenced by any changes in curriculum content or intercultural communication with NESB colleagues. On reflection, authors were conscious they had internalised one set of cultural values but their monistic attitudes remained static. The fact that this was the reality for so many of the ESB authors highlights the need for the sort of changes that have been introduced into educational institutions in the last ten years.

---

[1] In April 1995, The Hon Minister for Education in South Australia, Mr Rob Lucas, launched the government policy: MULTICULTURALISM in schooling and children's services. The rationale stated:

> The policy seeks to ensure that curriculum, programs, resource management, organisation and staffing procedures at all levels reflect and respond to the cultural and linguistic diversity of Australian society. In achieving this, education and care will foster the rich cultural and linguistic heritage of the Australian community, promote harmonious community relations and contribute to the development of Australia's cultural and intellectual resources.

One responsibility for teaching staff, which the thesis has highlighted was 1995, 6:

> Parental and community partnerships which value all cultural and linguistic backgrounds, through participation in decision-making structures and in planning and evaluating programs and services.

Authors in <u>Type II</u> formed an important group as the identification of their pluralistic attitudes indicated a transformative response to cultural interaction. These positive attitudes to diversity made them bridge builders across cultures. The existence of this type of respondent points to the need for educational institutions to provide an intercultural curricula to encourage formation and crystallisation of these bridges. They were uncomfortable with the them/us attitudes and were willing to learn a community language but had not done so.

These authors also have important theoretical implications. By transmitting positive attitudes to cultural pluralism, they provide empirical evidence for the emergence of a third culture as proposed by Casmir (1993). As empirical cases, they can be seen to illustrate the beginnings of the third culture building process which in the context of plural Australia involves a creative interchange between ESB and NESB peoples. Casmir outlines this third culture model as a joint, cooperative, participatory, mutual building process that deals not only with the end results, but also with the means through which they can be achieved.

Changes in Government policies were at the early stages at the time of writing but not seemingly taken up.[2] The change in attitude for authors indicated a willingness to access language and culture in an intercultural education. Institutions need to provide access to entry and cultural content of all NESB cultures to encourage meaningful cultural communication. As all writers matriculated for University entrance, educational

---

[2] For example, the Report of the Committee on 'THE TEACHING OF MIGRANT LANGUAGES IN SCHOOLS' (March 1976, p.58):

<u>Intercultural Education</u>
3.30.   Some knowledge and understanding of other cultures should be an essential part of education of every secondary student and the Committee would recommend intercultural education for all secondary students. Intercultural studies, coupled with language experience in the first year of secondary schooling, would provide a possible basis for the selection of specific language study in subsequent years.

institutions need to offer language study up to an extensive competency level as a matriculation subject.[3] It is essential that schools implement intercultural policies to matriculation level so that both ESB and NESB students have the possibility of continuing these language and cultural studies at tertiary level.

Memoirs indicated that ESB interaction with NESB peers, both at school and tertiary study, through the academic content not only initiated cross-cultural friendships but encouraged the positive evaluation of community languages and culture as the window of opportunity for intercultural dialogue.

In some cases, tertiary study was able to provide the opportunity for cultural content in the curriculum to be reinforced and given vitality as an external influence through ESB/NESB students sharing collegiate housing or accommodation in houses or flats. Empirical data reveals such benefits are mutual and encourage the interactive, interpersonal communication process of third culture building. The daily interaction in shared accommodation has a primary function in the human communicative process and allows for much greater interchange of cultural values. Current University strategies make provision for, and encourage, students to go abroad to study for a semseter or a year, for example, in Germany or America. Universities are encouraging this

---

[3] 1993 LOTE STATISTICS FOR SOUTH AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS (Source: SSABSA) provides an overview of language learning. Statistics show a fall in number of language students receiving a result in a Stage 2 (Matriculation) language from 1984 to 1994. The fall in percentage is from 16% in 1984 to 11% in 1994. The difficulty in maintaining numbers at Stage 2 is reflected in the 'Predicted Language Enrolments as a percentage of Total enrolments'. The prediction is not optimistic with the expectation of a further fall in numbers:

Percentage of language students: 1984 15.9%
1995 10.3%
2000 9.4%
2005 8.8%

Number of students receiving a result in a Stage 2 language from 1984 to 1994

Year	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Total Enrolments	10934	11732	13884	16089	17683	18009	17875	20150	19951	18335	17430
Language Students	1745	1680	1765	1866	2113	2143	2026	2232	2074	1999	1994
Percentage	16%	14%	13%	12%	12%	12%	11%	11%	10%	11%	11%

interchange of students for the development of such intercultural experiences through studying in a different society and culture. Such interchange includes accreditation of subjects between participating institutions.

The intercultural content of subjects offered in the Graduate Diploma in Education, such as Cultural Issues, and Multicultural Education and Policies in the Master of Education studies had a transforming influence on ESB authors in Type II who had been educated in the monocultural school. This experience has had direct implication for the students in their professional lives. For example the implication extends to teacher training and the need for all teachers to study LOTE and be able to teach a LOTE language as well as the culture. This was the finding of the 1984 Government report (pp.22-26). The recent 1995 Tertiary Multicultural Education Committee Report in South Australia has considered some of the practical means of implementing multiculturalism in tertiary institutions.

The interest of <u>NESB Type III</u> authors was the educational and cultural interaction of the overseas students with cultural pluralism in Australia. Education and access to a Higher Degree was the purpose of coming to Australia. The implication for education as an outcome of the memoirs was the significance of having access to courses which were both culturally inclusive and evaluated as applicable to the home country. A course in Multicultural Studies fulfilled these criteria and had an unexpected outcome for the memoir respondents. They came to re-evaluate their home language and culture in a re-vitalised way as a result of interaction with other students in the course, both ESB and NESB, and the curriculum content. It is not an expectation that their Single National Identification would be transformed as an outcome of higher degree study in Australia.

Memoirs indicated that these authors, as tertiary students, had competency in written English. Nevertheless, a number of the memoir texts revealed some difficulties in

English grammar.[4] These difficulties were minor and did not detract from the valuable memoir content but suggest that overseas students, particularly on arrival, could benefit from English language courses designed to develop a high level of written proficiency. Another significant outcome revealed in the memoirs of this group was the struggle to maintain the home language and culture in Australia as bivalent individuals. Authors worked to maintain their home language and importantly to develop their written language skills as a bridge to a deeper understanding and knowledge of their own culture. Respondents displayed a willingness to have access to their NESB language and culture and regarded the positive evaluation of their bivalent cultural systems as an enriching aspect of participating in tertiary study. Whilst having a respect for and being influenced by the overarching values in Australia, these students did not identify themselves as Australians. Their memoirs pointed to the need for educational institutions to accommodate them according to their educational and cultural needs and not with the expectation of assimilation during their time in Australia. Although these respondents resisted pressures to assimilate, as bilingual/bicultural individuals, they proved a rich resource of cultural diversity for the ESB students with whom they interacted.

The identification of <u>NESB Type IV</u> authors is a significant outcome of the current study. NESB authors in Type IV, together with ESB authors in Type II provide empirical evidence for the most transformative change in personal cultural systems. Authors from the two types are the bridge builders for dynamic cultural communication in a plural society and have shown movement, in cultural terms, towards one another. The Type 1V respondents can be seen to represent more developed examples of third culture - sometimes in the form of hybrid personal cultural systems e.g. social systems or family

---

[4] Teaching English as a second language, with recommendations, is outlined in the government report (1984, p.20ff):

> Many immigrants have little or no knowledge of English when they arrive in Australia, and as a general rule secondary schools are not well equipped to meet their needs. For this reason it is necessary to make special provisions in Language Centres for such students.

patterns, sometimes in the form of dual systems of cultural values which enabled them to participate in two different cultural worlds.

As a consequence of educational and cultural influences in Australia, the authors have internalised a dual set of cultural values as their personal solution to the cultural pluralism that confronted them. NESB authors were most conscious that the minority home language was fundamental as to how they perceived and defined reality. It was clear that where they had had the opportunity to study and maintain the home language through the school curriculum, the individual's enjoyment of school and sense of identity and self esteem were increased. Teaching community languages in the mainstream has a significant influence on a positive evaluation by ESB students of these languages to which they also need access.

NESB authors were frustrated when the home language was not offered at their school but perceived it was equally important for the school and teachers to transmit positive attitudes towards and evaluation of minority cultures. Individual NESB students responded to this positive evaluation. In this situation, NESB students had to maintain their home language by their own efforts. NESB O author 22 discussed how the high ethnic home could not maintain the level of language competency comparable to what the school was giving her children in English:

> The ethnic home could not keep pace with the cognitive development at school. 22

Participants stated that all areas of the curriculum should be inclusive and reflect and respond to the multicultural composition of society. They felt that ESB students should participate in a curriculum not taught from a single cultural view point but from a multicultural perspective. A curriculum, inclusive of NESB language and culture, would have the mutual benefit of assisting NESB students to feel included in the school as a reality, for their own worth without the pressure to conform and 'prove oneself' as two authors (23,32) recalled. Such a curriculum has significant cultural and social

implications. The positive evaluation and acceptance of minority languages and culture through the school curriculum encourages ESB/NESB social interaction (memoir 28) and reinforces positive feelings of ethnicity. For individual members whose ethnic languages are not taught in their school, ethnic schools provide after hour schools to cover the mainstream school's 'deficiency'. For equality of educational opportunities in schools, authors strongly asserted that school assessments should also be culturally based, not structured on middle class Anglo values.

Type IV authors gave insights into the conclusion that they wanted to have a Dual National Identification. Having internalised a dual set of cultural values, these participants expressed a dual national identification which they aspired to have recognised and accepted by education institutions. As bicultural individuals, these NESB authors are valuable empirical data for the possible emergence of a third culture. For example, NESB A author 28 commented:

> I have been fortunate in that I have an Italian friend who has helped me understand her ethnic culture. It has enriched my life and knowledge. 28

Respondents in <u>NESB Type V</u>, who were classified as polyvalent, had internalised and gained competency in at least two languages and cultures other than their home language. This had extended the possibility of their participation in the third culture building process. Respondents e.g. NESB 8, 24 who grew up in multilingual and multicultural milieus confirmed the thesis that being bilingual facilitates the acquisition of additional languages. Their experience points to the importance of exposure to LOTE language learning from an early age and if possible to several languages. These authors understood how their perceptions of the world were enriched and broadened through NESB languages and resolved that their children should have this window of opportunity. NESB O authors who migrated to Australia brought this diversity of languages and culture with them as their personal heritage but often experienced problems in gaining access to language learning in educational institutions. Their experience highlights the advantages that can flow from educational systems that are

flexible enough to allow students to study more than one LOTE as part of their secondary or tertiary course. It also highlights the need for institutions like the South Australian Secondary School of Languages and the South Australian Institute of Languages which in recent years in South Australia have taken on the role of making available opportunities to study in a range of the smaller minority languages.

To be effective, education in a multicultural society must be transformative and additive at the personal level. It must encourage meaningful cultural encounters which initiate a broader socio-cultural awareness and positive attitudes to cultural pluralism. The study of LOTEs provides one of the most effective ways of achieving this. As Smolicz has argued (1984, p.22):

> A full-scale multicultural education program, involving the application of a national language policy to all levels of education, appears as the only realistic solution for a plural society.

National. Conclusions from the analysis indicate the gain for Australian society and for the diverse ethnic communities from multicultural education. Implications for education from the Ideal Types suggest a program for fulfilling individual language requirements in particular maintenance and proficiency in the home language for NESB students. It is essential for educational programmes to reflect the ethnic composition of schools and their surrounding communities. Community programs and services at local, state and national levels should also reflect the cultural diversity within the areas of their jurisdiction.

It is helpful to look at Lo Bianco's summary of Australian Experiences in Multiculturalism. Debates about identity and especially national identity are important in Australia and relate closely to the position of NESB members. Lo Bianco points to a shift in the ideology of multiculturalism, which in the past was concerned mainly with the rights and opportunities of minorities, to a more pragmatic perspective of national-interest. For example, the term 'productive diversity' is preferred to multiculturalism.

This shift raises the issue of how effective multicultural education programs have been and the proper place for activity directed at cultural and linguistic maintenance for NESB minority members. Lo Bianco (1995, p.30) asks the question:

> Is the cultural and linguistic learning by minority background children only for the 'inward-looking' or community - directed purposes of heritage and tradition, or more externally oriented and more highly societally-valued purposes?

The educational response to the broader concept of multiculturalism would have to consider two interdependent perspectives: maintenance of the home language and culture and treating pluralism as a national resource. These two perspectives on language resources are encapsulated in the correlates of cultural valence and national identification investigated in the current study. Polyvalent respondents in Type V had internalised languages of Australia and Asia or of Australia and Europe. They had found a personal and harmonious solution to cultural pluralism in their polyvalent cultural systems. NESB authors were proud of being bivalent (e.g. NESB 9), and had made use of the cultural stocks available to them in schools and tertiary institutions. Some of them had also found ways to use their LOTE skills in productive ways in schools and the community.

In discussing recent developments in intercultural education, Lo Bianco (1995, p.30) suggests how the educational face of multiculturalism may transform the mainstream curricula with an additional influence:

> It is evolving a new discourse which incorporates a more pragmatic style and addresses economic issues as well as the more usual concerns of the settlement and opportunities for minorities or the cultural enrichment of the wider society.

Memoir analysis highlighted the private domain of the authors who aspired to maintain their culture and ancestral links with the home country. NESB authors living in Australia wanted to be Australians in a cultural and political sense as a solution to the interdependence of the private and public domain. On the other hand, ESB respondents had partially responded to the cultural diversity of the public domain through the

educational systems. In her professional life, ESB author 10 worked with community NESB groups in her professional life which initiated LOTE learning.

Global. Authors in the study were educated both in Australia and Overseas. Implications for an intercultural education include awareness of the individual's place in a global context. Australia provides a good example of putting into practice some educational policies for cultural diversity through culturally inclusive curricula. From a global perspective, formal education needs to make ESB and NESB students aware that Australia can build cultural bridges to Asia and Europe. Asia and Europe need not be the initiators of these links.

Global education implies the relationship of individuals and groups in a global perspective and its environment. NESB authors in Type V who were polyvalent were competent in several cultures. Key words such as co-existence, interdependence, intercultural dialogue and accepting differences indicate the concepts of global education which broadens the personal and provides affirmation of the local perspectives. Custodio (1994, p.1) asserts that whilst global interdependence is a growing reality in our times, there is another movement which refers to the affirmation of the local:

> There is a presently a new awareness of the proper identity of each human group and the right to be recognized, preserved and developed according to its specific roots and particular ethos.

Memoir analysis highlighted the point that, whilst authors were willing to transform their own cultural systems as a result of intercultural dialogue, at the same time they felt the need to be firmly rooted in their own culture. Members can then reach out and build bridges to other cultures in a creative and transforming communication. Authors were conscious of home and school being seen in a wider social and cultural milieu.

According to Custodio, the human race has no choice but to adapt itself to the natural conditions and resources of the planet. In order to do this, Custodio emphasised the

need for education to develop understanding of new world neighbours. Recognising that education for this adaptation will entail transformations in attitudes, she asks:

> Who would want a global society unless it is founded on the possibility of living together with the acceptance of differences and pluralism? (Custodio 1994, p.14)

Nearly half of the memoir authors were born overseas which places this study in a global context. As both ESB and NESB respondents were born overseas educational policies need to be culturally inclusive to enable these students to integrate into the multicultural society in Australia and to enable students born in Australia to understand the dynamism of intercultural and global communication. The dilemma for education can be related to LOTE language policy. At a personal level, NESB students need to maintain their home language and culture. From a global view, language is evaluated as a resource for trade and cultural understanding and needs to be accessible to all students.

Global relationships are the subject of discussion for other scholars. For example, Wielemans' (1994, p.1) analysis compares both the paradigms and images of humanity emerging from new theories and discoveries in modern sciences. He argues that:

> Human beings are much more than only individuals: they are **nodal points of relationships.** *To be is to be related.*

In western culture, from a historical perspective, the human being has been defined as an individual, as an autonomous person. Wielemans (1994, p.4) cites the theory of Bourdieu to illustrate the shift in the image of man from the sociological perspective:

> The two main concepts of Bourdieu, i.e. 'habitus' and 'field'[5] ... are the two faces of only one indivisible reality. In other words, 'individual' and 'society' co-exist inseparably and simultaneously in time and space. The reality individual/society is one concurrent and unbreakable duality, which is basically restless, self-energetic and unpredictably self-renewing.

---

[5] Bourdieu's (1997) concepts of 'habitus' and 'habitat' are discussed in chapter 2, pp.8-9.

These ideas parallel the theory of Znaniecki used in this thesis that the individual must be analysed in a certain social and cultural milieu. This is a dynamic and transforming relationship, with attitudes and values changing in response to cultural interaction between the individual and her or his societal context.

Wielemans (1994, p.6) outlines the consequences for education from his argument that the person has to be seen as embedded in an environment:

> This relational thinking contains the idea that the human person has no intrinsic properties which are independent from his/her environment ... (Human beings) cannot be described in terms of what they are on themselves, but in terms of their relatedness to nature, to other people, to socio-economic events and institutions, and to the socialized sediment of all this in their own psyche ... Instead of emphasizing self-development education should focus more on co-development of the optimalization of the-human-in-and together-with-his-relations.

Custodio and Wielemans discuss the relational image of man in a global culture. The implication for education is the need for cultural dialogue for the survival and harmonious development of the living planet. As an outcome of the present study, analysis has shown how particular cultures can undergo creative and transforming growth through cultural interaction which is a complementary experience. This process can be accepted with the reservation that individual identity and cultures, particularly minority cultures, can be maintained and developed to the full human potential. In this way, individuals with their cultural competencies e.g. linguistic competency, are vital resources for both local and global cultures. Reservations about the difficulties of maintaining a balance between individual and global cultures was expressed in the report of the Centenary of Foundation Committee (CFAC, 1994):

> The motto of 1901 was: 'One people, one destiny'. For 2001 it must be: 'Many cultures, one Australia'. And this must be achieved at a time when many forces will be attacking the very notion of nationhood around the world. We will be celebrating Australia's nationhood at a time when global winds are eroding local cultures and blurring national identity. (Lo Bianco 1995, p.26)

The correlations of cultural valence and national identification in the five ideal types confirm the dynamic relationship between individual and national culture needed for a

stable and resilient plural society and point the way to global interaction within the fifth world society, envisaged by Znaniecki. Without the maintenance of individual culture and identity, however, there can be no cultural reservoirs for interaction in a wider, global milieu.

10.5 Self-Education and Cultural Valence

As the respondents were tertiary students, they had all developed the 'capacity' for self-education as research students in a way that allowed the concept to be investigated as an aspect of the thesis. The importance of self-education as an outcome of the thesis was evident in the difference between Type I and Types II to V in their personal cultural systems. Type I was not influenced by the monocultural school to change monistic attitudes towards cultural pluralism. In contrast, tertiary study was the pivotal influence on ESB respondents in Type II in awakening and modifying monocultural attitudes to diffuse cultural boundaries to be classified as having pluralistic attitudes. Analysis revealed that social factors in the categories Professional Life, Marriage and Friendship, and Travel had initiated self-educational activities in response to cultural pluralism. These self-educational activities included interacting with minority groups through travel, the use of language tapes and developing a knowledge of another NESB language during study leave. Self-education can thus be said to have influenced the significant distinction between the attitudes of the Univalent types.

In Type III, self-education was an active influence on NESB O students in the acquisition of English. In this case, self-education or self-directed activity was initiated through educational factors or the deficiency of language teaching programs in the school. It was an enforced situation to acquire English for academic progress. For Types IV and V, self-generated activity was a vital aspect of maintaining and gaining literary competence in their NESB home language in the difficult, not always supportive Australian context. Some NESB respondents who were competent in their home language had restricted

opportunity for interaction with their group members and relied on their own efforts and the media, for example, to maintain competence as bivalent or polyvalent individuals.

To provide a parallel example of self-education, I refer to Kloskowska's case study of Ketrzynski. At the time of his conversion to Polish identity, the participant know 'nothing of Polish culture' but declared himself a Pole. In order to have access to Polish culture, Ketrzynski himself completely mastered written Polish as Kloskowska (1994, p.89) analyses:

> Ketrzynski learned Polish from grammar books, vocabularies and other Polish books borrowed in secrecy from a teacher at his school ... In this way Polishness was opened to him as the lifeworld and not only as the symbolic universe of history and literature. The importance of the personal face to face social intercourse should not be denied.

Self-generated activity in the Polish language fostered Ketrzynski's national identification with Poland as his 'recovered' fatherland.

Empirical cases in the Australian context can be drawn from the memoir analysis to confirm how self-education fills gaps in formal education. The first example from a Polish participant refers to language learning and the need, as Kloskowska recognised, for social interaction:

> I decided to continue privately with a series of text books and cassettes. Being a language teacher and heavily influenced by the motivational benefits of group learning, I slowly began to taper off these efforts until finally all I did was to occasionally glimpse in a dictionary. (7)

In Australia, an Indian memoir author discusses her efforts to maintain her proficiency in Tamil in order to write letters home to her parents:

> It is a real struggle for me at this point to pick up from where I left off, but I am making some progress with the aid of an English cum Tamil dictionary. I have been able to string some sentences together and am intent on improving my sentence structure and grammatical inflexions. (3)

In this way, NESB authors who were polyvalent and bivalent had used self-education in the process of third culture building. These efforts could contribute to the crystallisation of an Australian culture which is more inclusive of the rich cultural stocks of the NESB groups who have settled in the country.

A conclusion from the concept of self-education in this study is the need for participants to experience a wide range of self-directed activities which expose individuals to symbolic values, in Kloskowska's terms, of their own and other cultures in a local and global context. There would be cultural advantages from such activities and importantly the chance to develop and experience symbolic culture as Kloskowska (1991, p.254) recognises:

> A chance to develop a liking for the poets of the Pleiade, for the wisdom of Montaigne and Voltaire, for the subtlety of Camus and Sartre, for entering the world of Canterbury pilgrims.

In Australia, there are diverse opportunities to experience symbolic culture through self-directed activity. Opportunities include SBS television and radio, education through travel to NESB countries, drama and music, festivals such as the Adelaide Festival of Arts and a diverse range of community exhibitions of art and cultural artefacts.

From the evidence of the memoirs it can be concluded that self-education had played a significant role in the lives of the participants but the extent of its influence varied for individuals according to social factors. Self-education has been developed particularly at tertiary level such that the individuals were not only creative but more sensitive to cultural pluralism. Self-education appeared to be most important in the cultural development of the authors as a creative and transforming process in the development of personal cultural systems. Among many of the respondents in this research, it had been the most important factor in influencing their cultural becoming in the direction of Znaniecki's fifth, world society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adamski, W.W. 1982, 'Assessment of Representativeness and Procedure of Typological Analyses of Autobiographical Data', *Sisyphus Sociological Studies*, Vol.II,
Polish Academy of Sciences.

Adamski, W.W. 1981, 'The Scope and Trends in the Polish Academy of Sciences Sociological Research', *Sisyphus Sociological Studies*, Vol.I, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Adamski, W.W. 1982, 'Memoir-based Sociology: Between Intuition and Quantification', *Sisyphus Sociological Studies*, Vol.II, Polish Academy of Sciences, pp.97-116.

Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (1980), Review of multicultural and migrant education. Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, Melbourne.

Bertaux, D. (ed) 1981, 'Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences', Sage Studies in International Sociology.

Bierstedt, R. 1963, 'The Common Sense World of Alfred Schütz', *Social Research*, Vol.30.

Blumer, H. 1939, An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's 'The Polish Peasant in Europe and America', *Critique of Research in the Social Sciences*, Vol.44.

Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J-C. 1977, '*Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*'. Trans. R. Nice, Sage Publications Ltd., English Edition.

Bruyn, S.T. 1966, '*The Human Perspective in Sociology: The Methodology of Participant Observation*', Prentice-Hall Inc., New Jersey.

Burgess, R.G. 1984, '*In the Field: An Introduction to Field Research*', London, George Allen and Unwin.

Casmir, F.L. 1993, 'Third-Culture Building: A Paradigm Shift for International and Intercultural Communication', *Communication Yearbook No.16*, (ed) S.A. Deetz, Sage Publications, London, pp.407-428.

Chalasinski, J. 1982, 'Autobiographies as Data for Sociological Analyses', *Sisyphus Sociological Studies*, Vol.II, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Chalasinski, J. 1989, 'Florian Znaniecki: the Polish Sociologist, the American Sociologist' in *The Humanistic Sociology of Florian Znaniecki. Polish Period 1920-1939* (eds) B. Czarnocki & A. Kwilecki, trans. B Czarnocki, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warszawa, Poland.

Clignet, R. 1979, 'The Variability of Paradigms in The Production of Culture: A Comparison of The Arts and Sciences', *American Sociological Review*, June, Vol.44, pp.392-409.

Clyne, M. 1982, *Multilingual Australia*, Melbourne, River Seine.

Connor, W. 1994, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*, Princeton University Press.

Crotty, R.B. 1980, A Study of Paradigmatic Systems of Religious Knowledge and Associated Religious Social Groups with Special Reference to Theological Education in the Roman Catholic Church, PhD Thesis, The University of Adelaide.

Custodio, L.J. 1994, Building Bridges Across Cultures Through Education: Education for Intercultural Dialogue, Paper presented to The Non English Cultural Background International Women's Conference, Adelaide, S.A.

Czarnocki, B. 1989, 'Znaniecki as a Sociologist of Polish-German Relations' in *The Humanistic Sociology of Florian Znaniecki. Polish Period 1920-1939* (eds) B. Czarnocki & A. Kwilecki, trans. B. Czarnocki, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warszawa, Poland.

Czarnocki, B. & Kwilecki, A. (eds) 1989, *The Humanistic Sociology of Florian Znaniecki. Polish Period 1920-1939*. Trans.B. Czarnocki, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warszawa, Poland.

Czerwinski, M., 1981, 'Elements of the Urban Population's Style of Life. General Aspects and Specific Differentiation', *Sisyphus Sociological Studies*, Vol.I, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Denzin, N.K. 1981, 'The Interactionist Study of Social Organization: A Note on Method', *Biography and Society*, (ed) D. Bertaux, Sage Publications, London and California.

Denzin, N.K. 1986, 'Reinterpreting The Polish Peasant' in *A Commemorative Book in Honor of Florian Znaniecki on the Centenary of His Birth* (ed) Z. Dulczewski, Poznan.

Dulczewski, Z. 1982, 'Florian Znaniecki as the Originator of the Autobiographical Method in Sociology', *Sisyphus Sociological Studies*, Vol.II, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Dulczewski, Z. 1989, 'Florian Znaniecki as the Originator of the Autobiographic Method in Sociology' in *The Humanistic Sociology of Florian Znaniecki. Polish Period 1920-1939* (eds) B. Czarnocki & A. Kwilecki, trans. B. Czarnocki, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warszawa, Poland.

Durkheim, E. 1961, *Moral Education: A Study in the Theory and Application of the Sociology of Education*, The Free Press of Glencoe, New York.

Dutkiewicz, H. & Czarnocki, B. 1989, 'On Florian Znaniecki's Sociology of Knowledge' in *The Humanistic Sociology of Florian Znaniecki. Polish Period 1920-1939* (eds) B. Czarnocki & A. Kwilecki, trans. B. Czarnocki, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warszawa, Poland.

Education for a Multicultural Society 1979, Committee on Multicultural Education, Report to the Schools Commission, Canberra.

Education for a Cultural Democracy: A Summary (June) 1984, (Smolicz) Report of the Task Force to Investigate Multiculturalism and Education, South Australian Government Printers, Adelaide.

Eliot, T.S. 1948, *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture*, Faber and Faber Ltd., London.

Freire, P. 1970, 'The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom', *Harvard Educational Review*, May, Vol.40, No.3.

Freire, P. 1970, 'Cultural Action and Conscientization', *Harvard Educational Review*, August, Vol.40, No.3.

Freire, P. 1970, *Cultural Action For Freedom*, Penguin Education, England.

Freire, P. 1972, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Trans. M. Ramos, Penguin Education, C. Nicholls and Company Ltd., England.

Giles, H. & Saint-Jacques, B. 1979, *Language and Ethnic Relations*, Pergamon Press, Oxford, New York, Frankfurt.

Giza, A. 1987, 'Biography as an Empirical Fact and as a Theoretical Category', *The Polish Sociological Bulletin*, No.3 (79), Warszawa, Poland.

Giroux, H.A. 1983, 'Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education: A Critical Analysis', *Harvard Educational Review*, Miami University, Ohio 53 (3), pp.257-293.

Golebiowski, B. 1982, 'Memoirs as a Basis for a Typology of Aspirations', *Sisyphus Sociological Studies*, Vol.II, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Gorlach, K. & Serega, Z. 1987, 'Social Structure of the Village in Poland: Approaches to the Problem', *The Polish Sociological Bulletin*, No.3 (79), Warszawa, Poland.

Grabski, W. 1982, 'Memoirs of Peasants and the Social Milieu of the Polish Rural Area', *Sisyphus Sociological Studies*, Vol.II, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Grassby, A.J. The Hon MHR, Immigration Reference Papers.
  15 August 1973, *Australia's Human Resources*.
  11 October 1973, *Australia's Decade of Decision*.
  6 December 1973, *Australian Citizenship Policy: Our Objectives*.
Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

Halas, E. 1988, 'The Biography and the Orientation of Symbolic Interactionism', *Biography and Society*, December, No.11, (ed) J. Wlodarek, Poznan, Poland.

Harris, R. McL. 1976, POLES APART? An Intergenerational Study of Selected Samples of Postwar Polish Immigrants in South Australia, PhD Thesis, The University of Adelaide.

Harris, R. McL. 1980, 'Educational Initiatives of the Post-War Polish Community in Australia: The Maintenance of Ethnicity', *Melbourne Studies in Education*.

Herman, S.N. 1997, *Jewish Identity*: A Social Psychological Perspective, Sage Publications, California.

Jackson, J.A. (ed) 1969, 'Migration', *Sociological Studies 2*, London, C.U.P.

Jakubczak, F. 1982, 'Theoretical Basis of the Autobiographical Documents Method', *Sisyphus Sociological Studies*, Vol.II, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Josselson, R. & Lieblich, A. (eds) 1993, *The Narrative Study of Lives*, Vol.1, Sage Publications Inc, U.S.A.

Jupp, J. (ed) 1988, *The Australian People. An Encyclopedia. The Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney.

Kloskowska, A. 1982, 'Types of Personal Documents', *Sisyphus Sociological Studies*, Vol.II, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Kloskowska, A. 1985, 'Symbolic Values in Social Conflicts', *The Polish Sociological Bulletin*, No.1-4, pp.19-29, Warsaw.

Kloskowska, A. 1988, 'Culturological-Biographic Analysis', *Biography and Society*, December, No.11, (ed) J. Wlodarek, Poznan, Poland.

Kloskowska, A. 1991, 'The Ambiguity of Cultural Development', *The Polish Sociological Bulletin*, No.4, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Kloskowska, A. 1992, 'Neighbourhood Cultures: Some Aspects of Difficult Historical Neighbourhoods', *International Sociology*, Vol.7, No.1, pp.55-68, March.

Kloskowska, A. 1993, 'National Identification and the Transgression of National Boundaries: The Steps Towards Universalisation', *Dialogue and Humanism*, No.4, Warsaw.

Kloskowska, A. 1993, 'Cultural Polymorphism and National Stereotypes', *Polish Sociological Review*, 3 (103), Warsaw.

Kloskowska, A. 1994, National Conversion: A Case Study of Polish-German Neighbourhood, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw.

Kneller, G.F. 1986, *Educational Anthropology. An Introduction*, Wiley, New York.

Korporowicz, L. 1982, 'Cultural Competence as a Research Problem', *The Polish Sociological Bulletin*, No.1-4, Warsaw, pp.217-228.

Korporowicz, L. 1994, 'A Neighbourhood Full of Meaning: A Necessity Or Utopia?' *The Summit Times*, Vol.2, No.5-6, Spring and Summer, California.

Kowalski, S. 1986, 'The Applicability of Florian Znaniecki's Social System Theory in Interdisciplinary Research on Education' in *A Commemorative Book in Honor of Florian Znaniecki on the Centenary of His Birth* (ed) Z. Dulczewski, Poznan.

Kowalski, S. 1989, 'On Znaniecki's Sociology of Education' in *The Humanistic Sociology of Florian Znaniecki. Polish Period 1920-1939* (eds) B. Czarnocki & A. Kwilecki, trans. B. Czarnocki, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warszawa, Poland.

Krathwohl, D.R. 1993, *Methods of Educational Research and Social Science Research. An Integrated Approach*, Longman, New York and London.

Krzywicki, L. 1982, 'Reflections on Sociological Meaning of Memoirs of Emigrants in France', *Sisyphus Sociological Studies*, Vol.II, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Latoszek, M. 1988, 'The Application of the Biographical Method to Document Events of the August 1980 Period', *Biography and Society*, December, No.11, (ed) J. Wlodarek, Poznan, Poland.

Lewis, O. 1961, *The Children of Sanchez. Autobiography of a Mexican Family*, Penguin Modern Classics.

Livingstone D.W. & Contributors 1987, *Critical Pedagogy and Cultural Power*. Intro. P. Freire & H. Giroux, Bergin & Garvey Publishers Inc., Macmillan Education Ltd.

Lo Bianco, J. 1995, 'Australian Experiences: Multiculturalism, Language Policy and National Ethos', *European Journal of Intercultural Studies*, Vol.5, No.3. Trentham Books Ltd, Great Britain.

Luschen, G. & Tibbetts, P. 1986, 'Florian Znaniecki's Sociological Methodology' in *A Commemorative Book in Honor of Florian Znaniecki on the Centenary of His Birth* (ed) Z. Dulczewski, Poznan.

Lutyk, A. 1987, 'Peasants in Traditional and Modernized Society. Problems and Ideas', *The Polish Sociological Bulletin*, No.3 (79), Warszawa, Poland.

Lutynski, J. 1982, 'Methodological Issues in Research Based on Autobiographies', *Sisyphus Sociological Studies*, Vol.II, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Lutynski, J. 1988, 'The Biographical Approach and the Ways of Collecting Materials in Sociological Research', *Biography and Society*, December, No.11, (ed) J. Wlodarek, Poznan, Poland.

Lutynska, K. 1987, 'Questionnaire Studies in Poland in the 1980s', *The Polish Sociological Bulletin*, No.3 (79), Warszawa, Poland.

MacDonagh, O. 1988, 'Irish: The Condition of Ireland 1788-1850', in *The Australian People* . An Encyclopedia.(ed) J. Jupp, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, pp.553-6.

Mackinnon, A. 1989, Awakening Women: Women, Higher Education and Family Formation in South Australia c.1880-1920, PhD Thesis, The University of Adelaide.

Marjoribanks, K. 1972, 'Ethnic and Environmental Influences on Mental Abilities', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.78, No.2.

Marjoribanks, K. 1979, 'Ethnography and Classroom Research: Some Perspectives', *South Australian Journal of Education Research*, Vol.1, No.2.

Marjoribanks, K. 1979, *Families and Their Learning Environments*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Marjoribanks, K. 1980, *Ethnic Families and Children's Achievements*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

Marjoribanks, K. 1981, 'Family Environments and Children's Academic Achievement: Sex and Social Group Differences', *Journal of Psychology*, 109, Massachusetts.

Marjoribanks, K. 1983, 'The Evaluation of a Family Learning Environment Model', *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, Vol.9, Great Britain.

Marjoribanks, K. 1984, 'Ethnicity, Family Environment and Adolescents' Aspirations. A Follow-Up Study', *Journal of Educational Research*, Vol.77, No.3.

Marjoribanks, K. 1992, 'Ethnicity, families as opportunity structures and adolescents' aspirations', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, July, Vol.15, No.3, Routledge, Great Britain.

Martin, J.I. 1972, *Community and Identity Refugee Groups in Adelaide,* A.N.U. Press, Canberra.

Martin, J.I. 1976, *'Ethnic Pluralism and Identity',* Melbourne Studies in Education., Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Migrant Services and Programs. 1978, *Report of the Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services for Migrants* (Galbally report) , Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

Mills, C.W. 1959, *The Sociological Imagination,* New York, Oxford University Press.

Miodunka, W. 1988, 'Language and Ethnic and Cultural Identification', *Przeglad Polonijny,* Cracow, Vol.14, No.2.

Mokrzycki, E. 1981, 'From a Methodological Doctrine to Research Practice', *Sisyphus Sociological Studies,* Vol.I, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Multiculturalism in South Australian Universities 1995, Report to the Minister for Employment, Training and Further Education. Tertiary Multicultural Education Committee (TMEC) publication, Adelaide.

Multiculturalism in Schooling and Children's Services 1995, Government Policy launched by the Hon Minister for Education Mr R. Lucas, April 7, Adelaide, SA.

Narojek, W. 1981, 'The Basic Human Relationships in a Socialist Society', *Sisyphus Sociological Studies,* Vol.I, Polish Academy of Sciences, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology.

Natanson, M. 1968, 'Alfred Schütz on Social Reality and Social Science', *Social Research,* Vol.35.

Nowakowski, S. 1989, 'Znaniecki's Urban Sociology: Comments Mainly on Theory' in *The Humanistic Sociology of Florian Znaniecki. Polish Period 1920-1939* (eds) B. Czarnocki & A. Kwilecki, trans. B. Czarnocki, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warszawa, Poland.

Penman, The Most Rev'd D. 1984, Multiculturalism in Australia: A Christian Perspective, Beanland Lecture, Footscray Institute of Technology.

Polish Academy of Sciences 1981, 'Humanistic Sociology Revisted', *Sisyphus Sociological Studies,* Vol.I, Warsaw.

Polish Academy of Sciences 1982, 'The Polish Memoir Sociology: Origins - Dilemmas - Hopes', *Sisyphus Sociological Studies,* Vol.II, PWN, Polish Scientific Publishers, Warsaw.

Popper, K.R. 1963, *Conjectures and Refutations. The Growth of Scientific Knowledge,* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

Price, C.P. 1990, Language Retention by Ancestry and Generation, VOX (AACLAME) Issue No.4, DEET, Pirie Printers, Canberra, pp.57-64.

Report of the Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in School, March 1976, Department of Education, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

Rubenstein, C. 1991, What Is Wrong With Multiculturalism? Address to the Sydney Institute on Tuesday 3 December.

Rybicki, P. 1989, 'Znaniecki's Wstep do socjologii in Retrospect' in *The Humanistic Sociology of Florian Znaniecki. Polish Period 1920-1939* (eds) B. Czarnocki & A. Kwilecki, trans. B. Czarnocki, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warszawa, Poland.

Schütz, A. 1960, 'The Stranger', reprinted in *Identity and Anxiety* by M. Stein, A. Vidich, and D. Manning (eds), The Free Press, New York.

Schütz, A. 1972, *The Phenomenology of the Social World.* Trans. F. Lehnert & G. Walsh, Heinemannn Educational Books, London.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. & Cummins, J. (eds) 1988, *Minority Education: From Shame to Struggle*, Multilingual Matters Ltd., Clevedon.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T.& Phillipson, R.,eds. in collaboration with M. Ramut, 1995. *Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination.* Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, New york.

Smith, A.D. 1989, 'The Origins of Nations'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.12, No.3, Routledge, Great Britain.

Smith, A.D. 1990, 'Towards a Global Culture?' *Theory, Culture & Society.* Explorations in Critical Social Science, Vol.7, Nos.2-3, Sage, London.

Smith, A.D. 1991, *National Identity,* Penguin Books, London.

Smith, A.D. 1992, 'Chosen peoples: why ethnic groups survive', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, July, Vol.15, No.3, Routledge, Great Britain.

Smith, A.D. 1994, 'The problem of national identity: ancient, medieval and modern?' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.17, No.3.

Smolicz, J.J. 1969, 'Conceptual Models in Natural and Social Sciences and their Implications for Educationists', *Melbourne Studies in Education*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.72-113.

Smolicz, J.J. 1969, 'Scholastic Competition: A Latent Function of Education?' *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, Vol.1, No.1, pp.51-62.

Smolicz, J.J. 1970, 'Education and Aggression', *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, Vol.2, No.1, pp.37-52.

Smolicz, J.J. 1972, 'Jensen's Views on Intelligence and a Pre-Empirical Image of Man', *Melbourne Studies in Education*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.41-68.

Smolicz, J.J. 1973, 'Education and the Social Sciences: A Question of Consensus' in *L'apport des sciences fondamentales aux sciences de l'education*, International Association of Educational Research, Paris, pp.82-88.

Smolicz, J.J. 1974, *Humanistic Sociology: A Review of Concepts and Methods*, Sociological Monographs, La Trobe University Publications, Melbourne, 68 pp.

Smolicz, J.J. 1974, 'Fragmentation in Science and Education: An Analysis of the Community Structure of Science', *Melbourne Studies in Education*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.1-58.

Smolicz, J.J. 1974, 'The Concept of Tradition: A Humanistic Interpretation', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, Vol.10, No.1, pp.17-23.

Smolicz, J.J. 1974, 'The Concept of Tradition: A Humanistic Sociological Interpretation', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, Vol.10, No.2, pp.75-83.

Smolicz, J.J. 1974, 'Some Impressions of Polish Sociology', *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, Vol.10, No.1, pp.17-23.

Smolicz, J.J. 1975, 'Education Ideology and Society in a Communist State: The Case of Poland', *Melbourne Studies in Education*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.14-65.

Smolicz, J.J. 1975, 'Migrant or Ethnic Education', *Pivot*, Vol.2, No.3, pp.21-25.

Smolicz, J.J. 1976, 'Ethnic Cultures in Australian Society: A Question of Cultural Interaction' (Theodore Fink Memorial Seminar) *Melbourne Studies in Education*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.41-74.

Smolicz, J.J. 1979, *Culture and Education in a Plural Society*, Curriculum Development Centre, Canberra.

Smolicz, J.J. 1979, 'Individualism v. Collectivism: Social Relations in Ethnic Groups', *Ethnic Studies, International Journal*, Vol.3, pp.13-24.

Smolicz, J.J. 1979, 'Personal Cultural Systems in a Plural Society', *Media Asia: An Asian Mass Communication Quarterly*, Vol.6, No.1, pp.43-52.

Smolicz, J.J. 1981, 'Culture, Ethnicity and Education: Multiculturalism in a Plural Society', in *World Year Book of Education 1981: Education of Minorities*, Nichols Publishing Company, New York, pp.17-36.

Smolicz, J.J. 1981, 'Core Values and Cultural Identity', *Ethnic and Racial Studies: An International Journal of Ethnic, Cultural and Race Relations*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, January, Vol.4, No.1, pp.75-90.

Smolicz, J.J. 1981, 'Cultural Pluralism and Educational Policy: in Search of Stable Multiculturalism', *The Australian Journal of Education*, Vol.25, No.2, pp.121-145.

Smolicz, J.J. 1983, 'Principles of Australian Pluralism', pp.26-39; and 'Policies and Programs for the Teaching of Languages' in B. Falk and J. Harris (eds), *Unity in Diversity: Multicultural Education in Australia*, Australian College of Education, Melbourne, pp.199-204.

Smolicz, J.J. 1983, 'Meaning and Values in Cross-Cultural Contacts', *Ethnic and Racial Studies: An International Journal of Ethnic, Cultural and Race Relations*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, Vol.6, No.1, pp.33-49.

Smolicz, J.J. 1983, 'Modification and Maintenance of Italian Culture among Italian-Australian Youth', *Studi Emigrazione - Roma* (Etudes Migrations - Rome), Vol.20, No.60, pp.81-104.

Smolicz, J.J. 1983, 'Cultural Alternatives in Plural Societies: Separatism or Multiculturalism?', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, Vol.4, No.3, pp.47-68.

Smolicz, J.J. 1984, 'Multiculturalism and an Overarching Framework of Values: Some Educational Responses for Ethnically Plural Societies, *European Journal of Education*, Vol.19, No.1, pp.11-24.

Smolicz, J.J. 1984, 'Minority Languages and the Core Values of Culture: Changing Policies in Australia', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, Vol.5, No.1, pp.23-41.

Smolicz, J.J. 1985, 'Multiculturalism and an Overarching Framework of Values: Some Educational Responses for Ethnically Plural Societies', in M.P. Poole, P.R. de Lacey, and B.S. Randhawn (eds) *Australia in Transition: Culture and Life Possibilities*, Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, Sydney, pp.76-87.

Smolicz, J.J. 1986, 'National Language Policy in the Philippines', in B. Spolsky (ed), *Language and Education in Multilingual Settings, Multilingual Matters*, Clevedon, Avon England, pp.97-116.

Smolicz, J.J. 1986, 'Education for a Multicultural Society: Research and Policy' in J.P. Keeves (ed), *Australian Education: A Review of Recent Research*, Trend Report in Education of the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney and London, pp.316-345.

Smolicz, J.J. 1986, 'National Policy on Languages: A Community Language Perspective', *The Australian Journal of Education*, Vol.30, No.1, pp.45-65.

Smolicz, J.J. 1988, 'Youth and Society: Australia', in *Youth in Asia: Viewpoints for the Future*, Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC), New Statesman Publishing Co., New Delhi, India, pp.151-198.

Smolicz, J.J. 1988, (a) 'Cultural Diversity' and (b) 'Polish Culture and Language', J. Jupp (ed), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origin*, Angus and Robertson, in conjunction with The Australian Bicentennial Authority, Sydney and London, pp.(a) 868-873 & (b) 745-747.

Smolicz, J.J. 1988, 'Tradition, Core Values and Cultural Change among Greek-Australians' in A. Kapardis and T. Tamis (eds), *Greeks in Australia (Hellenism and Neohellenism: Problems of Identity)*, River Seine Press, Melbourne, pp.147-162.

Smolicz, J.J. 1988, *Ethnicity and Multiculturalism in the Australian Catholic Church*, Occasional Monograph No.8, The Centre for Migration Studies of New York, New York, 36pp.

Smolicz, J.J. 1988, 'Tradition, Core Values and Intercultural Development in Plural Societies', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, London, Vol.11, No.4, pp.387-410.

Smolicz, J.J. 1988, 'Tradition, Core Values and Intercultural Development. A Humanistic Perspective on Cultural Change with Reference to Australia and Ethnically Plural Societies., *Studi Etudes Emigrazione - Roma*, Vol.25, No.90, pp.213-235.

Smolicz, J.J. 1988, 'National Policy on Languages and Ethnic Schools', *Multiculturalism: A Commitment for Australia*, Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia, Canberra, pp.278-289.

Smolicz, J.J. 1988, *National Policy on Languages and Ethnic Schools*, FECCA Congress Report.

Smolicz, J.J. 1989, *Who Is An Australian?*..Identity, Core Values and Resilience of Culture. Inaugural Lecture given at the University of Adelaide November,1988. Published by MECC, Adelaide.

Smolicz, J.J. 1990, 'The Mono-ethnic Tradition and the Education of Minority Youth in Germany from an Australian Multicultural Perspective', *Comparative Education*, London, Vol.26, No.1, pp.27-44.

Smolicz, J.J. 1990, 'Language and Economy in their Cultural Envelope', *VOX: Journal of the Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education* (AACLAME), No.4, pp.65-79.

Smolicz, J.J. 1991, 'Language Core Values in a Multicultural Setting: An Australian Experience', *International Review of Education*, 37 (1), pp.33-52.

Smolicz, J.J. 1992, *Australian Diversity:* Language- A Bridge or a Barrier? Centre for Intercultural Studies and Multicultural Education. University of Adelaide.

Smolicz, J.J. 1995, In Search of a Multicultural Nation. Presentation to the Pre-Conference UNESCO/Australia Forum: Managing Cultural Diversity, Adelaide.

Smolicz, J.J. 1995, Multiculturalism, Religion and Eduction. In 'Education and Society'.(ed) J. Zajda. James Nicholas Publishers, Victoria.

Smolicz, J.J. 1995, Language - a bridge or a barrier? Languages and education in Australia from an intercultural perspective. *Multilingua: Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication.* ed. R. Watts. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, New York.

Smolicz, J.J. 1995, Australia's Languge Policies and Minority Rights: A Core Value Perspective. In 'Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination. eds. T. Skutnabb-Kangas & R. Phillipson with M. Ramut. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, New york.

Smolicz, J.J. & Chiro, G. 1993, Is Italian Language a Core Value of Italian Culture in Australia? A Study of Second Generation Italian-Australians, Studi Emigrazione.

Smolicz, J.J. & Harris, R. McL. 1976, 'Anglo-Australian Views of Ethnics', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, Vol.12, No.2, pp.148-151.

Smolicz, J.J. & Lean, R. 1979, 'Parental Attitudes to Cultural and Linguistic Pluralism in Australia', *Australian Journal of Education*, Vol.23, No.3, pp.227-249.

Smolicz, J.J., Lee, L., Murugaian, M. & Secombe, M. 1990, 'Language as a Core Value of Culture among Tertiary Students of Chinese and Indian Origin in Australia', *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, Vol.1, No.1, pp.229-246.

Smolicz, J.J., Marjoribanks, K. & Secombe, M. 1987, 'Ethnicity, Educational Attainment and Occupational Aspirations: Unemployed Youth Adults' *Education Research and Perspectives*, pp.29-39.

Smolicz, J.J. & Moody, J.M. 1978, 'Independent Schools as Cultural Systems', *Melbourne Studies in Education*, pp.1-66.

Smolicz, J.J. & Nunan, E. 1975, 'Philosophical and Sociological Foundations of Science Education. The De-mythologizing of School Science', in D. Layton (ed), *Studies in Science Education*, Vol.2, Centre for Studies in Science Education, University of Leeds, pp.101-143.

Smolicz, J.J. & Secombe, M.J. 1977, 'Cultural Interaction in a Plural Society', *Ethnic Studies - International Journal*, Vol.1, No.1, pp.1-16.

Smolicz, J.J. & Secombe, M.J. 1977, 'A Study of Attitudes to the Introduction of Ethnic Languages and Cultures in Australian Schools', *The Australian Journal of Education*, Vol.21, No.1, pp.1-24.

Smolicz, J.J. & Secombe, M.J. 1981, The Australian School through Children's Eyes: A Polish View., Melbourne University Press, The Second Century of Australian Education series (ed) R.J.W. Selleck, Melbourne, pp.135.

Smolicz, J.J. & Secombe, M.J. 1981, *The Australian School Through Children's Eyes. A Polish-Australian View*, Melbourne University Press.

Smolicz, J.J. & Secombe, M.J. 1982, 'A Sociological Study of Student Attitudes from their own Memoirs', *The Polish Review, A Quarterly of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America*, New York, Vol.27, Nos.3-4, pp.84-111.

Smolicz, J.J. & Secombe, M.J. 1984, 'Multicultural Television for all Australians', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, No.148, pp.33-48.

Smolicz, J.J. & Secombe, M.J. 1985, 'Community Languages, Core Values and Cultural Maintenance: The Australian experience with special reference to Greek, Latvian and Polish groups', in M. Clyne (ed), *Australia - Meeting Place of Languages*, Pacific Linguistics Series C - No.92, Australian National University, Canberra, pp.11-38.

Smolicz, J.J. & Secombe, M.J. 1986, Italian Language and Culture in South Australia: A Memoir Approach, in C. Bettoni (ed), with an introduction by Tulio de Manro, *Altro Polo: Italian Abroad.* Studies on language contacts in English-speaking countries, Frederick May Foundation for Italian Studies, University of Sydney, pp.27-60.

Smolicz, J.J. & Secombe, M.J. 1989, 'Types of Language Activation and Evaluation in an Ethnically Plural Society', in U. Ammon (ed), *Status and Function of Languages and Language Varieties*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin and New York, pp.478-514.

Smolicz, J.J. & Wiseman, R. 1971, 'European Migrants and their Children: Interaction, Assimilation, Education'. Part I: *Quarterly Review of Australian Education*, Australian Council of Educational Research, Vol.4, No.2, pp.1-43. Part II: Ibid, Vol.4, No.3, pp.1-52.

Southeast Asian Studies Program, 1990, Teaching and Research Exchange Fellowships. Report No. 4 and Report No. 6. Kefford Press, Singapore.

Streib, G.F. 1986, 'Znaniecki's Perspectives on Community Research: Application in the Study of Retirement Communities' in *A Commemorative Book in Honor of Florian Znaniecki on the Centenary of His Birth* (ed) Z. Dulczewski, Poznan.

Szczepanski, J. 1970, *Polish Society*, New York, Random House Press.

Szczepanski, J. 1989, 'Florian Znaniecki's Views of Technological Civilization' in *The Humanistic Sociology of Florian Znaniecki. Polish Period 1920-1939* (eds) B. Czarnocki & A. Kwilecki, trans. B Czarnocki, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warszawa, Poland.

Thomas, W.I. & Znaniecki, F. 1958, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America,* Vols.I and II, Dover Publications Inc., New York, 914.38, T46.

Thompson, P. 1975, *The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society,* Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 309.142, T 475e.

Thompson, P. 1993, Cultural Transmission Between Generations Within Families. A Life Story Approach, VIII International Oral History Conference, Siena-Lucca.

Tonkin, E., McDonald, M. & Chapman, M. 1989, *History and Ethnicity,* ASA Monographs 27, Routledge.

Tosi, A. 1991, Italian Overseas: *The Language of Italian Communities in the English-Speaking World,* Firenze, Giunti Editore.

Unikoski, R. 1978, *Communal Endeavours:* Migrant Organizations in Melbourne, ANU Press, Canberra.

VIII International Oral History Conference, 25-28 February 1993, *Memory and Multiculturalism,* Siena-Lucca.

Wallis, A. 1989, 'Znaniecki's Sociological Foundations of Human Ecology' in *The Humanistic Sociology of Florian Znaniecki. Polish Period 1920-1939* (eds) B. Czarnocki & A. Kwilecki, trans. B. Czarnocki, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warszawa, Poland.

Weber, B. 1982, Selected Values of Traditional Culture in the Light of Two Collections of Memoirs, *Sisyphus Sociological Studies,* Vol.II, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Wielemans, W. 1994, Beyond the Individual. A comparison of emerging images of man in sciences. Paper presented to the 16th CESE Conference on Education in Europe, Denmark.

Wierzbicka, A. 1992, *Semantics, Culture and Cognition, Universal Human Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations,* Oxford University Press.

Wolff, K.H. (ed) 1984, Alfred Schütz: Appraisals and Developments, *Human Studies,* Vol.7, No.2.

Zabukovec, V. 1993, *The Second Landing,* Finsbury Press, Adelaide, SA.

Zajda, J. (ed), 1981, Education and Society in the 1980s: a comparative analysis. Australian Comparative and International Education Society Symposium. James Nicholas Publishers, Melbourne.

Zajda, J. (ed), 1995, *Education and Society.* International Studies In Education, Society and Social Change. James Nicholas Publishers, Melbourne, Victoria.

Zajda, J., Bacchus, K., Kach, N. (eds) 1995, *Excellence and Quality in Education.* James Nicholas Publishers, Melbourne.

Ziolkowski, J. 1982, 'Poznan as Seen by Its Inhabitants', *Sisyphus Sociological Studies,* Vol.II, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Ziolkowski, J. 1986, 'The Nationality Problem in Florian Znaniecki's Works' in *A Commemorative Book in Honor of Florian Znaniecki on the Centenary of His Birth* (ed) Z. Dulczewski, Poznan.

Ziolkowski, J. 1989, 'Znaniecki's Urban Sociology: Comments Mainly on Methodology' in *The Humanistic Sociology of Florian Znaniecki. Polish Period 1920-1939* (eds) B. Czarnocki & A. Kwilecki, translated by Czarnocki, B., Polish Academy of Sciences, Warszawa, Poland.

Ziolkowski, M. 1986, 'The Problem of the Objective Order of the System of Knowledge in the Theories of F. Znaniecki and K. Popper' in *A Commemorative Book in Honor of Florian Znaniecki on the Centenary of His Birth* (ed) Z. Dulczewski, Poznan.

Znaniecki, F. 1922, 'Introduction to Sociology', *Societe Scientifique de Poznan: Travaux de la Commision des Sciences Sociales*, Tome II, pp.451-467.

Znaniecki, F. 1927, 'The Object Matter of Sociology', *The American Journal of Sociology*, January, Vol.XXXII, No.4, pp.529-584.

Znaniecki, F. 1930, 'Education and Self-Education in Modern Societies', *The American Journal of Sociology*, (36), 3. pp.371-386.

Znaniecki, F. 1939, 'Social Groups as Products of Participating Individuals', *The American Journal of Sociology*, May, (44), 6, pp.799-811.

Znaniecki, F. 1951, 'The Function of Sociology of Education', *Educational Theory*, August, Vol.1, No.2, pp.69-78.

Znaniecki, F. 1952, *Modern Nationalities: A Sociological Study*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press.

Znaniecki, F. 1963, *Cultural Sciences. Their Origin and Development*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Znaniecki, F. 1968, *The Method of Sociology*, New York, Octagon Books.

Znaniecki, F. 1969, *On Humanistic Sociology*, (ed) R. Bierstedt, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.

Znaniecki, F. 1982, The Importance of Memoirs for Sociological Studies, *Sisyphus Sociological Studies*, Vol.II, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Znaniecki-Lopata, H. 1989, 'Florian Znaniecki: the Creative Evolution of a Sociologist' in *The Humanistic Sociology of Florian Znaniecki. Polish Period 1920-1939* (eds) B. Czarnocki & A. Kwilecki, trans. B. Czarnocki, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warszawa, Poland.

ERRATA

p.13 "Adult Literacy Process" should be *Adult Literacy Process.*

p.32 "Cultural Reality" should be *Cultural Reality.*

p.55 para. 2 line 1 "Ethnically Plural Societies" should be "ethnically plural societies".

p.78 para. 3 "The Polish Peasant" should be *The Polish Peasant.*

p.82 para. 2 line 2 "The Polish Peasant" should be *The Polish Peasant.*

p.84 para. 2 line 2 "The Polish Peasant" should be *The Polish Peasant.*

p.87 para. 3 line 1 "The Polish Peasant" should be *The Polish Peasant.*

p.389 line 4 "the participant know" should be "the participant knew".