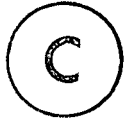


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ADAPTATION TASKS OF ISRAELI IMMIGRANTS TO VANCOUVER

by



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B.A. University of B.C., 1966

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to the required standard

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ABSTRACT

At the macro-level, this study investigated the role of education in the adaptation process of adult immigrants. Migration was defined as a developmental event, adaptation was described as the process by which that event is resolved, and learning and education were differentiated using Alleyne and Verner's typology of sources of information.

At the micro-level, these concepts were applied to the case of Israeli immigrants to Vancouver, B.C. Four general research questions were posed with respect to the kinds of tasks emerging during adaptation to life in a new society, the relationship of a variety of socio-demographic and other factors to the perceived difficulty of tasks and the use of adult education sources of information in resolving tasks of adaptation.

An analytical survey, employing an interview schedule, a magnitude estimation scaling device to measure relative difficulty of tasks and a series of other measures of factors thought to be related to difficulty, was conducted early in 1977 with seventy-two respondents. Analysis included computation of geometric mean difficulty scores, calculation of univariate frequency distribution of socio-demographic variables and of scores of other factors, as well as means and correlation co-efficients. Step-wise regression analysis utilized difficulty scores as dependent variables

and ten socio-demographic measures as independent variables in an attempt to ascertain the predictive ability of the socio-demographic variables with respect to difficulty.

Results of the data analysis identified the most difficult task, finding a satisfying, career-oriented job, indicated that the majority of other tasks of adaptation were being resolved using non-educational sources of information, and that the construct "difficulty" might better be renamed "extent of cultural innovation required" and further investigation of this factor be conducted.

Implications were drawn regarding the use of magnitude estimation to assess educational needs of adult immigrants, and the development of policy and programs which meet the needs and aims of both Canadian society and the immigrant learner.

Dedicated with love and gratitude to

Moshe

Elan and Galit

Leonore, Milton and Debby

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Canada is a country created through the efforts of its immigrants, and this nation is a world leader in developing a model of integration based on multiculturalism rather than assimilation. One of the major corollaries of the move away from the "melting pot" point of view has been the accompanying reduction of a predetermined end, successful assimilation, which implied that the identities of newcomers would eventually fade to be replaced by a new collective identity. Other than meeting established requirements of age, length of residence, adequate knowledge of one of the national languages, knowledge about Canada, and the rights and duties of citizens, Canadian immigrants may become citizens and still retain the right to accept some aspects of the new culture and reject others. In many cases, individuals choose whether or not they will adapt, how they will resolve each task they encounter during adaptation, how successful they want to be, and how successful they have been. As adaptation requires learning, adult education appears to be a suitable and logical choice of activity for immigrants. Those planning educational programs for immigrants must maintain contact with the patterns

and needs of their clientele in order to serve them in a meaningful and efficient manner.

Background

At the present time in Canada, the education of adult immigrants is conducted primarily by those teaching classes of English as a Second Language (ESL). While they have long been aware of the relationship between language and culture, these teachers often receive much of their basic training as linguists. In the last ten years, trends in ESL have suggested a situational approach and functional competency with language instruction centering on the essential language the immigrant needs in order to function in specific situations. As informed intuition appears to have been the chief basis for choosing situations to use in language instruction, a number of problems have arisen.

The first problem occurs in identifying the situations immigrants face when they arrive in a new country and determining which ones rely on language skills for their resolution. This is related to a second problem: at what point after arrival in the new country are the language skills and information required? In Vancouver, King Edward Campus of Vancouver Community College serves the majority of adult immigrants seeking instruction in English. The present curriculum at KEC reflects support of functional competency as a basic approach by teachers and administration. Beginners cover topics such as shopping for food, using Canadian currency, filling out application forms such as

for medical insurance, and using the postal system. Between September and December 1977, KEC reported that thirteen percent of their new enrollees had begun classes after their third month in the country, eleven percent had begun after six months in Canada and forty-seven percent had begun after one year. It is conceivable that, three months after arrival or more, immigrants would have found solutions to the problems posed by having to buy food, using Canadian currency, filling out medical insurance forms or using the post office. Furthermore, it seems possible that these tasks could have been accomplished through an interpreter or by using sign language, without the person actually speaking English.

Thirdly, it is important to inquire whether the classroom is an appropriate place to introduce a wide range of situational topics. For many of the necessities and tasks of daily life, immigrants appear to turn to a variety of sources for information and assistance. Classroom time might best be spent on the most difficult tasks, on situations and problems appropriate to the length of time the immigrant has been in Canada, or on specific tasks for which immigrants are currently using educational institutions as a resource.

Purpose and Scope of the Study

At the present time, there is little agreement as to what constitutes successful integration or adaptation. For Canadians, whether or not an immigrant successfully adapts and the measure-

ment of adaptation seem less useful questions than inquiring into the process of adapting and the kinds of tasks an immigrant encounters in entering a new society. The resolution of tasks requires learning, but little information is available as to how and when this occurs. There is a lack of knowledge as to the nature of tasks of adaptation, what causes their difficulty for immigrants, how soon after arrival tasks are resolved, and what sources of information immigrants use in resolving or learning how to resolve tasks encountered.

This study examined the adaptation process of Israeli immigrants to Vancouver in an attempt to determine a representative list of tasks which immigrants encounter upon arrival in a new country and to derive implications of those tasks for the design of educational programs for immigrant adults. Although intuition has been applied to this problem by instructors and officials who work with newcomers daily, to date no empirical evidence has been gathered to support or deny their intuitions.

This study was not concerned with the degree of adaptation of Israeli immigrants to Canadian life, their motivations for emigration, or prejudice they might have encountered in this society. Rather it addressed four general research questions:

1. What kinds of tasks emerge during adaptation to life in a new society?
2. Which, if any, socio-demographic characteristics affect perception of difficulty of tasks of adaptation?

3. What relationship, if any, does difficulty of tasks of adaptation bear to the following factors: extent of cultural innovation required by tasks, length of task resolution time required, importance of tasks to the immigrant when he first encounters them, and stage of task resolution?
4. How is the use of adult education sources of information for resolving tasks of adaptation related to difficulty of tasks?

The data obtained in seeking answers to those questions provided a basis for a discussion of the program planning process used in ESL classes.

CHAPTER II

BASIC CONCEPTS

After an extensive search it became apparent that the body of adult education literature did little more than introduce immigrant education as one minor aspect of adult education. In the main, the literature consists of inadequate descriptions of isolated programs with little rationale and no follow-up. Few of the authors provided empirical evidence to support their opinions. It was therefore necessary to explore literature in a number of other fields as well, and many of the basic concepts used in this study arose from the field of sociology.

This chapter describes migration to a new country as a developmental event and adaptation as the process by which individuals resolve that event. As immigrants adapt, they encounter a number of tasks of varying difficulty which impel them to learn new information, procedures and customs from personal sources and mass media or from educational sources. At the present time, the major educational offering for immigrants is language instruction. The application of a program-oriented, rather than curriculum-oriented approach to immigrant education by institutions might further assist the immigrant adult's adaptation.

Developmental Events

Bengston (1973) defines developmental events as occurrences experienced by individuals during the course of their lives and which have some systematic influence in the ordering of human behaviour, but the order in which they occur varies from person to person. Also, events experienced by one individual may not even occur for another. Developmental events may be biological, psychological or sociological in nature including growth, decline and change in the human body, development of mental capacities, changes in experience and goals, or entering and leaving social roles and social responsibilities. Developmental events are affected both by developmental time (maturation) and historical time so that while most individuals share some events of development, the era during which they live may affect the occurrence of an event.

The concept of developmental events has much in common with that of developmental tasks which Havighurst (1973) describes as arising from physical maturation, from the pressure of cultural processes upon the individual, from the desires, aspirations and values of the emerging personality and from combinations of these factors acting together. Havighurst points out that the individual must master a series of developmental tasks to be a successful human being. The notion of developmental events incorporates Havighurst's work and expands its focus in the following ways. Firstly, developmental tasks are categorized according to

age which presumes that they occur in a linear order. Developmental events are not age-bound and no order is implied. Secondly, Havighurst's developmental tasks are culture-bound to North American society and presume the norms and values of that society. Developmental events are not culture-bound. Thirdly, Havighurst's term refers to those items that appear in his specific list of tasks whereas the definition of developmental events provides a basis for including any occurrence that meets the criteria. Fourthly, as Bengston (1973) points out, Havighurst's notion of developmental tasks applies at the micro-level of sociological analysis, examining the social environment of a given individual, while the concept of developmental events can apply both at this micro-level and also at the macro-level, analysing "how large aggregates of human beings organize themselves over time in order to maintain the group's survival" (1973, p.14). For the purposes of this study, the concept will be applied at the micro-level to examine the way in which the individual resolves the developmental event created by his migration.

Migration is an occurrence which could be experienced by most individuals at some time during the course of life and which would have some systematic influence in ordering human behaviour. The influence is generally psychological or sociological in nature and is affected both by the historical time during which the individual has migrated as well as the developmental time at which he migrates. Migration may therefore be termed a developmental event.

Adaptation

Adaptation is the process by which the developmental event, migration, is resolved. A number of terms have been used to identify the process of adjustment to a new country and these include naturalization, absorption, assimilation, acculturation and adaptation (Table I). Borrie (1959) stated that these terms are synonymous but Duncan and Lieberman (1959) differentiated between terms on the basis of different observable outcomes. Naturalization was defined as the acquisition of legal citizenship; absorption, as entrance into productive economic activity; assimilation, as integration into the social system more or less on terms of socio-economic equality; and acculturation, as adoption of the local customs and relinquishing of such cultural characteristics as would identify the immigrants as a distinct ethnic group. Duncan and Lieberman's definitions are outcome-oriented but suggest a process in that these phenomena are said to occur in the order given. Gordon's (1964) typology provided an initial perspective on possible components of a process model of adaptation. Two of his conclusions contributed to this study. First, structural assimilation (defined as large scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of a host society on the primary group level) is the most important type of assimilation because, once it occurs, all of the other types will follow. Second, cultural assimilation (defined as change of cultural patterns to those of a host society) may be the first to occur but it can occur alone, without any of the other types following.

TABLE I Terms Used to Describe the Process of Immigrant Adjustment

Terms	Authors				
	Eisenstadt (1954)	Borrie (1959)	Duncan and Lieberman (1959)	Gordon (1964)	Goldlust and Richmond (1974)
Naturalization			the acquisition of legal citizenship		
Absorption	the process of absorbing immigrants and integrating them into the society is the outcome of the interplay between the immigrant's own desires and expectations with regard to the new country and the extent to which these can be realized in terms of the various demands made on the immigrants by the institutional structure of the absorbing society	synonymous with assimilation, acculturation, adaptation	entrance into productive economic activity	Anthropologist's term	
Assimilation		synonymous with absorption, assimilation, adaptation	integration into the social system more or less on terms of socio-economic equality	sociologist's term: 7 types - cultural, marital, structural, identificational, attitude receptional, civic behaviour receptional	
Acculturation		synonymous with absorption, assimilation, adaptation	the adoption of local customs and relinquishing of such cultural characteristics as would identify the immigrants as a distinct ethnic group	cultural assimilation: change of cultural patterns to those of host society	
Adaptation		synonymous with absorption, assimilation, acculturation			the mutual interaction of individuals and collectives and their response to particular physical and social environments

Aside from referring to absorption and integration rather than adaptation, Eisenstadt's (1954) definition has much in common with that of Goldlust and Richmond (1974). Goldlust and Richmond define adaptation as a mutual interaction and Eisenstadt refers to the negotiation between the immigrant's own desires and expectations with regard to the new country and the extent to which these can be realized in view of the various demands made on immigrants by the institutional structure of the absorbing society. Goldlust and Richmond include in their definition that adaptation is a response to particular physical and social environments. While reference to it is not made in their definitions, Eisenstadt, Goldlust and Richmond agree in the body of their writing that lack of adaptation leads to deviance within the new society or re-migration to another one.

For the purposes of this study, the major components of a definition of adaptation are:

1. adaptation is a process, rather than an outcome or a goal;
2. adaptation is a negotiation between the desires and expectations of those immigrating and the extent of cultural pluralism which the institutional structure of the receiving society can allow;
3. adaptation is a mutual interaction in which both the immigrating individuals or groups and the members of the receiving society (individually and collectively) are changed;
4. adaptation is a response to particular physical and social environments by all individuals and collectivities involved in migration even as they are negotiating their mutual interaction;

5. adaptation is dynamic, contributing to and affected by changing conditions over time.

Adaptation, then, is a dynamic process in which individuals and collectivities (including those who have migrated and members of the receiving society) mutually interact, respond to physical and environmental conditions and negotiate a degree of cultural pluralism.

For the purposes of the present study, it is important to consider adaptation at the micro-level from the point of view of the individual immigrant because, in this way, the notion of developmental events may be used to inform adaptation. As adaptation is a complex process, it is comprised of a number and variety of tasks which individuals must resolve. A task of adaptation is defined here as one which arises out of the migration of an individual from one society to another, achievement of which affects success with subsequent tasks. Clearly not every individual will encounter the same tasks, nor will tasks arise for every one at the same time. The present study is not directed toward testing this operational definition by investigating how achievement or failure with tasks affects motivation to adapt or any of the consequences of lack of adaptation. Rather, this study focuses on determining what the tasks might be, asks some specific questions about their nature, investigates how one group of immigrants resolves them, and proposes a role for education in their resolution.

Learning, Adult Education and Adaptation

An individual may "resolve" a task of adaptation by completing it, failing it, ignoring it, or postponing it. The successful resolution of any task requires that learning takes place. The adult's readiness to learn is considered to be a function of critical periods in life which produce teachable moments. Whether or not an adult is able to resolve a teachable moment successfully affects his future motivation to learn (Havighurst, 1973). His ability to learn is affected by his experience as a learner, his previous level of knowledge about the content he is trying to master, and his knowledge of the availability of the information he requires.

Learning is said to occur in two settings, the natural societal setting and the formal instructional setting (Jensen, 1960). In the former, learning is more or less by chance, while in the latter, an instructional agent systematically diffuses information. The instructor employs knowledge of the learning process and of instruction to design and manage a learning experience for the learner.

Information is acquired in the natural societal setting through personal or mass sources (Alleyne and Verner, 1969). Personal sources are those which involve direct face-to-face communication between the communicator and the receiver where the receiver may question the communicator. These information sources lie within the individual's personal orbit and include observations and experiences as well as friends, relatives, and children. Mass sources include information available to everyone at the same time with little provision for two-way communication. With neither

personal nor mass sources is there immediate and continuing supervision by an instructional agent who manages the conditions for learning.

Information in the formal instructional setting is acquired via individual instruction and instructional groups (Alleyne and Verner, 1969). Individual instruction is an educational activity conducted on a one-to-one basis. An instructional group is an educational activity in which information is presented to a number of individuals simultaneously with an opportunity for two-way communication. According to Verner and Alleyne, adult education takes place when learning occurs in this setting through these sources.

An individual may utilize both the natural societal and the formal instructional settings in the resolution of any learning task. He may acquire information in the natural societal setting from personal and mass sources, he may acquire information there which leads him to a formal instructional setting using individual instruction or instructional group sources, or he may go immediately to the formal instructional setting. Any of these routes may lead to the resolution of the task. The choices that the individual makes during the resolution of the task will be affected by all of his characteristics as a unique human, an immigrant, and a learner.

Hallenbeck (1964) stated that whereas the social function of pre-adult education is to provide cultural conditioning, the social function of adult education is to promote adaptation to social change. While this may be true of the general function of

adult education in society, it is less true in the case of immigrant adult education. Here it is necessary to serve a remedial function (Bryson, 1936) for the individual since the immigrant is lacking the cultural conditioning normally provided by pre-school, elementary, and secondary school in the culture to which he has emigrated.

Many adult educators favor a problem-centered approach served by programs rather than the knowledge-centered curricula of pre-adult education (Knowles, 1970). The problem-centered approach allows adult educators to meet immediate and specific educational needs of learners as they arise. Verner (in Jensen, et al, 1964) distinguishes between program and curriculum on the basis of the educational goals. A curriculum is designed to provide learning experiences that deal simultaneously with immediate developmental tasks and anticipated responsibilities while a program is functionally related to an immediate need for specific learning arising out of an adult's changing roles in society.

A program concentrates on a limited number of instructional objectives. Each objective may be seen as compromising a number of learning tasks which may be classified according to the types of learning outcomes they represent (Gagne, 1974). The adult's developmental tasks and events create specific problems and the individual requires information to resolve them. Thus, the learning necessary to acquire this information may be logically structured into a program.

Taft (1975) has taken the view that adaptation is a result of successful learning by the immigrant. As learning is argued to be generally more efficient in the formal instructional setting (Verner, 1964), education appears to be a logical process and programs seem to be a suitable format with which to aid the immigrant learner in accomplishing resocialization.

Immigrant Adult Education

The focus of education for immigrant adults has changed over the last fifty years from citizenship education to English language training. For a long time English language training meant instruction in grammatical structures and memorizing vocabulary. In the last ten years, the situational approach has enjoyed a great deal of popularity as intuition and experience have led many instructors to conclude that situations provide a meaningful context for language learning. Using this approach, situations that immigrants would find themselves in, such as meeting Canadians in social situations or being interviewed for a job, were used as the context for teaching grammatical structures. Jupp and Hodlin (1975) pointed out that using situations is a useful technique, but it is still only a context for a structural approach. These two authors suggest a functional approach based on the underlying purposes of and inferences in our language. This is not to be confused with functional competency which refers to baseline ability to perform in specific situations.

Jupp and Hodlin's notion of language functions appears to be that actual language used in situations of all kinds contains not

only structures and vocabulary, but underlying meanings, purposes and non-verbal implications as well. ESL students must be able to comprehend and use a variety of messages containing specific information, attitudes, emotions, non-verbal cues and cultural habits implicit in speech. To this end, using job-related situations as their context, Jupp and Hodlin suggest that instructors familiarize themselves with the roles and other functions for which language is used in particular work environments. Structures are selected from recorded language data and an instructional outline may be planned based on language functions and structures used for particular functions, rather than on structures alone.

In adult education terms, Jupp and Hodlin appear to be advising the instructor to conduct a needs assessment at the program planning stage (collecting data on what the learners require) and design the course around the learning needs identified. The congruence of this functional approach with principles of program planning, coupled with its growing popularity in the field of ESL, supports the need for further investigation of the learning needs of immigrant adults.

Berwick (1978) reviewed the literature on needs assessment, particularly related to the design of courses in English for specific purposes, and concluded that needs assessment, as a means of obtaining information about learning purposes, is a relatively novel concept in the field of second language instructional planning. He reported methods employed to assess needs (Selman and Blackwell, 1977; Stevick, 1971; Buckingham and Pech, 1976;

Wong, 1977; Richterich, 1973; Munby, 1978; Stevens, 1977; Laylin, 1977) as well as approaches to the development of curricula from learner needs (Gorman, 1978; Merritt, 1978; Mohan, 1979; Munby, 1978; Stern, 1978; Stevick, 1971). One problem common to the literature Berwick reports, however, is the assumption that education must provide language to suit all immigrant needs and that a syllabus or curriculum stipulates target competencies of a particular participant or participant stereo-type (Munby, 1978) without differentiating between the sources of information sought by the immigrant. Investigation of sources used by immigrants to resolve tasks of adaptation may clarify the role of education in the adaptation process and the tasks for which education is required and sought.

As immigrants embark upon the process of adapting to a new society, they encounter many tasks which may be resolved by acquiring information in the natural societal and formal instructional settings. Individuals may experience varying degrees of difficulty with tasks of adaptation and the way in which they resolve or fail to resolve each task may affect their motivation to continue their adaptation process. Adult education may serve a remedial function and aid the immigrant in resocialization through programs. The present format of ESL classes is well suited to deliver instruction, and investigation of sources of information utilized, but application of principles of needs assessment might further assist the immigrant learner. This study proposes that identifying tasks of adaptation can assist in the development of programs offered to adult immigrants.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

An analytical survey was conducted from January to April 1977 with seventy-two Israeli immigrants to Vancouver. Eleven bilingual (Hebrew and English) interviewers questioned participants regarding their socio-demographic characteristics, identification of tasks of adaptation, relative difficulty of tasks, time required to resolve them, relative importance of tasks, stages of task resolution, and sources of information used to resolve them. The procedures used in developing the instruments and collecting and analyzing the data are discussed in this chapter.

Design of Instruments

This section outlines the design of the instruments used in the study. It describes the development of a magnitude estimation scaling device used to measure difficulty of tasks of adaptation including selection of tasks used as items in the instrument as well as reliability testing and establishment of validity for the items. In order to identify factors affecting difficulty, a number of other instruments were used to collect data regarding socio-demographic characteristics of respondents, time of task resolution, relative importance of tasks of adaptation, stages of task resolution and sources of information used in resolving tasks,

and all of these comprised the interview schedule. In addition, a typology employed using a group of independent experts to assess extent of cultural innovation required by tasks of adaptation is outlined. Descriptions of these instruments and procedures employed in applying them follow.

The Selection of Tasks of Adaptation

Thirty-six tasks of adaptation were used in the study. The procedure for identifying these tasks involved four phases. The first was an exploratory phase during which discussions were held with random individuals who had lived in another country for one year or more. Among these were Canadians who had either lived abroad or who had immigrated to Canada. All were fluent in English. In addition, novels depicting the experiences of immigrants and written case histories were explored. A long list of tasks resulted and these were grouped under more generalized task headings (Table II).

During the second phase, a wide range of literature was consulted, primarily in the field of sociology. Nowhere was the problem of adaptation described as tasks to be resolved but often the variables used implied tasks, and results were reported. All of the sources chosen were Canadian, except Borrie (1959) and Taft (1975). Anderson (1918) was one of the first Canadian books to deal with both the subjects of immigration and the education of immigrant adults, and it is the only book whose intent was to influence educational policy. The other sources were chosen to represent different views of adaptation and immigrant groups such as the views of government (Department of Manpower and Immigra-

TABLE II Tasks of Adaptation as Suggested by the Literature

* - Indicates identification of a task by a source

(*) - Indicates that the source assumed or implied the task

Tasks of Adaptation	Anderson (1918)	Borrie (1959)	Dept. of Manpower & Imm. (1974)	Elliott (1971)	Goldlust & Richmond (1974)	Lai (1971)	Taft (197)	Wolfgang (1975)	Personal Case Histories
1. Find a doctor							(*)		*
2. Register for med. insurance									*
3. Adjust to climate									*
4. Accept change in status		*	*	*	(*)	*	*	(*)	
5. Budget for diff. ec. level		(*)	*	(*)	(*)			(*)	
6. Get any job for income		*	*	(*)		*		(*)	
7. Meet countrymen		(*)			(*)	*	(*)	(*)	
8. Enrol children	*			*			(*)	*	
9. Use different measures									*
10. Get a career job		*	*	(*)	(*)			*	
11. Enrol in job retraining			*					(*)	
12. Make first Cdn. friend					(*)	*	(*)		*
13. Find place of worship				*		*			
14. Get used to Cdn. sense of humour							(*)		*
15. Read local newspaper					(*)	*			*
16. Find permanent residence		*	*	(*)				(*)	
17. Subscribe to ethnic press	(*)	*		*	(*)	*	(*)	(*)	
18. Find ethnic school for kids	*			*				(*)	
19. Use Vancouver buses									*
20. Use postal system									*
21. Open a bank account									*
22. Help spouse		(*)	(*)						
23. Gain acceptance of occ. quals.			*	(*)	(*)	*			
24. Find ethnic stores	(*)			*		*	(*)	(*)	
25. Identify alternate products							(*)	(*)	*
26. Speak English to get by	(*)	(*)	*	(*)	(*)			*	*
27. Apply for Cdn. citizenship	*	(*)	*		(*)			*	*
28. Change type of work			*			*		(*)	
29. Register for social insurance									*
30. Get drivers' licence									*
31. Change workday schedule				*					*
32. Speak good English	*	(*)	*	*	(*)	*		*	
33. Use Canadian money									*
34. Register for car insurance									*
35. Find temporary residence			*					(*)	
36. Use community & ed. services	*		*		(*)			(*)	
37. Change style of doing business			*						*

tion, 1974), Canadian sociologists (Elliott, 1971, Goldlust and Richmond, 1974; Lai, 1975) and educators (Wolfgang, 1975). In the case of Wolfgang (1975), those historians, sociologists anthropologists, teachers and policy-makers who contributed to the book were primarily concerned with pre-adult education but many of their remarks about problems of adaptation seemed appropriate for adult education as well. Borrie (1959), a UNESCO publication, was chosen because it represented a world view and Taft (1976) was selected because it presented a recent discussion on the problems of adaptation from the point of view of a psychologist. Once again, the list of tasks generated by the readings were grouped under headings.

During the third phase, advisors in the Department of Adult Education and English Education at the University of British Columbia and the Department of English Language Training at the King Edward Campus of Vancouver Community College suggested two criteria for excluding potential tasks from the list. The first criterion excluded tasks dealing with psychological variables such as prejudice as in the task "dealing with prejudice against my ethnic group." Using the second criterion, very specific tasks such as "buying clothes" or "using the public library" were excluded as discrete task items and the difficulties inherent in them were rephrased into more comprehensive task statements such as "using a different system of weights and measures" and "using community and educational services." In addition, all tasks were restated in behavioural terms using active verbs such as "use", "find", "enrol", rather than verbs which suggested psychological variables such as "adjust to", "deal with", "cope with" and "get used to." Table II

lists tasks of adaptation used in the study and the major sources in which each task was stated or implied.

Phase four included the preparation of sets of thirty-seven cards, one card per task, for use by a variety of individuals in testing the clarity and inclusiveness of the items. Twenty adult education graduate students were asked to imagine themselves as new arrivals in a country whose language they did not know and to sort the cards into five categories of difficulty, using a Q-sort procedure. An additional fifty adult education students were asked to imagine the same conditions and assign a difficulty score of between zero and one hundred to each task. After each application, participants were asked to write on blank cards any additional tasks that did not seem to be represented. During the reliability testing with twenty-four immigrant students at Vancouver Community College, the pilot study with fourteen Israeli subjects, and the actual study, the same additions were requested. Additional tasks suggested were:

1. Bureaucratic problems with federal agencies.
2. Difficulty in making lasting friendships.
3. Separation from family.
4. Get used to hospital system.
5. Learn Canadian laws.
6. Get used to a different crime rate.
7. Learn Canadian history.
8. Learn how government works.
9. Get to know the education system.
10. Find daycare centres.
11. Get used to different food.

As none of these was cited more than once, none were included as discrete tasks. However, some were included in the interview questions regarding satisfaction with life in Canada (2,3) and differences between life in Canada and life in Israel (2,8,11),

and others were believed to be components of tasks already on the list. (1,5,7,8,9,10) One task which was originally included in the list of tasks ("change your style of doing business") was eliminated due to problems translating the word "business" into Hebrew, so the final list contained thirty-six tasks.

Magnitude Estimation of the Difficulty of Tasks of Adaptation

The construct "difficulty" is a global term that refers to the magnitude of the overall problematic condition of resolving tasks of adaptation as perceived by the immigrant. It was used in this study to allow tasks to be measured by a magnitude estimation technique. It is apparent that difficulty may be composed of many factors, some of which were suggested by the literature: socio-demographic variables (Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974; Goldlust and Richmond, 1974; Heiss, 1969), extent of innovation required (Lionberger, 1960) and sources of information available and utilized (Alleyne and Verner, 1969). Others arose in the course of considering the problem: perceived importance of the task, stage of task resolution and time required to resolve each task. Rather than compile a difficulty score from scores on each factor, an overall score of difficulty was sought for each task which was correlated with scores for each factor.

Magnitude estimation is one of several techniques developed by psycho-physicists in order to link the psychological experience of any judgement to the magnitude of physical stimulus producing that experience. Subject's perceptions of the ratios among changes in stimulus intensity (such as pressure and light inten-

sity) were found to be accurate. This led experimenters to believe that magnitude estimation would be a useful instrument for social scientists concerned with attitude measurement. Among others, studies of the seriousness of offences of juvenile delinquents, occupational prestige and life changes have provided evidence to substantiate this belief (Stevens, 1966; Holmes and Rahi, 1967; Masuda and Holmes, 1967).

Magnitude estimation was chosen for this study for two reasons. Firstly, it preserves the actual assigned ratios between items and these ratios are generated from the respondents' perceptions of the data, not from the instrument. Secondly, it allows items to be added by interviewees. This latter property is especially desirable in a study such as this where no list of tasks has ever been ascertained and the tasks of adaptation identified by the author may not be complete.

The following thirty-seven task items were used in developing the magnitude estimation.

1. Find a doctor whom you trust and are satisfied with.
2. Register for medical insurance.
3. Adjust to climate in Vancouver.
4. Accept a change in status in the community (up or down).
5. Budget for life on a different economic level.
6. Get any job for income until you get a satisfactory job.
7. Meet other of your countrymen.
8. Enrol children in school and community activities.
9. Use a different system of sizes, weights and measures.
10. Get a satisfying career-oriented job.
11. Enrol in a job retraining program.
12. Make your first Canadian friend.
13. Find a suitable place of worship.
14. Get used to a different sense of humour in Canada.
15. Read a local English-language newspaper regularly.
16. Find a permanent place to live.
17. Subscribe to an ethnic newspaper.
18. Find a suitable ethnic school for your children.
19. Use the Vancouver bus system.
20. Use the Canadian postal system.

21. Open a bank account.
22. Help your spouse to use community and educational services.
23. Gain acceptance of existing occupational qualifications.
24. Find ethnic stores and restaurants.
25. Identify alternate products for the household.
26. Speak enough English to get by.
27. Apply for Canadian citizenship.
28. Change type of work.
29. Register for a social insurance number.
30. Get a B.C. driver's licence.
31. Change your workday schedule.
32. Speak good English.
33. Use Canadian money.
34. Register for car insurance.
35. Find some temporary place to live when you first arrive.
36. Use available community and educational services.
37. Change your style of doing business.

A few items (meet other of your countrymen, subscribe to an ethnic newspaper, find a suitable ethnic school for your children, find ethnic shops and restaurants) may appear to refer to factors which would impede adaptation, but were included for several reasons. Upon arrival in a new country of residence, immigrants tend to seek out links to provide a sense of continuity and rootedness and accomplishing them may free the newcomers to accomplish other tasks of adaptation. In addition, those ties to the ethnic community provide much of the information needed to accomplish the tasks. Failure to accomplish the linking tasks seems to impede the accomplishment of other tasks of adaptation. Because no empirical evidence was found to contradict or support this view, these tasks were included as items.

Reliability of Magnitude Estimation Items

The thirty-seven items were subjected to tests of reliability with twenty-four immigrants from a variety of countries in two advanced classes in English Language Training at King Edward Campus, Vancouver Community College.

The respondents were asked to examine the items and, when necessary, words were translated or explained. Each item appeared on a separate card and one item, chosen randomly by each subject, was assigned an arbitrary standard difficulty value of 100. Each subject then compared the remaining items against this standard item and assigned values to them. The same procedure was followed on test and retest occasions. While explanations were given and the subjects were judged by their instructors to be competent enough to use the instrument, it is possible a lot of confusion could have arisen as to the meaning of a word or phrase.

Three measures of reliability were used to examine the extent to which each of the thirty-seven items measured the construct "difficulty" and whether any of those items were unreliable measures of the construct. The three procedures used for estimating reliability were mean predictivity, highest simple correlation with any other item, and test-retest. Mean predictivity is the mean correlation of one item with all other items and represents a generalized reliability estimate in that it estimates the degree to which the other thirty-six items predict the one item's difficulty. Highest simple correlation (Highest r) is a lower-bound estimate of the item's own reliability and test-retest reliability examines item stability over time.

Mean predictivity firmly supports the retention of nineteen of the thirty-seven items and, in some cases, augments low test-retest reliability in that a mean predictivity score of between .3 and .5 suggests that the individuals rather than the items have changed over time. A further nine items are firmly supported by

test-retest correlations significant at the .05 level or better and the remaining nine items are supported by acceptable highest correlations with another item. (Table III)

One item "change your style of doing business" was excluded, not because of reliability measures but rather because there appeared to be semantic confusion in the translation of the word "business" due to its wide and varied use in Hebrew, both formally and as slang.

Validity of Magnitude Estimation Items

Four types of validity were examined for the magnitude estimation items; face, predictive, convergent and criterion group validity. Face validity was judged to be present in that items were selected from literature and personal interviews because they appeared to pose difficulty to immigrants.

Predictive validity was illustrated in two ways. In the first place, it is suggested by the correlation between difficulty scores and scores for extent of cultural innovation. ($r=.37$ $p=.02$) It appears logical that degree of difficulty and cultural innovation would be predictive of each other in that a more extensive cultural change would pose a greater degree of difficulty to the immigrant. In the second place, stepwise regression yielded socio-demographic variables accounting for the variance in difficulty expressed by respondents on a task-by-task basis for seventeen of the thirty-six tasks. It appears, therefore, that difficulty and specific socio-demographic variables, depending on the task in question, tended to be predictive of each other.

TABLE III Correlation Co-efficients of Three Tests of
Reliability for Magnitude Estimation Task Items

Item Names	Mean Predictivity	Highest r	Test-Retest r
15. Local Newspaper	.4223 *	-.7829 *	.8890 *
23. Occupational Qualifications	.3786 *	-.6555 *	.7557 *
7. Meet Countrymen	.3307 *	.6711 *	.7264 *
9. Different Measures	.4104 *	-.7231 *	.6704 *
36. Community & Ed. Services	.2247	-.4347 *	.6564 *
27. Canadian Citizenship	.3814 *	.3817 *	.6457 *
10. Career Job	.3740 *	.7003 *	.5916 *
32. Good English	.4079 *	.7035 *	.5874 *
8. Enrol Kids	.4097 *	.6612 *	.5860 *
11. Job Retraining	.4385 *	-.7799 *	.5830 *
33. Canadian Money	.0370	-.5269 *	.5793 *
17. Ethnic Newspaper	.3270	-.6600 *	.5676 *
12. Canadian Friend	.2752	-.5666 *	.5258 *
16. Personal Residence	.3334	.5412 *	.5101 *
20. Postal System	.4085 *	.7334 *	.5008 *
31. Workday Schedule	.3801 *	-.7448 *	.4939 *
26. Getby English	.2871	.5736 *	.4800 *
14. Canadian Sense of Humour	.3344	-.6476 *	.4561 *
13. Place of Worship	.2604	.4769 *	.4460 *
2. Medical Insurance	.3683 *	.6623 *	.4417 *
34. Car Insurance	.4629 *	.8539 *	.4386 *
35. Temporary Residence	.2233	-.4903 *	.4301 *
30. Driver's Licence	.4409 *	.8539 *	.4901 *
22. Help Spouse	.3546 *	-.6333 *	.4072 *
1. Find a Doctor	.4045 *	-.7829 *	.3026
24. Ethnic Shops	.2910	.6711 *	.2677
18. Ethnic School for Kids	.3236	.6612 *	.2489
6. Any Job for Income	.4114 *	-.7050 *	.1859
21. Bank	.2848	.6042 *	.1844
3. Climate	.3739 *	-.6875 *	-.1384
29. Social Insurance	.4838 *	.7930 *	.1329
25. Alternate Products	.3321	-.6557 *	.1249
5. Budget	.2312	-.4950 *	.1051
4. Status	.2666	-.5371 *	.0984
19. Vancouver Bus	.2453	-.4977 *	-.0860
28. Change Work	.3316	-.5628 *	.0501
37. Change Style of Business	.3418	-.6010 *	-.0081

* Correlations significant at the .05 level.

Convergent validity was shown in the agreement between two or more attempts to measure the same trait. On the face of it, this appears to refer only to agreement between separate instruments measuring the same trait. However, by using a common factor approach, the mean predictivity scores, calculated by averaging correlations between each item and the other thirty-seven items, may be used to show convergent validity. In this case, the trait being measured is difficulty and the mean predictivity scores (Table III) are thirty-six separate and independent measures of it. As the criterion for assessment was difficulty and subjects were able to assess each item, the mean predictivity scores indicate varying degrees of each item's ability to measure difficulty. Some of the items such as registering for social insurance ($r=.48$) and getting a driver's licence ($r=.44$) measure that trait better than others such as using Canadian money ($r=.04$) or using community and educational services ($r=.22$). In that each item appears to operationalize difficulty to a greater or lesser degree and all the items received scores, they are all measuring the same trait, difficulty, and may be said to converge on that trait. In this way, convergent validity operates to support the overall validity of the instrument.

Criterion group validity is evidenced by the appearance of differences in scores between groups which are known to be different. The difficulty scores of twenty-eight advanced English Language Training students from a variety of countries were compared to the scores of the seventy-two Israeli respondents and a number of differences appeared in the rank ordering of items. In

that the first group was composed of individuals from many ethnic backgrounds, no cultural interpretation of the differences between the groups could be applied. The expected differences arose from the fact that members of the mixed group were all students who had enrolled in an advanced level English course and those in the Israeli group had not. In that the mixed group were students in an advanced class, one may assume that they were there not to learn enough English to get by, but rather to upgrade their English to a level commensurate with their occupational aspirations. Therefore, it was to be expected that employment-oriented tasks would, in general, be among those perceived as most difficult by the mixed group and this occurred. It was also to be expected that finding a career-oriented job would be one of the most difficult tasks for a group of Israelis representing a spectrum of socio-demographic characteristics. In addition, as they represented a variety of fluency levels in English compared with the advanced ELT group, speaking good English would also be perceived as a difficult task and this occurred. Some of the other tasks perceived as most difficult by the Israeli group were also to be expected. Israelis experience an extreme difference in climate in coming to Canada, often comment on the problems of understanding the Canadian sense of humour, and, while accustomed to metric measures, arrived before metric conversion in Canada. The mixed group experienced much greater difficulty with using Canadian money than the Israeli group and the Israelis indicated greater difficulty with budgeting for life on a different economic level. It is possible that the first group understood the task, "use

Canadian money", in its wider sense of financial matters in general in which case both groups placed financial concerns among their most difficult tasks, and this was to be expected (Table IV). These two groups, then, were known to be different and their scores using the magnitude estimation instrument reflected anticipated differences so that criterion group validity was demonstrated.

Factors Affecting Difficulty

Six types of factors were expected to influence difficulty scores, and the development of instruments to collect data pertaining to each type is described below.

Socio-Demographic Variables

A large number of socio-demographic variables were examined in this study but the three which were considered with greatest attention were level of education, number of countries lived in for six months or more, and size of primary group on arrival.

The first, level of education, was referred to by Taft (1975) and Goldlust and Richmond (1974) stated that their results indicated education was the most important single determinant of acculturation. In addition, they claimed that the better educated the immigrants, the less likely they were to be involved with close kin, the more satisfied they were with life in Canada, and the stronger was their commitment to permanent residence and citizenship.

TABLE IV Geometric Mean Difficulty Scores on Tasks of
Adaptation for an Israeli and a Mixed Group

Task Items	Difficulty Scores (geometric means)	
	Israelis	Mixed Group
10. Career Job	210.3	237.2
32. Good English	149.7	117.0
9. Different Measures	135.5	58.2
15. Local News	134.2	129.6
14. Canadian Sense of Humour	131.9	100.1
16. Permanent Residence	129.2	85.4
5. Budget	122.7	89.8
23. Occupational Qualifications	119.9	81.6
3. Climate	114.0	92.5
4. Status	103.5	117.8
6. Get Any Job for Income	89.3	146.3
11. Job Retraining	79.0	198.4
25. Alternate Products	78.7	33.6
36. Community & Educational Services	71.6	72.2
27. Canadian Citizenship	69.3	209.6
30. Driver's Licence	67.6	40.6
19. Vancouver Bus	66.8	61.4
28. Change Work	66.4	129.9
12. Canadian Friend	65.9	67.6
31. Workday Schedule	64.6	71.6
24. Ethnic Shops	64.6	241.4
2. Medical Insurance	48.6	32.0
22. Help Spouse	46.2	33.7
1. Find a Doctor	45.4	61.4
35. Temporary Residence	41.3	60.4
26. Getby English	40.2	108.5
8. Enrol Kids	38.1	56.5
7. Meet Countrymen	35.5	42.5
34. Car Insurance	32.8	22.1
21. Bank	32.6	47.4
13. Place of Worship	32.6	175.6
20. Postal System	31.1	52.3
29. Social Insurance	29.8	196.8
18. Ethnic School for Kids	27.3	43.8
33. Canadian Money	24.4	227.5
17. Ethnic News	23.9	158.2

The second socio-demographic variable was suggested by Heiss' (1969) hypothesis that the association between pre-migration traits and assimilation was due to the association between pre-migration traits and the ability to learn a new culture (p. 427). Taft (1975) appeared to concur that culture learning is an important variable in investigating adaptation as did Eisenstadt (1954) who referred to adaptation as resocialization. The number of countries individuals had lived in for six months or more was the variable chosen to inquire into culture-learning experience in this study as it was taken to indicate the frequency with which resocialization had occurred.

The third socio-demographic variable, size of primary group on arrival, was chosen to examine the extent of personal sources of information available to immigrants upon arrival in Vancouver and their dependence on ethnic group and societal institutions at that time. The more complete the institutional networks of their own ethnic group, the less likely they are to turn to institutions and sources of other ethnic groups or the host society in seeking the resolution of tasks (Breton, 1968).

The questionnaire portion of the interview was designed to collect other socio-demographic characteristics of the subjects as well as the three noted above. Questions were asked regarding sex, age, marital status, place of birth, occupation, first language, spouse's birth place and first language, citizenship status, English fluency, number of languages spoken, number of previous occupations, education, length of residence in Vancouver, frequency of use of ethnic community facilities, number of adult relatives and friends on arrival, and satisfaction with life in

Canada (See Appendix I). Those data permitted a more complete description of the sample and the testing of additional variables to determine factors influencing difficulty.

Interviewers were instructed to allow the interviewees to see the questionnaires, but to ask the questions orally and write in the responses rather than allowing interviewees to fill them out. They were encouraged to press for detailed specific information, especially with regard to employment and education.

Extent of Cultural Innovation

The importance of the extent of cultural innovation required by each task was suggested by Lionberger's four types of innovation (1960). His typology indicated that innovations have different degrees of complexity and it has been used by rural sociologists to examine why some innovations are adopted with more or less difficulty than others. Parallels may be drawn between the adoption of a new farming practice, which requires learning and accomplishment of the new practice on the part of the adopter, and the resolution of the task of adaptation. Because of this similarity, a typology based on extent of cultural innovation required by a task was employed, and four types of tasks were described in the following manner.

Type 1 This task represents a change in materials and equipment only, without a change in techniques or operations. An example of this would be a change from an aluminum frying pan to a cast-iron one for cooking.

- Type 2 This task represents a change in existing operations with or without a change in materials or equipment. An example of this would be a change from Canadian to Chinese style cooking procedures with or without a change from a frying pan to a wok.
- Type 3 This task represents a change involving new techniques or operations, for example, a factory worker changing his job on the assembly line. This type of change involved no threat to the individual's socio-economic status and no conflict with his cultural values.
- Type 4 This task represents a change in the total experience. An example of this would be the case of a Moslem, Jew or Christian being required to work on his holy day (Friday, Saturday, Sunday). This type of change could involve a threat to the individual's socio-economic status or a conflict with his cultural values.

This typology was used to tabulate extent of innovation scores for the thirty-six tasks of adaptation used in the study. A mixed group of experts was asked to assign a number from 1 to 4 (corresponding to the typology) to each of the tasks. Some of the experts were contacted by mail, including adult education doctoral students who cited Lionberger in their thesis bibliographies, administrators of English Language Training programs, and professors of English as a Second Language. Others were fifty advanced ELT students from a variety of countries contacted personally at King Edward Campus, Vancouver Community College. Teachers assisted them with translation and procedural problems in assign-

ing scores to the tasks. Mean scores were tabulated for each task and those scores were used as an independent measure of extent of cultural innovation required by tasks of adaptation used in the study.

Time of Task Resolution

In some cases, the amount of time required to resolve a task of adaptation could conceivably account for its perceived difficulty. Tasks which were resolved a long time after arrival could have been perceived as more difficult simply because a long period of time had elapsed and tasks that were resolved soon after arrival could have been perceived as less difficult simply because they were resolved in less time. Two points in time, corresponding to first awareness of the task and task resolution, were considered in the study and their relationship to difficulty was examined.

On the back of each task item card, the following time line appeared. It represented time before and since the immigrant's

BEFORE ARRIVAL	WK 1	MO 1	MO 3	MO 6	YR 1	YR 2	YR 3	YR 4	YR 5	MORE THAN 5 YRS
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arrival in Vancouver and served as a vehicle for displaying the answers to the two questions:

- 1) At what point in time did you first think of having to do this task?
- 2) At what point in time did you resolve this task?

If the task had not yet been resolved, interviewees were asked when they expected to resolve it. Interviewers recorded responses

to the questions by marking two dots precisely on the time line and the numbers 1 and 2.

Perceived Importance of Tasks

Although no literature mentions this, it is conceivable that a task of adaptation may or may not be difficult simply because of its importance to the individual. For example, unmarried immigrants may attach no importance to finding a suitable ethnic school for children, simply because it is not relevant. Such a perception would affect the difficulty scores they assign to that item.

Each of the thirty-six task items appears on a separate card. After completing the magnitude estimation, subjects were asked to arrange all thirty-six cards according to the order of their importance the first time they were faced with the tasks. Interviewers recorded the order using number one for the most important item and thirty-six for the least important one.

Stage of Task Resolution

Whether or not a task of adaptation has been attempted or resolved by an immigrant might affect the difficulty score the item receives. For instance, if a task had not yet been attempted or is not applicable, the individuals could have a much different perception of its difficulty than if they had resolved it or tried to and failed. In addition, some tasks could, by their nature, be more or less resolvable than others which might affect their difficulty scores.

Subjects were asked to sort all thirty-six task items into five piles according to the following classification.

1. Not applicable to me.
2. I haven't tried this yet.
3. I tried this but couldn't resolve it.
4. I'm doing this now.
5. I've resolved this.

Interviewers marked each pile with a different color to facilitate coding.

Sources of Information

An individual may utilize a great variety of sources in his search for the particular information he requires. Some of those sources are within his personal or community network and others are more distant from his personal sphere. The following system modified from Alleyne and Verner (1969) was employed to classify the sources of information used by immigrants in resolving the tasks of adaptation.

1. Personal sources are those which involve face-to-face communication between the communicator and the receiver where the receiver may question the communicator. These sources generally lie within the individual's personal orbit; that is, his own observations and experiences or contact with a friend, relative, or acquaintance.
2. Mass sources are those through which information is available to any and every one at the same time with no provision for two-way communication.
3. Individual instruction is an educational activity conducted on a one-to-one basis.
4. Instructional group is an educational activity in which infor-

mation is presented to a number of individuals simultaneously with an opportunity for two-way communication.

The first two refer to sources of information available in the natural societal setting while the last two are in the formal instructional setting.

Using this classification system and Alleyne and Verner's (1969) list of sources as a guideline, the following list of information sources was developed for interviewees to use as a reference when answering the question: What sources of information did you use to help you resolve this task? The actual reference list that was given to interviewees did not indicate categories of sources.

Personal Sources

Friend	Relative	Neighbour
Spouse	Child	Fellow Employee

Mass Sources

Radio	Newspaper (eg. Sun, Jewish Western Bulletin)
Television	Brochures (eg. from Manpower)
Government Pamphlets	Books (including dictionary)

Individual Instruction

Doctor	Teacher or principal at child's school
College Counsellor	Immigrant Reception Centre Counsellor
Employer	Jewish Information Centre
Manpower Counsellor	Jewish Family Service Agency Counsellor

Immigration Counsellor

Other (eg. Shopkeeper, B.C. Hydro
Bus Information, MSA, Bank Manager,
Insurance Agent)

Instructional Group

Community College

Night School at a high school

University

Meeting of a Jewish organization
(eg. Hadassah, ORT, Synagogue, Men's
Club)

Interviewers were asked to encourage the interviewees to describe how each task was resolved and each information source was recorded as it was mentioned.

Population and Sample Design

Identifying the population and selecting a random sample for the study were complicated by two factors. The first was the safety of the population. Both Employment and Immigration Canada and the Israeli community are reluctant to provide information about Israeli citizens. Employment and Immigration Canada do not generally allow investigation of their records, particularly in the case of Israelis who are under high security because of the numerous letter bombs sent to Israelis living abroad. The only list of countrymen ever compiled by the Israeli community was completed in 1973 at the outbreak of the October War. As it contained information regarding military duties, the list was destroyed when it was no longer needed and more permanent arrangements for locating servicemen were made subsequently through the Israeli embassy in Toronto. Consequently, the Israeli community has no official list of its membership and would prefer that no such list be compiled.

The second factor influencing the sampling procedures is a prevailing negative attitude among both Jews and Israelis toward emigration from Israel. Two indications of this are the lack of studies of Israeli immigrants (see Appendix II) and the repeated statements, even by Israelis who hold Canadian citizenship and have lived in Vancouver for twenty-five years, that they are returning to Israel at the earliest possible moment. It is the author's experience that Israelis tend to protect each other from any inquiries about themselves, their reasons for emigrating, or suggestions that they are intending to remain permanently in any country other than Israel.

Why then was this population chosen for study? The strongest reason is that the most reliable information is gathered when the interviewee has the option of responding in his native tongue. The author and the interviewers were fluent in both Hebrew and English and the conceptualization and design of the study, as well as the analysis of the data, benefitted from the author's familiarity with the native culture. In addition, the interviewers already enjoyed a degree of acceptance by the population which may have contributed to eliminating suspicion regarding the study and to increasing the reliability of the data (Greenberg, 1971).

Because of the various positive and negative factors affecting the identification of the population, personal contacts seemed to be the only way to compile a list from which to choose a sample. A variety of schools, institutions, organizations and individuals were approached and asked for lists of names, addresses and phone numbers of people known to be of Israeli ori-

gin. Key contact people in the Israeli community were identified and asked to add to the list. One hundred and forty-five Israeli immigrants were identified, but there was no indication of what percentage of the entire population this represented. Therefore, it appeared necessary to approach the entire "snowball" sample (Greenberg, 1971) for the study. No additional names were collected once the interviewing had begun.

Fourteen subjects, chosen randomly, were interviewed during the pilot study and the remaining subjects were approached during the data collection. Seventy-two individuals agreed to be interviewed for the study.

The Pilot Study

The purpose of the pilot study was to test the instruments and the methods by which they would be administered for the data collection. It was conducted in August, 1976 by four bilingual (Hebrew and English) interviewers, including the author. Thirty individuals were selected randomly from a list of 145 and fourteen of them consented to be interviewed.

Interviewer objectivity was tested by comparing the results of interviews conducted by each interviewer with the same Israeli subject. The only differences which appeared were on the interviews conducted by the author and, on the basis of time constraints and her lesser degree of fluency in Hebrew, it was decided that the author should not conduct any of the interviews during the data collection.

A number of modifications were made to the instruments and method of administration as a result of the pilot study. First, modifications were made to the questionnaire: explanations were added to scale items which previously had only numbers, and questions were added to clarify the nature of the primary group of the interviewee upon arrival in Vancouver. Second, one task of adaptation (change your style of doing business) was eliminated due to the problem of translating the word, business, into Hebrew. Third, with regard to the time line and sources of information questions, ten task items were chosen on a rotational basis to be administered to each subject for this portion of the interview instead of questioning each subject for all thirty-six task items. This reduced the interview time from two and a half to one and a half hours. Fourth, modifications and clarifications were made to the method of administering the interview as shown in Appendix III.

Data Collection

The interviews were conducted by ten interviewers who were fluent in both Hebrew and English. Eight were of Israeli origin and two were Canadian-born.

Interviewers were trained in four two-hour meetings in January, 1977. During the first and second meetings, the instruments and method of administration were tried and discussed. During the third meeting, interviewers interviewed each other and discussed problems that arose. The fourth meeting consisted of role playing initial telephone calls to subjects, requesting an interview. Interviewers then made arrangements to meet on a

one-to-one basis in their homes to conduct the interviews with each other. Finally, interviewers were tested for objectivity in a mock interview situation. An actor-respondent with a standard script was interviewed separately by each of the interviewers. Their interview results were compared and no notable differences appeared.

Analysis of the Data

The statistics reported included univariate frequency distributions, means, bivariate frequency distributions, and correlation coefficients. As the data included nominal, ordinal and interval variables, the correlation coefficient in any particular case was obtained with the appropriate method for the type of data: 1) for interval-interval variables, Pearson's product moment coefficient, r ; 2) for interval-nominal variables, correlation ratio R ; 3) for interval-ordinal variables, Jaspens's coefficient of multiserial correlation, M ; 4) for nominal-nominal variables, Guttman's symmetric coefficient of predictability, ; 5) for nominal-ordinal variables, Freeman's coefficient of determination ; 6) and for ordinal-ordinal variables, Goodman's and Kruskal's coefficient of rank association, G . (CORN Manual, UBC Computing Centre)

Task difficulty scores were derived from computing geometric means, and regression analyses utilized difficulty scores as the dependent variables and ten socio-demographic measures as the independent variables.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This chapter discusses the characteristics of the sample, reports difficulty of tasks, and explores relationships between socio-demographic characteristics and difficulty. In addition, data are analyzed with a view to examining relationships between difficulty and each of the following factors: extent of cultural innovation required, length of resolution time required, importance to the immigrant when the task is first encountered, and stage of task resolution. Finally, the relationship between use of adult education sources of information and difficulty is examined.

Characteristics of the Respondents

More women than men were represented among the seventy-two persons interviewed during the study. Ages ranged from twenty-three to fifty-nine and more than two-thirds of those interviewed were married upon arrival in Canada. Since arrival, eleven of the twenty-one single respondents had married and five of the married respondents had divorced. About the same percentage of men were married on arrival (25%) as were single (19.4%) while approximately four times as many women were married on arrival (44.4%) as were single (9.7%). Considering that married people

in general reported less English spoken at home than single ones, that married women reported low levels of English comprehension and fluency on arrival, that married women were the only individuals reporting no job experience and that they also reported more adult relatives on arrival in Vancouver than any of the other respondents, it may be surmised that married Israeli women experience a somewhat insulated community life, having little contact with Canadian society. However, many of their relatives and community contacts are Canadian Jews, rather than Israelis, so their lives may actually be less insulated than those of women of other ethnic groups.

The majority of respondents (57%) were born in Israel. As Israel is a relatively new state with one of the highest percentages of immigration in the world, it is to be expected that many Israelis were actually born in other places. Twenty percent of the respondents were born in Eastern Europe or Russia and the remaining 23% were born in a variety of other countries: North Africa, Western Europe, Asia, and North and South America. Sixty-seven percent stated that their first language was Hebrew, three respondents (4.2%) gave English as their first language, and twenty-one (29.2%) replied that their first language had been one other than Hebrew or English. Almost one-quarter of the respondents stated that their spouse's first language was English. These respondents may have been assisted greatly in their adaptation by their spouses' ability to communicate and comprehend systems and inferences here in Canada.

The majority of interviewees had completed high school (80.3%). In addition, more than fifty percent had completed one to four years of university and twenty percent had engaged in more than five years of university training. Twenty-three individuals of the seventy-two respondents (31.9%) reported vocational or technical training. These figures compare favourably with those reported by the Department of Manpower and Immigration (1974). In that study which excluded married women, 339 individuals (16.6%) in a multi-ethnic sample registered twelve to thirteen years of schooling and 213 individuals (10.5%) reported sixteen or seventeen years of schooling. Respondents' education level also compares favourably with the study of ethnic populations in Toronto by Goldlust and Richmond (1974) which reported nineteen percent of their sample completing twelve or thirteen years of education and eighteen percent completing sixteen years. In view of these results, Israeli immigrants in this study were a comparatively well-educated group.

While all of the single women had completed high school, only fifty percent of the single men had done so. In addition, single men had the highest percentage of vocational and technical training (57.1%) and the lowest percentage of one to four years of university (42.9%). Married men, however, indicated the highest percentage of one to four years university (66.7%) and, of these, fifty percent had completed five or more years of university. No single females had completed five or more years of university.

Single men who ranged between twenty-five and thirty-three years of age reported two to five occupations during their working lives. Others in the sample indicated greater occupational stability, reporting one to three occupations. Among the married women were the only individuals reporting no job experience, but "housewife" was not recorded as an occupation.

Most respondents (86.9%) spoke only English at work but just eleven (15.5%) spoke only English at home. Thirty-two respondents (45%) spoke a mixture of English and Hebrew in their homes and about forty percent spoke mainly Hebrew at home. The largest number of married individuals (73.5%) reported speaking English at home half the time or less and the largest number of single people (68.4%) reported speaking it there most or all of the time. Of the sample, thirty-seven individuals (51.3%) reported that they could speak little English or none on arrival. Thirty-four individuals (47.1%) reported that they could understand everything and speak with varying degrees of fluency. Comparison of fluency levels with the 1974 study by the Department of Manpower and Immigration is limited because their figures represented only men and single women in the labour force. That study reported sixty-nine percent of the men and eighty-two percent of the women indicating good or perfect knowledge of English after six months in Canada. Of the thirty-four Israelis in this study reporting some level of fluency on arrival, twenty-seven

(79%) were married. Thirty-two percent of the single men and forty-six percent of the married women reported low levels of comprehension and fluency on arrival.

While individuals who had been in Vancouver up to fifteen years were approached for the study, the majority of respondents had lived here for ten years or less. All the individuals in the sample had lived in at least two countries, Canada and Israel, for six months or more and no one reported more than four countries of residence.

Fifty-seven persons (80.3%) stated that they attended one of the local synagogues about once a year, six (8.4%) attended regularly on a weekly or monthly basis and eight never attended. About half of the participants in the study (49.3%) never read the local weekly ethnic newspaper, The Jewish Western Bulletin. Of those who did, sixteen (22.5%) read it on a weekly basis. Fifty-seven (89.2%) persons attended the Jewish Community Centre, few with regularity.

Fifty respondents (70.4%) replied that their degree of satisfaction with life in Canada met their previous expectations or was better than they had expected. Single women were less satisfied, on the whole, than they had expected to be. Married men responded favourably but without high degrees of satisfaction while married women and single women expressed a wide range of feelings about satisfaction with their lives.

TABLE V Summary of Socio-Demographic Characteristics of
Seventy-Two Respondents

Characteristics	Number	%
Sex: Male	32	44.4
Female	40	55.6
Marital Status on Arrival: Married	50	69.4
Single	21	29.2
Place of Birth: Israel	41	56.9
Eastern Europe/Russia	15	20.8
Western Europe	5	6.8
North Africa	4	5.5
Asia/Iraq	4	5.5
North America	2	2.7
South America	1	1.3
First Language: Hebrew	48	67.0
English	3	4.2
Other	21	29.2
Spouse's First Language English	17	23.6
Education: (respondents marked all applicable categories)		
High School Completion	57	80.3
Vocational/Technical Training	23	31.9
1-4 Years University	39	54.2
5 or more Years University	15	20.8
Language Spoken: Only English at Work	63	86.9
Only English at Home	11	15.5
Hebrew and English at Home	32	45.0
Only Hebrew at Home	27	40.0
Synagogue Attendance: Yearly	57	80.3
Monthly/Weekly	6	8.4
Never	8	11.3
Read Weekly Ethnic Newspaper: Weekly	16	22.5
Never	36	49.3

TABLE VI Difficulty Scores of Thirty-Six Task Items

Task Items	Difficulty Scores (Geometric Means)
10. Career Job	210.3
32. Good English	149.7
9. Different Measures	135.5
15. Read Local News	134.2
14. Canadian Sense of Humour	131.9
16. Permanent Residence	129.2
5. Budget	122.7
23. Occupational Qualifications	119.9
3. Climate	114.0
4. Status	103.5
6. Get Any Job for Income	89.3
11. Job Retraining	79.0
25. Alternate Household Products	78.7
36. Community and Educational Services	71.6
27. Canadian Citizenship	69.3
30. Driver's Licence	67.6
19. Vancouver Bus System	66.8
28. Change Type of Work	66.4
12. Canadian Friend	65.9
31. Change Work Schedule	64.6
24. Find Ethnic Shops	64.6
2. Medical Insurance	48.6
22. Help Spouse	46.2
1. Find a Doctor	45.4
35. Temporary Residence	41.3
26. Getby English	40.2
8. Enrol Kids	38.1
7. Meet Countrymen	35.5
34. Car Insurance	32.8
21. Bank	32.6
13. Worship	32.6
20. Postal System	31.1
29. Social Insurance	29.8
18. Ethnic School	27.3
33. Canadian Money	24.4
17. Ethnic News	23.9

Difficulty of Tasks of Adaptation

Magnitude estimation scaling of thirty-six tasks by seventy-two respondents resulted in each task being assigned a value that corresponded to the geometric mean of all scores for that item. Geometric means were employed according to Stevens' (1966) suggestion.

The most difficult task identified by respondents was getting a satisfying, career-oriented job. This item's difficulty score was 210.3, approximately ten times more difficult than the easiest task item, subscribing to an ethnic newspaper. Finding a career-oriented job was also substantially more difficult than the second most difficult task, speaking good English, which received a score of 149.7. The score for this second most difficult task, using a different system of sizes, weights, and measures, and the remaining seven of the ten most difficult tasks were within a range of thirty points (Table VI).

That these ten tasks pose the most difficulty for immigrants is supported by the data from the Canada Manpower and Immigration report on a three-year survey of economic and social adaptation of 2,037 immigrants to Canada from a variety of countries (Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974).

That study reported 1) that the availability of jobs, type of work and earnings were a major pre-occupation of immigrants; 2) that after three years in this country almost one-third of the sample had not achieved their occupational goals; 3) that

twenty percent of the individuals in the sample said they were prevented from entering their intended occupational field because professional and trade associations or Canadian employers did not recognize or accept their qualifications; 4) that language was a barrier to intended occupation for sixteen percent; 5) that economic level had increased rapidly while, at the same time, a substantial percentage of the sample had remained below poverty level; and 6) that thirty-one percent of the sample believed that their social position had improved while twenty percent felt that it was lower than in their former country. These points, taken from among the results of that study, support the choice by respondents of tasks relating to occupation, language, status and budget as being the most difficult ones. It was of interest that using a different system of sizes, weights and measures and adjusting to the climate in Vancouver were also perceived by Israelis as being among the most difficult tasks.

The Relationship Between Socio-Demographic Characteristics and Difficulty

The research question addressed here is to what extent socio-demographic variables may be predictors of the difficulty individuals experience in resolving tasks of adaptation. Stepwise regression analysis was conducted utilizing ten ordinal variables: years of education, number of countries lived in for six months or more, number of adult relatives on arrival, number of Israeli friends on arrival, number of Canadian friends on arrival,

val, age, occupational level, number of languages spoken and present level of English. Of these, the relationships of the first five to difficulty were of particular interest for reasons outlined previously (Chapter II). In cases where the regression coefficients yielded limited or no significant results, correlation coefficients were also examined and both are reported here for each variable. The analysis yielded no significant variables for a total of nineteen of the thirty-six tasks (Table VII).

Years of education appeared to have predictability for five tasks: speaking good English, using a different system of weights and measures, reading a local English-language newspaper, applying for Canadian citizenship and using Canadian money. The first three were among the most difficult tasks and two of them related to using English. In each case, the task was perceived to be easier as years of education increased and, in the case of applying for Canadian citizenship, the task was further simplified as the number of languages respondents spoke increased (Table VIII). More education would appear to ease the most difficult tasks, especially those related to learning English.

Correlations indicated a significant positive relationship between years of education and the difficulty of tasks associated with family life, ethnic group associations, budgeting and adjusting to climate. This finding with regard to family life and ethnic group associations would appear to be substantiated by Goldlust and Richmond's finding (1974) that the better educated the immigrants, the less likely they were to be involved with

TABLE VII

Summary of Regression Analyses of Ten Socio-Demographic Variables and their Relation to Difficulty Scores

Tasks	Variables in Regression Equation	Normalized Regression Coefficient	Signif. Level	Percentage of Variance (r^2)
Career	none			
Good English	Yrs. of Ed.	-.40	.00	.16
Different Measures	Yrs. of Ed.	-.24	.04	.06
Local News	Yrs. of Ed.	-.35	.00	.12
Humour	none			
Permanent Residence	none			
Budget	Age	.31	.00	.10
Occupational Quals.	none			
Climate	Age	.28	.01	.22
	# of countries	-.38	.00	
Status	# Adult Rels.	-.34	.00	.11
Find Any Job	none			
Job Retraining	# of Languages	-.26	.02	.07
Alternate Products	none			
Community & Ed. Serv.	Occ. level	-.37	.00	.22
	# of countries	-.30	.01	
Canadian Citizenship	# of Languages	-.26	.02	.13
	Yrs. of Ed.	-.26	.02	
Driver's Licence	none			
Vancouver Buses	none			
Change Work	none			
Canadian Friend	none			
Work Schedule	none			
Ethnic Shops	Occ. level	-.31	.00	.19
	# Adult Rels.	-.32	.00	
Medical Insurance	none			
Help Spouse	# Adult Rels.	-.35	.00	.13
Doctor	# of Occs.	.28	.01	.08
Temporary Residence	none			
Getby English	none			
Enrol Kids	# Israeli Friends	.24	.04	.06
Meet Countrymen	none			
Car Insurance	# Adult Rels.	-.27	.02	.07
Bank	none			
Worship	none			
Postal	Age	.27	.02	.07
Social Insurance	none			
Ethnic School	none			
Canadian Money	Yrs. of Ed.	-.27	.02	.08
Ethnic News	# of Languages	-.32	.00	.18
	# Adult Rels.	-.29	.01	

close kin. As years of education increased, so did respondents' perception of the difficulty of helping their spouse, enrolling children in public and ethnic schools, subscribing to an ethnic newspaper, finding ethnic shops and restaurants, budgeting for life on a different economic level and adjusting to the climate in Vancouver. It is interesting to note that with tasks related to ethnic group associations, perception of difficulty was reduced as number of Israeli friends on arrival increased (Table VIII). Regardless of educational level, newcomers appear to have been assisted by the presence of Israeli friends who presumably had resolved some of the initial tasks of adaptation.

Number of countries lived in for six months or more showed predictability for adjusting to climate and using community and educational services. Those who had lived in more countries expressed less difficulty in adjusting to the climate. However, as respondents' ages increased, this task seemed to become more difficult. Respondents with higher occupational levels expressed less difficulty than others in using available community and educational services and the difficulty of this task was further reduced for those who had lived in a greater number of countries (Table VII). Correlation coefficients further indicated that those with experience of living in different countries perceived less difficulty with two tasks which are required immediately upon arrival in a new country: speaking enough English to get by and finding a temporary residence (Table VIII).

TABLE VIII Correlation Co-efficients of Difficulty Scores of Thirty-Six Tasks of Adaptation and Particular Socio-Demographic Variables

** Values significant at the .05 level
* Values significant at the .01 level

Tasks (in order of difficulty)	Years of Education	# Countries for 6 months +	# Adult Relatives	# Israeli Friends	# Canadian Friends	Occupational Level	# Languages	English at Present
1. Career	-.0552	.0569	.0779	.0909	.0608	.2609**	-.0913	.3150
2. Good English	-.0842	-.2010	-.0645	-.0810	-.0188	-.1919	.0259	.4791*
3. Different Measures	.1751	-.2056	-.1151	.0438	.1430	-.1764	.1036	.3522
4. Local News	.0681	-.1870	.0917	-.0562	-.0641	-.0348	-.0255	.3411
5. Humour	-.0652	-.1410	-.0097	-.0210	-.0364	-.0843	-.0046	.2571
6. Permanent Residence	.1524	-.1198	.0490	-.0000	.0204	.0301	-.1604	.1554
7. Budget	.2263*	-.1442	-.1003	-.0078	.1333	-.0737	-.0446	.1530
8. Occupational Qualifications	.0706	.0989	.0203	-.2047	-.1738	.0865	-.0735	.3141
9. Climate	.3086*	-.0905	-.0453	.1952	.0203	-.0550	-.1003	.1959
10. Status	.0229	-.0913	.0193	-.3394*	-.0596	-.0610	.1411	.2813
11. Find Any Job	.0194	-.1277	-.1385	.1477	.1538	.0815	-.0649	.1702
12. Job Retraining	.0505	.0764	.0199	.1445	.1237	.0725	-.2501**	.3193
13. Alternate Products	.1452	.0566	.0012	.0444	.1465	-.1249	.0289	.2175
14. Comm. & Educ. Serv.	.1989	-.1211	.0589	.1195	-.0029	-.1493	-.1050	.4152*
15. Canadian Citizenship	.0588	-.0167	.1609	.1212	.2250**	-.0063	-.2574**	.3716**
16. Driver's Licence	-.1034	-.0787	-.1161	-.0973	.1911	.0916	-.0820	.2528
17. Vancouver Bus	.0775	-.0322	-.0507	-.0837	.0428	-.0430	.0341	.1253
18. Change Work	.0436	-.0311	.0310	.0342	.0312	.0546	-.1979	.1169
19. Canadian Friend	.0529	-.1294	.0240	-.0317	.0168	.0962	-.0556	.1089
20. Work Schedule	-.0372	.0233	-.2497**	.0398	.0382	-.0390	.0604	.2042
21. Ethnic Shops	.2432**	-.1496	.2001	-.3246*	.1053	-.2958*	-.1550	.2170
22. Medical Insurance	-.0004	-.0441	-.1657	-.0251	.2424**	-.1956	.0852	.2147
23. Help Spouse	.3059*	-.1200	-.1285	-.3489*	.1151	.1193	-.1405	.2772
24. Doctor	-.0654	-.1475	-.0241	-.0792	.0018	-.0389	.0275	.2093
25. Temporary Residence	.0001	.2362**	.0556	-.1100	-.0984	.0151	-.1013	.1067
26. Getby English	.1076	-.2405**	-.0250	-.0097	-.0014	-.1400	.0234	.3495
27. Enrol Kids	.2456*	-.0762	-.1463	.0363	.1857	-.0241	-.1649	.2113
28. Meet Countrymen	-.1505	-.0486	.0744	-.0605	-.1073	.0638	.1412	.2943
29. Car Insurance	.2140	-.1100	-.0496	-.2618**	.0941	.0152	.0796	.1626
30. Bank	-.1209	.0968	-.1824	-.0128	.0003	-.0594	-.1853	.1796
31. Worship	.0728	-.1582	.0404	.1784	.1319	.1150	-.1075	.1131
32. Postal	.1639	-.1775	-.2114	-.1781	.0621	-.1123	.0431	.2450
33. Social Insurance	.0476	-.2009	-.1379	-.2297**	.1371	-.2368**	.0795	.1505
34. Ethnic School	.2928*	-.1265	.2072	-.1804	.0798	-.0681	-.1708	.1514
35. Canadian Money	.2357**	-.1598	.0184	-.1046	.0122	-.1744	.0995	.1422
36. Ethnic News	.2754*	-.1590	.1363	-.2809*	.0533	.0647	-.2579**	.2635

Of the three types of primary group relations about which respondents were questioned, only number of adult relatives on arrival showed predictability in regression analysis, and this occurred for five tasks. Those respondents with greater numbers of adult relatives in Vancouver when they arrived expressed less difficulty with accepting a change in status in the community, helping their spouse and registering for car insurance. The same was true for finding ethnic shops and restaurants and subscribing to an ethnic newspaper but the former was further simplified as occupational level increased and the latter was easier for those who spoke a number of languages. While regression analysis showed more Israeli friends on arrival as only predicting more difficulty with enrolling children in school and community activities, correlations indicated that this variable bore a significant negative relationship to tasks associated with ethnic community involvement and registering for social insurance and car insurance. The number of Canadian friends respondents had on arrival in Vancouver appeared to have no predictability for any task.

Other results of the regression analysis indicated, firstly, that as age increased, respondents appeared to have more difficulty budgeting for life on a different economic level, adjusting to climate, and using the postal system and, secondly, that those who spoke more languages perceived less difficulty enrolling for job retraining and applying for Canadian citizenship.

While no variables appeared in the regression equation for the most difficult task, finding a satisfying, career-oriented job, it is of interest that a significant positive correlation was found between this task and occupational level. In other words, those with higher occupational levels perceived greater difficulty in finding a career-oriented job.

None of the socio-demographic variables in the regression analysis appeared to have predictability for any of the four employment-related tasks: finding a job, finding a career-oriented job, getting occupational qualifications accepted and changing type of work. While the Manpower and Immigration (1974) study concluded that employment was the most crucial variable to successful adaptation and this study supports that finding in that the most difficult task was finding a career-oriented job, none of the ten socio-demographic variables utilized here appears to assist in predicting who will experience more or less difficulty in resolving that task.

While no one socio-demographic variable proved to be a good predictor for all thirty-six tasks of adaptation, some predictability and a number of strong relationships appeared between socio-demographic variables and difficulty of tasks of adaptation. In view of this, it must be concluded that individuals of varying socio-demographic characteristics experience varying levels of difficulty in resolving tasks of adaptation, but this conclusion does not apply for all thirty-six tasks. Notably, no variables appeared in the regression equations for the four tasks related

to employment which suggests that the ten socio-demographic variables used in the analysis provide no key to understanding the difficulty of employment-related tasks.

The Relationship of Difficulty to Other Factors

One major portion of the study was an investigation of which factors, other than socio-demographic ones, might have influenced respondents' perceptions of the difficulty of resolving tasks of adaptation. In addition to difficulty scores and socio-demographic data, four other factors were measured independently: extent of cultural innovation required by tasks, length of resolution time required, importance of the task to the respondents when they first encountered it, and the stage of task resolution accomplished. Generally, the most significant results of this portion of the investigation were with regard to the extent of cultural innovation required by tasks. This factor appears to bear the strongest relationship to difficulty of tasks, both for the Israelis and for a mixed group of immigrants from a variety of countries. Perceived importance of tasks appears to bear little relationship to difficulty and further investigation seems unnecessary. While resolution time and stage of resolution accomplished appear to shed little light on the nature of difficulty, tasks requiring little time to be resolved were resolved by most respondents and those requiring greater lengths of time to be resolved were resolved by fewer respondents. Herein follows a more detailed examination of each of the four factors and its relationship to difficulty.

Extent of Cultural Innovation

Scores for extent of cultural innovation required by each task were derived by tabulating mean scores of fifty-two respondents who used the typology described earlier (p. 35). These scores provided an independent measure of extent of cultural innovation required in that the respondents were a mixed group and not Israelis in the sample.

Two unexpected results occurred when tasks were ordered according to mean scores (Table IX). First, using Canadian money received the highest mean score of any task. It is conceivable that, as one respondent remarked, this task was understood to include a wide range of financial matters rather than the intended simple use of new coins with new values. Second, while speaking good English might appear to be a task requiring a great extent of innovation, it occurs fifteenth on the list. This may be due to the fact that the majority of the expert-respondents were adult students in advanced English classes and knew enough English to perceive this as requiring less innovation on their part than tasks related to status, employment, finances, and citizenship which occur before it on the list.

These mean scores, as an independent measure of extent of cultural innovation required by tasks, were correlated against difficulty scores of the Israeli respondents in the sample. On a task-by-task basis, rather than respondent-by-respondent, the overall correlation was .3713 ($p=.02$) which appears to indicate that task difficulty increases in relation to the extent of

TABLE IX Extent of Innovation Required by Tasks of
Adaptation According to Fifty-Two "Expert"
Respondents

Task	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
Canadian Money	3.36	
Status	3.09	.9
Career	3.06	.9
Canadian Citizenship	3.04	.8
Social Insurance	3.00	.9
Ethnic Shops	2.94	.9
Change Type of Work	2.92	1.0
Any Job	2.77	1.0
Budget	2.69	.9
Job Retraining	2.60	.9
Humour	2.44	.9
Permanent Residence	2.40	1.1
Local News	2.38	1.1
Canadian Friend	2.33	1.0
Good English	2.33	1.0
Different Measures	2.29	1.0
Vancouver Bus	2.23	.8
Climate	2.17	1.0
Enrol Kids	2.15	.8
Work Schedule	2.13	.9
Occupational Qualifications	2.12	.7
Getby English	2.12	1.0
Worship	2.08	1.1
Doctor	2.04	.9
Community and Educational Services	2.02	.9
Ethnic School	2.01	.9
Ethnic News	1.92	1.0
Medical Insurance	1.88	1.0
Temporary Residence	1.87	.9
Driver's Licence	1.87	.9
Alternate Products	1.69	.9
Meet Countrymen	1.69	1.0
Car Insurance	1.67	.8
Help Spouse	1.54	.8
Postal	1.51	.8
Bank	1.46	.8

cultural innovation may be the single most important factor relating to difficulty of tasks of adaptation.

In an attempt to corroborate this finding and ascertain whether or not this relationship may be generalizable beyond the population of Israeli immigrants in Vancouver, a correlation was also sought between the independent expert scores and difficulty scores of a mixed group of twenty-eight immigrants from a variety of countries, all of whom were advanced students in the English Language program at King Edward Campus, Vancouver Community College. In this case, a correlation of .7969 ($p < .001$) was obtained, suggesting that the relationship between cultural innovation and difficulty may be generalizable to populations other than Israelis and supporting the conclusion that extent of cultural innovation required by a task of adaptation is probably the most important factor affecting perceived difficulty in resolving a task.

Time of Task Resolution

Respondents were queried as to the time at which they first became aware of a task as one to be resolved and the time at which they resolved or expected to resolve a task. Results of this portion of the investigation must be observed cautiously because, due to the length of the interview, each respondent was asked to comment on resolution time with respect to only ten of the thirty-six tasks. Of the seventy-two individuals interviewed, between eight and twenty-seven of them responded with regard to time for each task. At best then, 37.5 percent of the possible responses were gathered for each task with respect to the resolution time.

Generally, less difficult tasks were resolved first. Within the first month after arrival, on the average, respondents had resolved using the postal system, finding a temporary residence, registering for medical insurance and using Canadian money. Within the first three months, they had resolved meeting other of their countrymen, speaking enough English to get by, using the bank and making their first Canadian friend.

Within the first six months, two of the ten most difficult tasks had been resolved: finding a permanent residence and budgeting for life on a different economic level. By the end of the first year, on the average, respondents had resolved two more of the ten most difficult tasks: reading a local English-language newspaper and using a different system of sizes, weights and measures. Since Canada has converted to the metric system, this task would probably no longer be among the most difficult.

Five of the ten most difficult tasks, however, were not resolved by the end of the second year after arrival: speaking good English, getting occupational qualifications accepted, adjusting to climate, getting used to Canadian sense of humour, and finding a satisfying, career-oriented job. It is noteworthy that of the ten tasks whose mean resolution time was longer than two years, four of them relate to employment: enrolling for job retraining, changing type of work, getting occupational qualification accepted, and finding a satisfying, career-oriented job. A fifth task, speaking good English, may also be considered employment-related. A sixth task, obtaining Canadian citizenship, has no possibility

TABLE X Mean Resolution Time and Difficulty Scores for
Tasks Listed in Order of Mean Resolution Time

Task Name	Mean Resolution Time (in months)	Difficulty Score (Geometric Mean)
20. Postal System	.3	31.1
35. Temporary Residence	.4	41.3
2. Medical Insurance	.9	48.6
33. Canadian Money	.9	24.4
7. Meet Countrymen	1.9	35.5
26. Getby English	2.6	40.2
21. Bank	2.8	32.6
12. Meet First Canadian Friend	2.9	65.9
1. Doctor	3.2	45.4
16. Permanent Residence	3.5	129.2
6. Get Any Job for Income	3.6	89.3
5. Budget	5.8	122.7
36. Community & Educational Services	5.9	71.6
25. Alternate Products	6.3	78.7
34. Car Insurance	7.1	32.8
19. Vancouver Bus System	7.2	66.8
31. Work Schedule	7.4	64.6
15. Local News	7.5	134.2
9. Different Measures	11.7	135.5
29. Social Insurance	15.6	29.8
13. Worship	17.7	32.6
30. Driver's Licence	18.7	67.6
8. Enrol Kids	19.1	38.1
4. Status Change	20.4	103.5
17. Ethnic Newspaper	21.0	23.9
24. Ethnic Shops	21.1	64.6
11. Job Retraining	24.8	79.0
28. Change Type of Work	26.8	66.4
32. Good English	27.0	149.7
22. Help Spouse	29.8	46.2
23. Occupational Qualifications	31.0	119.9
3. Climate	32.7	114.0
14. Canadian Sense of Humour	32.7	131.9
6. Career-Oriented Job	34.4	210.3
27. Canadian Citizenship	48.1	69.3
18. Ethnic School	54.0	27.3

of being resolved before three to five years residence in the country, and therefore automatically fell into this time category.

While mean time of task resolution bore no significant relationship to difficulty of tasks ($r = -.1105$, $p = .52$), the results of this investigation of resolution time might serve to inform counsellors, course planners and curriculum designers who serve an immigrant population. As detailed elsewhere, more than eighty percent of the Israelis had resolved the first ten tasks within the first three months or so but less than fifty percent of respondents ever resolved the last ten tasks. Less than forty percent of respondents resolved the employment-related tasks.

While no firm conclusions may be drawn as to the relationship between time of task resolution and difficulty, some guidelines may be suggested for those who counsel, advise, and design instruction for immigrants. Further discussion of the application of these guidelines may be found in the last chapter.

Importance of Tasks

The assumption underlying investigation of this factor's relationship to difficulty was that perceived importance of a task when first encountered might have a bearing on perceptions of that task's difficulty. While there appears to be some slight evidence to support this assumption, the data did not attain statistical significance.

The ten most important tasks appear to be those which are important to an immigrant's security during his first days in a new country such as finding a temporary residence, speaking enough

English to get by, finding any job, and registering for medical insurance; and those which are most important to his life in the new country over the long range such as finding a permanent residence, speaking good English, finding a career-oriented job, and finding a doctor (Table XI). Of these ten tasks, five were among the ones perceived as most difficult by respondents; finding a permanent residence, speaking good English, finding any job for income, finding a career-oriented job, and getting occupational qualifications accepted. With one exception, the most difficult and important tasks related to employment and three of them were identified as requiring a mean of more than two years to resolve.

Many of the least important tasks appear to relate to the immigrant's relationship to his personal and ethnic group networks: finding a suitable place of worship, helping one's spouse, finding ethnic shops, ethnic schools for children, and subscribing to an ethnic newspaper. The last two tasks are also among those perceived as least difficult (Table XI).

An overall correlation between mean importance and mean difficulty of tasks was sought, using tasks as the unit of analysis. As the correlation (.2435) was not statistically significant ($p=.15$), the findings described above must remain mere observations.

Stage of Task Resolution

Investigation of the stage of task resolution focused on whether there appeared to be any relationship between task difficulty and respondents' ability to resolve tasks. While no

TABLE XI Mean Rank Order of Tasks According to Importance

Task	Arithmetic Mean	Standard Deviation	Difficulty Scores (geometric mean)
35. Temporary Residence	9.8	10.3	45.4
16. Permanent Residence	11.9	10.0	129.2
32. Good English	12.2	9.9	149.7
6. Any Job for Income	13.3	11.4	89.3
1. Doctor	13.5	8.5	45.4
26. Getby English	13.8	12.0	40.2
2. Medical Insurance	13.9	9.7	48.6
10. Career Job	14.3	10.8	210.3
7. Meet Countrymen	14.9	9.4	35.5
23. Recognize Occup. Quals.	16.3	10.8	119.9
3. Climate	16.7	9.2	114.0
5. Budget for Different Income	16.8	9.2	122.7
21. Bank	17.0	9.1	32.6
30. Driver's Licence	17.0	9.6	67.6
8. Enrol Kids	17.9	11.2	36.1
29. Social Insurance	18.0	9.7	29.6
12. Canadian Friend	18.1	9.8	65.9
33. Canadian Money	18.7	10.6	24.4
28. Change Type of Work	19.0	11.0	66.4
15. Read Local Newspaper	19.3	8.5	134.2
19. Vancouver Bus System	19.4	9.2	66.8
9. Different Measures	19.8	8.3	135.5
31. Change Work Schedule	20.5	9.7	64.6
4. Status Change	20.6	10.4	103.5
34. Car Insurance	20.9	8.9	32.8
36. Community & Ed. Serv.	20.9	8.3	71.6
20. Postal	21.0	8.2	31.1
25. Alternate Products	21.2	7.9	78.7
27. Canadian Citizenship	21.5	10.7	69.3
13. Place of Worship	22.7	9.9	32.6
22. Help Spouse	22.7	9.3	46.2
11. Job Retraining	23.0	10.5	79.0
24. Ethnic Shops	23.7	8.0	64.6
14. Can. Sense of Humour	24.1	8.6	131.9
18. Ethnic Schools for Kids	24.2	9.6	27.3
17. Ethnic Newspaper	25.4	7.4	23.0

generalizable overall relationship was apparent, a number of observations may be made.

Of the ten most difficult tasks, a majority of respondents (between fifty and seventy-nine percent) were able to resolve six of them: using a different system of sizes, weights and measures, reading a local English-language newspaper, finding a permanent residence, budgeting for life on a different economic level, adjusting to climate and adjusting to changes in status. Only a small percentage of respondents (one to four percent) had tried but failed to resolve tasks involving using a different system of sizes, weights and measures, finding a permanent residence, budgeting for life on a different economic level and accepting a change in status in the community. A slightly larger percentage of respondents (8.3 percent) had tried but failed to resolve the task of reading a local English language newspaper regularly and more than a quarter of respondents (26.4 percent) had not resolved adjusting to the climate in Vancouver.

Fewer than fifty percent of respondents had resolved the remaining four most difficult tasks: finding a satisfying career-oriented job, speaking good English, getting used to Canadian sense of humour and getting occupational qualifications accepted. In the case of the most difficult task, finding a career-oriented job, twenty-four respondents (33.3 percent) stated that they had resolved this task. Of the forty-eight individuals who had not resolved it, sixteen (22.2 percent) had tried but failed and twelve (16.7 percent) were in the process of attempting to resolve

it. Seven individuals (9.1 percent) had not tried to resolve it and thirteen (18.1 percent), many of whom were housewives, stated that the task was not applicable to them.

Two other job-related tasks, speaking good English and getting job qualifications accepted, were among the most difficult tasks that had low resolution rates. Thirty-nine percent of respondents reported that they had resolved the task of speaking good English. Forty-three percent of respondents stated that they were engaged in resolving it at the time of the study, eleven percent had tried but failed to resolve it and, for some reason, seven percent of respondents stated that this task was not applicable to them. When asked as to their present level of fluency, five respondents (seven percent) stated that they could pass as native Canadians, thirty-six respondents (50.7 percent) stated that they spoke well but with an accent, and eleven respondents (15.5 percent) stated that they spoke well but had trouble with technical and professional terms.

In the case of getting occupational qualifications accepted, 41.7 percent of respondents said they had resolved this task and just over a quarter of them (26.4 percent) stated that this task was not applicable to them. Nine respondents (12.5 percent) said that they were engaged in resolving this task at the time of the study and the same number responded that they had tried unsuccessfully to resolve this task.

Other tasks among the thirty-six that had low resolution rates were enrolling for job retraining, applying for Canadian citizenship, changing type of work, helping the spouse, and enrolling children in regular and ethnic schools. In these cases, however, most respondents stated that these tasks were not applicable to them or that they had not yet attempted to resolve them (Table XII).

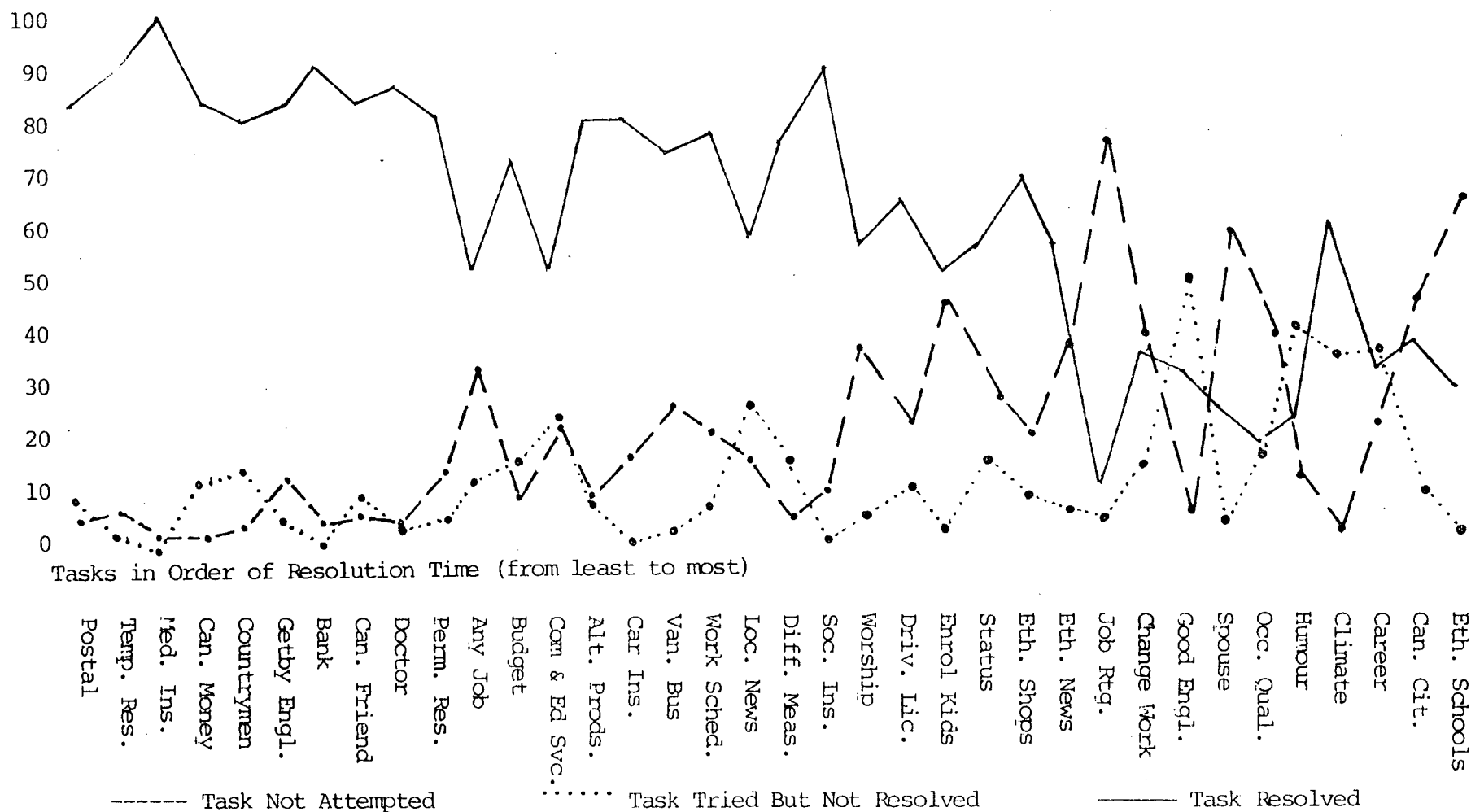
While no general, overall relationship may be observed between task resolution stage and difficulty, a clearly observable one appears to exist between number of respondents resolving tasks and time of task resolution (Figure 1). On the whole, the largest percentage of individuals resolved early tasks and the percentage declined over time, so that tasks requiring two years or more to resolve were resolved by the fewest respondents. In view of earlier observations, it seems reasonable to assume that the two major reasons for this were that these tasks were either perceived as most difficult and took longer to resolve because of it, or they fell into a group of tasks not applicable and not attempted. Examples of tasks not applicable and not attempted were helping your spouse and enrolling children in schools when respondents had neither spouse nor children. Enrolling for job retraining was also among those frequently not applicable or not attempted.

Three tasks, however, were attempted but not resolved by respondents more frequently than they were resolved or not attempted and these were among those tasks perceived as most difficult:

TABLE XII Number and Percentage of Interviewees Responding to Each Resolution Stage for Each Task (listed in order of task difficulty). n=72

Task	Not Applicable		Not Tried		Tried, Not Resolved		Doing Now		Re-solved	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
10. Career	13	18.1	7	9.1	16	22.2	12	16.7	24	33.3
32. Good English	5	6.9			8	11.1	31	43.1	28	38.9
9. Different Measures	4	5.6			3	4.2	10	13.9	55	76.4
15. Local News	5	6.9	7	9.7	6	8.3	15	20.8	39	54.2
14. Sense of Humour	7	9.7	3	4.2	9	12.5	21	29.2	32	44.4
16. Permanent Residence	5	6.9	6	8.3	1	1.4	4	5.6	56	77.8
5. Budget	7	9.7			2	2.8	11	15.3	52	72.2
23. Occupational Quals.	19	26.4	5	6.9	9	12.5	9	12.5	30	41.7
3. Climate	2	2.8			19	26.4	9	12.5	42	58.3
4. Status	20	27.8	3	4.2	3	4.2	10	13.9	36	50.0
6. Any Job	19	26.4	7	9.7	2	2.8	8	11.1	36	50.0
11. Job Retraining	38	52.8	19	26.4	3	4.2	3	4.2	9	12.5
25. Alternate Products	8	11.1					7	9.7	57	79.2
36. Community & Educ. Serv.	6	8.3	11	15.3	3	4.2	16	22.2	36	50.0
27. Canadian Citizenship	17	23.6	17	23.6	2	2.8	7	9.7	29	40.3
30. Driver's Licence	8	11.1	9	12.5	3	4.2	6	8.3	46	63.9
19. Vancouver Buses	14	19.4	6	8.3			2	2.8	50	69.4
28. Change Work	22	30.6	9	12.5	5	6.9	8	11.1	28	38.9
12. Canadian Friend	5	6.9	1	1.4	2	2.8	6	8.3	58	80.6
31. Change Work Schedule	7	9.7	8	11.1	2	2.8	4	5.6	51	70.8
24. Ethnic Shops	8	11.1	7	9.7	2	2.8	5	6.9	50	69.4
2. Medical Insurance	1	1.4	1	1.4					70	97.2
22. Help Spouse	36	50.0	8	11.1			5	6.9	23	31.9
1. Doctor	2	2.8	3	4.2			5	6.9	62	86.1
35. Temporary Residence	6	8.3					2	2.8	64	88.9
26. Getby English	8	11.1	2	2.8			4	5.6	58	80.6
8. Enrol Kids	28	38.9	6	8.3	1	1.4	3	4.2	34	47.2
7. Meet Countrymen	3	4.2			1	1.4	11	15.3	57	79.2
34. Car Insurance	9	12.5	5	6.9			1	1.4	57	79.2
21. Bank	3	4.2	2	2.8			1	1.4	66	91.7
13. Worship	21	29.2	6	8.3	3	4.2	2	2.8	40	55.6
20. Postal	4	5.6	1	1.4			7	9.7	60	83.3
29. Social Insurance	5	6.9	2	2.8			1	1.4	64	88.9
18. Ethnic Schools	42	58.3	6	8.3	1	1.4	1	1.4	22	30.6
33. Canadian Money	2	2.8			1	1.4	9	12.5	60	83.3
17. Ethnic News	17	23.6	12	16.7	2	2.8	4	5.6	37	51.4

Figure I Comparison in Order of Mean Resolution Time of Percentage of Respondents Not Attempting, Trying But Not Resolving and Resolving Each Task of Adaptation



finding a career-oriented job, speaking good English and getting used to Canadian sense of humour. With regard to the most difficult task, finding a career-oriented job, this was attempted but not resolved by seven men and nine women. Those men who attempted but did not resolve the task varied widely in age and one could speculate a variety of reasons for their failure to resolve this task: incomplete education, inability to receive recognition for occupational qualifications or age. All of the nine women who attempted but failed to resolve this task, however, were between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-two. Seven were married, one was single and one was divorced. Four of these women had children which may have prevented them from pursuing full-time employment. With respect to educational level, all but one had completed high school and six women had between one and eight years of university. Six of these women spoke excellent English though with an accent while the other three had high levels of fluency in English. While one may speculate that older women may not be seeking a career-oriented job or that younger women may be involved with child-rearing, it is curious and yet unexplained why this group of women, apparently qualified for employment, have failed to resolve that task.

The Relationship of Difficulty to Sources of Information Employed

The final research question queried how the use of adult education sources of information (individual instruction and instructional groups) for resolving tasks of adaptation related to difficulty of tasks. For the most part, adult education sources were used far less than personal sources and of the two adult education sources, individual instruction was used with greater frequency than instructional groups.

For all tasks, personal sources of information were used more than any other ones and, for the easiest tasks, few other sources were employed. For the most difficult tasks, additional sources were generally in the group classified as mass media except for the two most difficult tasks, getting a satisfying career-oriented job and speaking good English. In these two cases, instructional groups were used with the greatest frequency. In the case of the most difficult task, getting a career-oriented job, individual instruction was used with the greatest frequency and, in most cases, the individual consulted was a counsellor or someone serving a counselling function.

It is noteworthy that the category of personal sources included trial and error by the respondent himself as well as friends and relatives. These sources were used most frequently for tasks involving using a different system of sizes, weights and measures, finding a doctor, making their first Canadian friend, finding a suitable place of worship, using Canadian money, getting used to a Canadian sense of humour and finding alternate products for the household. Personal sources were used with least frequency for

enrolling in job retraining, helping spouses, using community and educational services, finding ethnic schools for children, getting a satisfying career-oriented job, finding any job for income, and enrolling children in school. With regard to job-related tasks for which few personal sources were utilized, a number of other types of sources were used. For tasks for which few personal sources were used that were not job-related, few other sources were employed.

Individual instruction was sought less frequently than personal sources except for the most difficult task, finding a career-oriented job, for which it was sought more than any other source. Generally speaking, the category of individual instruction included sources such as counsellors, bank clerks, insurance agents, realtors and others who provide procedural information. The tasks for which these sources were most frequently consulted were finding a career-oriented job, applying for Canadian citizenship, getting a driver's licence, getting any job for income, and registering for medical insurance. Individual instruction was not cited as a source at all for some tasks: speaking good English, reading a local English-language newspaper regularly, getting used to Canadian sense of humour, making your first Canadian friend, helping spouse, finding a temporary residence, meeting countrymen, and finding a place of worship.

Instructional groups were sought most frequently for the two most difficult tasks, finding a career-oriented job and speaking good English, and, in general, for tasks associated with

TABLE XIII Frequency of Use of Sources of Information by
Seventy-Two Interviewees for Thirty-six Tasks

Tasks	Sources of Information Used for Task Resolution				
	Personal	Mass	Individual Instruction	Instructional Groups	Total Number of Individuals Responding
10. Career	8	5	11	7	18
32. Good English	12	5		7	17
9. Different Measures	25	7	1	2	27
15. Local News	13	4		1	18
14. Humour	18	3		1	19
16. Perm. Residence	13	3	4	1	17
5. Budget	16		2		16
23. Occup. Quals.	10	2	5	4	11
3. Climate	13		1		14
4. Status	10		3	1	12
6. Any Job	8	4	9	2	15
11. Job Retraining	6	2	4	4	12
25. Alternate Products	18	6	3		18
36. Comm. & Educ. Serv.	7	1	1	2 (Univ)	7
27. Can. Citizenship	12	3	11	1	19
30. Driver's Licence	12		10 Other: MV Branch Driv. School		16
19. Vancouver Bus	9		8 Other: B.C.Hydro		14
28. Change Work	15	7	4	5	31
12. Canadian Friend	22			4	23
31. Work Schedule	17		1		18
24. Ethnic Shops	15	2	1	1	15
2. Medical Insurance	13	2	9	3 (Univ)	22
22. Help Spouse	6	2			6
1. Doctor	23		1	2 (Univ)	23
35. Temp. Residence	10			3 (Univ)	12
26. Getby English	15	10	1	7	19
8. Enrol Kids	8		6		10
7. Countrymen	10			6	15
34. Car Insurance	15		2		17
21. Bank	15		2 Other: Bank Clerk		15
13. Worship	21			2	21
20. Postal	13		1		14
29. Social Insurance	15		4		16
18. Ethnic School	7		1	1	8
33. Canadian Money	19		1		19
17. Ethnic News	11	1	1		13

* Each individual had the option of reporting more than one source for each task and each individual was asked to respond with regard to ten tasks rather than all thirty-six.

learning English, employment and making friends. Tasks for which instructional groups were never cited as a source of information were: budgeting for life on a different economic level, adjusting to climate, changing work schedule, helping spouse, enrolling child in school, getting a driver's licence, finding alternate products for the household, using the bus system, registering for car insurance, banking, using the postal system, registering for social insurance, and using Canadian money. This is particularly interesting in view of the fact that the last eight of these tasks are generally found in ESL curricula, materials and texts, especially for students at beginning levels.

Mass media, such as newspapers, books (including dictionary), and brochures, were used least frequently on the whole and the task most frequently cited for this source type was speaking enough English to get by.

Respondents, then, used personal sources most frequently for all tasks and, where procedural information was required, individual instruction was sought. Only for tasks relating to employment, language learning, and making friends were instructional groups sought and mass media were used infrequently and only for one-half of the tasks.

Summary

In relation to other immigrants to Canada, the respondents represented a well-educated group who had lived in two, three or four countries for six months or more and ranged in age from their mid-twenties to sixty. As with most immigrant groups, married

women had less job experience and were less fluent in English than other respondents. Single men also reported low levels of fluency in English but the widest range of job experience. In addition, they reported the lowest number of years of education and the most technical and vocational training. Married men reported among the highest levels of fluency in English and the greatest number of years of education with fifty percent of them reporting five or more years of university education.

The ten most difficult tasks were getting a satisfying career-oriented job, speaking good English, using a different system of sizes, weights and measures, reading a local English-language newspaper regularly, getting used to a different sense of humour in Canada, finding a permanent place to live, budgeting for life on a different economic level, gaining acceptance of existing occupational qualifications, adjusting to the climate in Vancouver and accepting a change of status in the community.

No one socio-demographic variable proved to be a good predictor of difficulty for all thirty-six tasks and, in the case of employment related tasks, no variables appeared in the regression equation. On a task-by-task basis, some predictability was determined for seventeen of the thirty-six tasks.

Of the relationships between difficulty and other factors (extent of innovation, length of resolution time, importance and resolution stage), only extent of cultural innovation required appeared to bear a relationship to difficulty and there is reason to believe that the strong positive relationship between difficulty and extent of innovation may also be generalizable to ethnic

groups other than Israelis. This relationship certainly warrants further investigation. It may be the single most important factor affecting resocialization and might provide an excellent basis upon which to design programs for immigrant adults.

Although only about one-third of the respondents provided information regarding time of task resolution, the mean scores may serve as a guide to counsellors, course planners and curriculum designers who serve adult immigrants. Perceived importance of tasks appears to bear little relationship to difficulty. With regard to resolution stages, the most important finding was the clearly observable relationship between resolution stage and time of resolution. The largest percentage of individuals resolved early tasks and the percentage declined over time, so that later tasks appeared to be less frequently resolved.

On the whole, respondents cited personal sources of information with substantially greater frequency than any other type of source for all of the thirty-six tasks. Adult education sources (individual instruction and instructional groups) were used most frequently with regard to the most difficult task, getting a satisfying career-oriented job. Individual instruction was utilized more frequently for tasks requiring specific procedural information such as how to apply for medical insurance, get a driver's licence and use the bus system. Instructional groups were sought most frequently for tasks related to language learning, making friends, and finding employment.

Of the relationships between difficulty and other factors including extent of cultural innovation, length of resolution time, importance and resolution stage, only extent of innovation appears to warrant further investigation as a significant positive correlation was found between the difficulty scores of the seventy-two Israeli respondents and the cultural innovation scores of fifty-two experts. The scores of the experts also correlated positively and significantly with the difficulty scores of twenty-eight immigrants from a variety of countries who were members of an advanced English class at King Edward Campus, Vancouver Community College. This suggests that the relationship between difficulty and extent of cultural innovation required by tasks may be generalizable to other non-English-speaking immigrants to Vancouver and this relationship is worthy of further investigation.

While time of resolving tasks of adaptation did not appear, in itself, to be related to difficulty, a relationship did appear to exist between mean resolution time and the number of respondents who resolved each task. Counsellors and teachers planning instruction for adult immigrants might use mean resolution time as a general guide in that later tasks were actually resolved by less than forty percent of respondents. Certainly, further investigation of the generalizability of these findings to other groups is warranted.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter draws overall conclusions from the study and explores implications for the practice of adult education for immigrants, particularly with regard to program planning for classes of English as a second language. Further research into tasks of adaptation and cultural assumptions of North American adult educators is suggested.

Summary and Conclusions

Migration to a new country is a developmental event and adaptation is the process by which individuals resolve that event. As immigrants adapt, they encounter a number of tasks of varying difficulty which force them to learn new information, procedures and customs. The learning required to resolve tasks of adaptation may be acquired in the natural societal setting via personal and mass sources as well as in the formal instructional setting through individual instruction and instructional groups. The way in which individuals resolve each task of adaptation may affect their motivation to continue their adaptation process. Adult education is well suited to serve the remedial function and aid immi-

grants in resocialization. At the present time, the major educational offering for immigrants is language instruction. The present format of English as a second language classes may be used to further assist the immigrant if principles of needs assessment and program development are applied.

With regard to the four research questions posed in the introduction, the following conclusions may be drawn from the data.

1. What kinds of tasks emerge during adaptation to life in a new society?

One major contribution of this work is its attempt to articulate an approach to the identification of learning needs for immigrants. Definitions of adaptation and tasks of adaptation brought some conceptual clarity to an intricate and complicated problem area. The major assumption in identifying tasks of adaptation was that new arrivals in a country generally experience a similar range of tasks to resolve in order to survive in the new society. For the purposes of the study, attitudinal and psychological variables were not examined and the thirty-six tasks employed focused on behaviours such as finding a place to live, finding a job and speaking English. The tasks of adaptation used in the study were drawn from a wide range of literature and personal case histories were subjected to magnitude estimations of relative difficulty. The ten most difficult tasks were getting a satisfying career-oriented job, speaking good English, using a different system of sizes, weights and measures, reading a local

English-language newspaper regularly, getting used to a different sense of humour in Canada, finding a permanent place to live, budgeting for life on a different economic level, gaining acceptance of existing occupational qualifications, adjusting to the climate in Vancouver and accepting a change of status in the community.

The tasks of adaptation utilized in the study were generated as examples of the use of the conceptual framework and to provide a basis for discussion, criticism and improvement of the application of this approach to adaptation and the role of adult education for immigrants. Further investigation into tasks of adaptation is suggested as an area for future research.

2. Which, if any, socio-demographic characteristics affect perception of difficulty of tasks of adaptation?

While a large number of socio-demographic variables were examined, three were considered with particular attention: level of education, number of countries lived in for six months or more, and size of primary group on arrival.

A few more women than men were represented among the seventy-two respondents whose ages ranged from twenty-three to fifty-nine. In comparison to other ethnic groups in Canada, they were a well-educated group, particularly the married men. About one-half the respondents were born in Israel and most had lived in from two to four countries and in Vancouver from one to ten years. Married women reported more adult relatives residing in Vancouver when they arrived than any of the other respondents and married people

in general reported less English spoken at home than single ones. Married men and single women reported higher fluency levels in English than single men and married women.

Stepwise regression analysis was conducted using ten ordinal socio-demographic variables including years of education, number of countries lived in for six months or more and number of adult relatives on arrival. No one variable proved to be a good predictor for all thirty-six tasks and, in the case of employment-related tasks, no variables appeared in the regression equation. Some predictability was determined for seventeen of the thirty-six tasks. Years of education and number of adult relatives on arrival each appeared to have predictability for five tasks. Number of countries lived in for six months or more was originally chosen as a measure of ability to learn a new culture but, in the course of the research, it became clear that number of countries lived in could just as readily indicate lack of ability to learn a new culture so no conclusions were drawn with regard to this variable.

3. What relationship, if any, does difficulty of tasks of adaptation bear to the following factors: extent of cultural innovation required by tasks, length of task resolution time required, importance of tasks to the immigrant when he first encounters them and stage of task resolution?

Of the relationships between difficulty and other factors including extent of cultural innovation, length of resolution time, importance and resolution stage, only extent of innovation appears to warrant further investigation as a significant positive correlation was found between the difficulty scores of the seventy-two Israeli respondents and the cultural innovation scores of fifty-two experts. The scores of the experts also correlated positively and significantly with the difficulty scores of twenty-eight immigrants from a variety of countries who were members of an advanced English class at King Edward Campus, Vancouver Community College. This suggests that the relationship between difficulty and extent of cultural innovation required by tasks may be generalizable to other non-English-speaking immigrants to Vancouver and this relationship is worthy of further investigation.

While the time of resolving tasks of adaptation did not appear, in itself, to be related to difficulty, a relationship did appear to exist between mean resolution time and the number of respondents who resolved each task. Counsellors and teachers planning instruction for adult immigrants might use mean resolution time as a general guide in that later tasks were actually resolved by less than forty percent of respondents. Certainly, further investigation of the generalizability of these findings to other groups is warranted.

4. How is the use of adult education sources of information for resolving tasks of adaptation related to difficulty of tasks?

Personal sources of information were used with far greater frequency than adult education sources, except in the case of the most difficult task which was getting a satisfying career-oriented job. The Israelis in the study did not register for English classes in order to acquire the information to cope with most of their tasks of adaptation. They were primarily interested in assistance with employment, an opportunity to make friends and to acquire a level of English competency commensurate with their occupational aspirations. Although this finding is presently only applicable to Israelis, there is no evidence to suggest that it might not be true for other immigrant groups and would suggest consideration of vocationally-oriented, rather than situationally-oriented English classes. Individual instruction, which tended to be counselling on procedural information, appears to have been sought from sources in the general community. This may suggest a role for instructors of English as a second language, not in providing information, but in working with counsellors in institutions and agencies and assisting learners with the listening comprehension and oral production skills they will need in order to be able to use community services more effectively.

Discussion

The two assumptions underlying this study with respect to the role of education for immigrant adults are: first, that education for this group must provide language and cultural orientation for life in a new society; and second, that educators must serve the needs of adult learners as well as those of society. In the case of immigrant adults, it is the role of the educator to assist newcomers in negotiating achievement of their expectations for life in Canada by determining educational gaps and providing instruction to help bridge those gaps. To do this, educators of adult immigrants must critically evaluate the language and procedures, and the norms, values and assumptions of Canadian society. Herein lies what Paulston (1977) has called the dilemma of using a dialectical viewpoint; that is, using a conflict frame for diagnosis and an equilibrium world view as the basis for normative standards. While accepting the standards of Canadian society, an ESL programmer must diagnose them in order to assess and meet educational needs of the client group. To date, two conditions have impeded realization of competent, effective ESL program design: a pre-occupation, on the part of those in the field, with linguistic questions and identification of themselves as language teachers but not, for the most part, as adult educators. As a result, ESL courses are rarely designed on the basis of specific adult developmental and community needs.

When this study was begun in 1973, audio-lingual methods and a situational approach were prevalent in the ESL classroom.

Teachers appeared to attach little importance to learning which occurred outside the classroom, except with respect to grammatical mistakes being reinforced there. Few ESL instructors had received formal training but, if they had, it was in general educational methodology (elementary or secondary), linguistics and applied linguistics.

During the last seven years, knowledge in the field of ESL has accumulated quickly and researchers have moved from structural (grammar-based) to functional (purpose-related) methods of language analysis and methodology development. Some researchers (Munby, 1978; Trim, 1977; van Ek, 1976; Wilkins, 1973) have moved from this structural-functional paradigm to a systems approach and are currently investigating approaches to syllabus design in order to create comprehensive systems, such as van Ek's threshold level system produced for the Council of Europe (1976). Those conducting the research, however, have limited themselves to suggestion of linguistic realization of communicative functions "made on the basis of introspection and not as the result of objective, observational research" (Wilkins, 1972, p. 13). This follows the line of reasoning utilized by Munby in presuming a "participant stereotype" (1978) and by most classroom teachers and curriculum developers in designing units and lessons on the basis of assumptions about the needs of immigrant adults.

A major contribution of this study is to undermine some of these assumptions. Empirical evidence has been provided which brings the following into question:

1. the explanatory function of socio-demographic data in predicting perceived difficulty of tasks of adaptation;
2. the appropriateness of ordering curriculum on the basis of knowledge required by new arrivals so that beginning language learners concentrate on tasks such as renting accommodation or using the post office when most of them have long resolved such tasks in reality;
3. the necessity of providing "coping" skills to adult immigrants who seem to obtain required knowledge and assistance from personal sources of information.

Some elaboration or qualification is required for each of the above three points. First, while the study findings implied that generalizations should not be drawn with respect to the ability of socio-demographic variables to predict perceived difficulty, some attention must be paid to their relationship to task resolution. As noted earlier (p. 75), a profile of those who attempted but failed to resolve the most difficulty task, finding a career-oriented job, raised further research questions. How is it that the majority of respondents in this category were women between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-two who appeared to be qualified for desired employment? Is this phenomena generalizable to other ethnic groups? Is it generalizable to Canadians as well? What factors, other than socio-demographic ones, influence successful completion of this task? Rather than providing explanation or predicting perceived difficulty, socio-demographic profiles

appear to be useful in indicating and suggesting areas for further research into task resolution.

The second point does not mean to suggest that language or other communication skills relevant to tasks of new arrivals should never be taught. Rather, it suggests that caution must be taken not to legislate such choices into curriculum so that beginning language learners must automatically learn language for tasks, such as renting accommodation, simply because they are beginners, irrespective of how long they have been in the country or of their particular developmental needs.

The third point, similarly to the second, does not mean to imply that coping or orientation skills should never be taught. It does suggest, however, that care must be taken not to impose this content on everyone via curriculum as the results of the study showed that the majority of tasks of adaptation were resolved by this group of respondents from within their personal information networks. For researchers, it might be interesting and useful to investigate personal and ethnic group information networks. For ESL instructors, it might be more to the point to de-emphasize coping and orientation skills in favour of employment-oriented skills for which education was actually being sought by these respondents. Further research is required to establish whether or not this finding is generalizable to ethnic groups other than the one studied here.

The major contributions of this study are: first, in providing a definition of adaptation that does not rely on legislating end-states (successful adaptation) but rather, concentrates on

the process of negotiating a place in the new society; second, the conceptualization of an approach to assessing and prioritizing needs of immigrant adults using magnitude estimation of difficulty of tasks of adaptation; and third, the finding that, of the four variables examined, extent of cultural innovation required by tasks of adaptation was the only one which bore a significant positive and seemingly generalizable relationship to difficulty. This leads to the suggestion that the construct "difficulty" might better be renamed "extent of cultural innovation" and further research concentrate on operationalizing and investigating this more specific new construct.

The findings and conclusions of the study discussed in this section inevitably have implications both for further research and for the field of practice.

Implications of the Study for Researchers and Practitioners

The major findings of the study inform three areas of further investigation by researchers and practitioners in providing education for adult immigrants: assessment of educational needs, policy development, and program planning. For purposes of this discussion, program planning refers generally to the process of devising educational activities which synthesize and are appropriate to both the needs of the learners and the mandate of the sponsoring institution. The notion of program planning would include vocational ESL as it is currently known and, in view of the findings of the study, vocational ESL is suggested as a major focus for institutional programming.

The Process of Assessing Educational Needs

The methodology utilized in assessing the difficulty of tasks of adaptation with a sample of Israeli immigrants may be replicated or modified to assess needs of other immigrant learners. The following points will be helpful to those researchers and practitioners wishing to use this process in the future.

1. The tasks of adaptation used in this study are not the final word, by any means. By conceptualizing adaptation as a series of tasks or problems to be solved and following methodological guidelines outlined in the study, such as stating tasks in behavioural terms, the items of the instrument may be modified or replaced. The methodology for conducting the assessment will still stand. Modifications might include:
 - a) excluding some tasks;
 - b) generating more specific items relating to employment;
 - c) concentrating on and generating more specific tasks for those items which represent greater extents of cultural innovation;
 - d) generating tasks which are oriented to the communicative situations an immigrant must master for life in a particular community.
2. Magnitude estimation is based on the ability to conceptualize ratios and is, in all likelihood, a human rather than a cultural ability. The findings of Holmes and Masuda (1967), using magnitude estimation cross-culturally, substantiate the notion that this instrument has cross-cultural validity and,

therefore, is appropriate for use by ESL students to self-assess their priority learning needs regardless of their country of origin.

3. As needs assessment may provide the basis for the content or starting point of ESL instruction, there is no need for the assessment to be conducted in English. Unless one has reason to question the quality of translation, there appears to be no argument against conducting such a self-assessment in the learner's native language, if necessary.
4. Magnitude estimation has three important properties as a measurement device. First, if explained well, it is easily used; second, it allows for the addition of items; and third, because it is a ratio-scaling device, parametric statistics may be used in analyzing hypothesized relationships.

Policy Development

The development of policy for delivery of education for immigrant adults requires the attention of both researchers and practitioners. While education is a provincial responsibility, examination of federal multiculturalism and manpower training policy is necessary so that provincial policy statements can provide suitable guidance and direction to ESL program planners. At the present time three issues must be investigated: problems of the current trend officially to define ESL as adult basic education (ABE); the relationship of ESL classes sponsored by Canada Employment and Immigration (CEIC) to manpower training policy and job market trends; and analysis of Canadian values and assumptions embodied in Immigration and Multiculturalism policies.

The Draft Policy on the Provision of Adult Basic Education Programs issued by the B.C. Ministry of Education in April, 1980 characterizes the problems of defining ESL as adult basic education. While ESL programs do indeed "prepare people for further learning" (p.1), they need not "provide non-English speaking adults with sufficient English language and citizenship skills to participate effectively as citizens, parents and learners" (p. 2). As Richmond and Kalbach (1980) point out, after an initial period of adjustment, immigrants and their children in 1971 had achieved levels of material prosperity that equalled or surpassed longer-established Canadians (p. 473). In addition, recent immigrants were better educated on the average and their children more likely to remain in school beyond minimum school leaving age (p. 473). Since 1971, however, immigrants arriving during times of less favourable employment conditions have experienced some economic difficulties and more serious problems of adjustment (p. 475). These findings have been cited to support the view that, rather than needing language and citizenship skills to participate effectively as citizens, parents and learners, immigrant adults require sufficient English to transfer their already-held competence as citizens, parents and learners to the cultural milieu of the new society. This is not merely an academic distinction. It undercuts the assumption that adult immigrants (ESL students) lack the ability or have failed to succeed in effectively realizing their adult roles. While the focus implied by this assumption may be suitable for ABE students, it is not appropriate for the

majority of ESL students. By defining ESL within the context of ABE, legislators lay the groundwork for misinformed and inappropriate ESL program development.

The second issue requiring attention with respect to policy development is the relationship of ESL classes sponsored by CEIC to manpower training policy and job market trends. Broadly speaking, planned immigration is guided by the requirements of the labour market. One would assume, therefore, that CEIC-sponsored ESL classes would provide language or skills oriented in some way to employment - employment orientation, job market analysis, pre-employment skills, interview techniques and the like. This is not, in fact, the case. For the most part, CEIC-sponsored classes appear to lack direction and co-ordination. No curriculum exists for guidance and none is provided from CEIC. It seems that these classes suffer from the federal-provincial split in jurisdiction. Federal money buys seats in institutions funded by the province. The federal government does not wish to appear to be involved in education and, therefore, does not participate in determining the content or direction of the classes they sponsor. Local college (or other) staff, while well-intentioned, appear, by omission, to lack the overview to plan and provide education appropriate to the local and regional manpower needs or to assist individuals to develop job-search and other skills required to get and maintain employment. Unofficial reports from CEIC counsellors who work with graduates of these programs have contributed to the general impression that CEIC-sponsored ESL classes are misconceived, lack direction and contribute to compounding students' difficulties by

providing misinformation. The amount of money being spent on these classes at the present time in Canada is justification enough to warrant an investigation of ways and means to provide a better education for immigrant adults wishing to enter the labour force.

Finally, one of the major findings of the study implies that some definition of Canadian cultural assumptions is necessary in order to assist immigrant adults, through education, to adapt to life here. The relationship between difficulty and the extent of cultural innovation required by tasks of adaptation led to the suggestion that the construct "difficulty" be renamed "extent of cultural innovation" to facilitate more specific and appropriate research into the nature of tasks of adaptation. This underlines the predominant importance of conflicting cultural assumptions to the adaptation process. Those who come to Canada from other countries bring with them the norms, values and beliefs of their former cultures. When they arrive here, they experience that clash of assumptions known as culture shock. For the most part, newcomers expect and seek to adopt the culture of the new country as widely as they possibly can. The limits to their ability are individual and defining adaptation as a process is a recognition of these individual differences as is the federal multicultural policy.

Although much maligned as a catch phrase, empty rhetoric or as emphasizing our differences rather than our similarities, multiculturalism is a statement of Canadian commitment to cultural pluralism. Inherent in the policy and in the guidelines for dis-

tribution of funds under Secretary of State's multicultural programs is the belief that ethnic groups have the right of self-determination within our society and the value that support for their ethnic identity will contribute to the successful adaptation of ethnic minorities into the fabric of Canadian society. In adapting to Canadian society, they will also change it and, at present, the policy appears to allow and support these phenomena.

In the same way as these and other values are to be found in the sub-text of the federal policy statement on multiculturalism, so other pieces of legislation carry assumptions with respect to "our" attitudes toward new Canadians and ethnic minorities. Immigration policy and regulations seem an obvious source of such data. Policy research for the purpose of defining the philosophical position and cultural assumptions of the legislated Canadian point of view toward immigrants and ethnic minorities must be a priority for those engaging in the education of immigrant adults. Without a clear sense of common purpose, classes will continue to be provided which do not meet either the short or long range needs of participants or the country.

Program Development

In general, the delivery of education for adult immigrants has centred on programs of English as a second language, and linguistic concerns have formed the basis for decision-making. The lack of a student-centred philosophical approach and appropriate program planning methodologies is evidenced by the fact that no program planning level, as adult educators describe it, currently exists in the administrative structure for ESL programs in

British Columbia. Where program planning does exist within institutions offering ESL, it is called curriculum development, is conducted by teachers doing short-term projects, and the outcome of such projects is usually a syllabus or curriculum guide. While these guides are useful for instructors, especially inexperienced ones, the problem with such an approach for the institution is that, once completed, a curriculum guide is static, rarely modified except by teaching style, and its presence suggests a standard rather than a guide. Programs based on such guides respond with difficulty to changing needs, shifts in emphasis and evaluation. The presence, within the administrative structure of the institution, of a program planner to carry out the functions of course evaluation and modification, would assist in the development and maintenance of well-conceived and appropriate ESL programs and courses.

In addition to lacking a permanent program planning function within the administrative structure, few ESL programs are co-ordinated with the specialized labour market focus of the host institution. Instead of directly preparing people to enter the work force, ESL programs seem to prepare people to take further training. On the surface, it appears that ESL programs are constructed to postpone work force entry in direct opposition to the needs and desires of the learners. In many cases, newcomers already have job skills when they arrive in Canada. In view of this study's finding that the most difficult task (and, by implication, one requiring a great extent of cultural innovation) was finding a satisfying career-oriented job, and while the issue of institu-

tional mandate for programs requires clarification via a policy statement, the following are examples of programs which might support work force entry by adult immigrants.

1. CEIC funded programs that concentrate on language and culturally appropriate strategies for getting and maintaining employment;
2. programs in professional English for doctors, lawyers, engineers and the like which concentrate on:
 - a) professional terminology to speak to colleagues and read in professional publications;
 - b) transferring discourse and communication skills from the native language to English;
 - c) culturally appropriate professional strategies and procedures;
 - d) building language ability toward passing provincial professional certification examinations;
3. pre-vocational training programs directed toward the texts and study skills that will be required during vocational or other retraining;
4. on-the-job vocational ESL programs co-ordinated between educational institutions and business or industry.

In addition to employment-oriented programs, assistance to adult immigrants should be available to successfully complete the citizenship examination, a rite of passage into Canadian society.

Finally, in the same way as continuing education programs offer courses to assist native speakers in resolving their adult developmental tasks, second language speakers have the right of

access to programs for them which provide such information, especially ones which clarify legal and social rights and responsibilities. In special cases, such as the recent refugee influx, orientation programs may be necessary. While in urban centres these are provided through ethnic group, church and social service organizations, educational institutions have a responsibility to ensure that these programs are being provided when and if required.

In closing, it should be reiterated that Canada is a country of immigrants and many more will arrive as world economic and social conditions oblige adults to seek better opportunities for themselves and their families. Canada requires and expects new citizens from abroad but, in the past, our history shows that many of these citizens have been exploited, abused and used as scape-goats for economic and political fears. Appropriate educational programs conceived with respect for the needs of adult immigrant learners are pragmatic and desirable for the growth, cohesiveness and integrity of Canadian society.

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APPENDIX I

Respondent Number _____

Respondent's Name: _____

Address: _____

Telephone: _____

Record of Visits

Date	Time	Comments

Additional Notes

1. Man _____
Woman _____
2. Age _____
3. Single Upon Arrival At Present
Married _____ _____
Divorced _____ _____
Widowed _____ _____
4. Place of Birth _____
5. First Language _____
6. Number of Languages (describe) _____

7. Citizenship _____
8. Spouse's Place of Birth _____
9. Spouse's First Language _____
10. Spouse's Citizenship _____
11. Last Places of Residence _____
12. Length of Residence in Last Place _____ years
13. Length of Residence in Vancouver _____ years
14. Did you ever visit Vancouver before you came to live here? Yes _____
No _____
15. If so, how long was your visit here? _____
16. Present occupation (Be very specific such as owner of small retail business, sales manager of Sears Dept. store, secretary in a real estate office, iron worker making car frames at General Motors)

17. If presently unemployed or housewife, what was your last occupation in Canada?
- _____
18. What was your last occupation in Israel?
- _____
19. What other occupations have you had in your life?
- _____
20. If you have never worked at all what was your spouse's occupation when you left Israel?
- _____
21. How many children did you have?
- upon arrival _____ at present _____
22. How old were your children upon arrival at present
- | | | |
|---------|-------|-------|
| child 1 | _____ | _____ |
| child 2 | _____ | _____ |
| child 3 | _____ | _____ |
| child 4 | _____ | _____ |
23. How many years of formal schooling have you had? _____ years.
24. Describe your life's education in detail (e.g. 10 years high school, 2 years in army technical school, worked for 5 years, 4 years university, 1 year teacher training, worked for 10 years, 6 months job retraining at an insurance company)
- | Before arrival in Canada | After arrival in Canada |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ |
25. How many countries have you lived in for six months or more including Canada and Israel?
- _____

26. Do you hold a B.C. Driver's Licence? Yes _____ No _____
27. Did you hold a driver's licence before coming to B.C.? Yes _____ No _____
28. When you arrived in Vancouver, how many adult relatives did you have here?

29. How was each of them (from #28) related to you?

30. When you arrived in Vancouver, how many friends did you already have living here? (not relatives)

31. How many of your friends (from #30) were Israelis? _____

32. How often did you see each of your Israeli friends?

<u>Friend</u>	<u>During 1st 6 months in Van.</u>	<u>At present</u>
1. _____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____

33. How many of your friends (from #30) were Canadians? _____

34. How often did you see each of your Canadian friends?

<u>Friend</u>	<u>During 1st 6 months in Van.</u>	<u>At present</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

35. How often **did** you attend a synagogue?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Now and then over the years
- ☐ At least yearly
- ☐ At least monthly
- ☐ At least weekly
- ☐ At least daily

36. When did you last attend the synagogue?

_____ Occasion: _____

37. When was the time before the last time?

_____ Occasion: _____

38. How often do you read the Jewish Western Bulletin?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Now and then over the years
- ☐ At least yearly
- ☐ At least monthly
- ☐ At least weekly

39. When was the last time you read it?

_____ Where? _____

40. When was the time before the last time?

_____ Where? _____

41. How often do you go to the Jewish Community Centre?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Now and then over the years
- ☐ At least yearly
- ☐ At least monthly
- ☐ At least weekly
- ☐ At least daily

42. When was the last time you went to the Jewish Community Centre?

What for? _____

43. When was the time before the last time?

What for? _____

44. Here are some statements describing differences between life in Israel and life in Canada. Read them and indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each one: strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree.

SA A N D SD Life is less expensive in Canada.

SA A N D SD There is a big difference in Canadian food.

SA A N D SD The Canadians are more friendly than Israelis.

SA A N D SD There is no pressure from war and the political situation in Canada.

SA A N D SD The climate is very different in Vancouver.

SA A N D SD Political life is more interesting in Israel.

SA A N D SD There are more economic opportunities in Canada.

SA A N D SD There is less social and family life in Canada.

SA A N D SD Canadians are more polite than Israelis.

SA A N D SD It's harder to find a job in Canada.

SA A N D SD People in Canada live in better housing.

SA A N D SD Canadians are not as friendly as Israelis.

45. If you have noticed some differences between life in Israel and life in Canada which do not appear in #44, please state

46. How satisfied are you with your life in Canada?

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Not at all	Much less	Almost as	As much as I	Better	More than	Completely
- it's	than I	much as I	thought I	than I	I ever	- I love
terrible	thought I	thought I	would be	thought I	thought	it
	would be	would be		would be	possible	

47. Here are some statements describing reasons why you might be dissatisfied with your life in Canada. Read them and indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each one: strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree.

SA A N D SD Canadians are too private.
 SA A N D SD The climate in Vancouver is depressing.
 SA A N D SD I prefer a more socialist government.
 SA A N D SD It's difficult to make long-lasting friends here.
 SA A N D SD The relationship between the Israelis and the other Jews in Vancouver is not good.
 SA A N D SD I can't get a good job here.
 SA A N D SD I miss the Israeli culture.
 SA A N D SD I miss my family in Israel.
 SA A N D SD Canadian Jews aren't really Jewish.

48. If you are dissatisfied with something that is not listed in #47, please state it.

-
49. Did you come to Canada

_____ Alone
 _____ With friends (no family)
 _____ With your immediate family
 _____ With your family and others
 _____ Others

50. What was your citizenship status	Upon Arrival	At Present
Visitor's Visa (no work permit)	_____	_____
Visitor's Visa (& work permit)	_____	_____
Employment Visa	_____	_____
Student Visa (no work permit)	_____	_____
Student Visa (& work permit)	_____	_____
Landed Immigrant: Independent	_____	_____
Fiance(e)	_____	_____
Sponsored	_____	_____
Nominated	_____	_____
Other: Describe _____		

51. Do you use English

(a)	at home	1	2	3	4	5
		none	sometimes	half the time	most of the time	all the time
(b)	at work	1	2	3	4	5
		none	sometimes	half the time	most of the time	all the time

52. How well did you speak English upon arrival in Canada?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I couldn't get by at all	I could understand a little but not speak	I could understand a lot and speak a little	I could understand everything and speak a lot	I spoke well but had trouble with technical and professional terms	I spoke well with an accent	I could pass as a native Canadian

53. How well do you speak English now?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I can't get by at all	I can understand a little but not speak	I can understand a lot and speak a little	I can understand everything and speak a lot	I speak well but have trouble with technical and professional terms	I speak well with an accent	I can pass as a native Canadian

54. Interviewer's assessment of interviewee's English

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I had to conduct the whole interview in Hebrew. S/he does not know English at all	S/he understands a little English but doesn't speak it	S/he understands a lot of English and speaks a little	S/he understands everything in English and speaks a lot of English	S/he speaks English well but has trouble with technical and professional terms	S/he speaks well with an accent	S/he could pass as a native Canadian

APPENDIX III

INTERVIEWERS' STEPS TO FOLLOW

1. Phone the person you are to interview in order to make an appointment. Ask if it's alright if you speak in Hebrew. Say something like:
"My name is _____. I am phoning on behalf of Judith Mastai, a student at UBC, who is doing research on Israelis who have come to Vancouver over the last ten years. Below is a copy of an article that appeared in the Jewish Western Bulletin this week. Please use the information to give some background on what the research is about and what the results will be used for. Try, at all costs, to avoid using the word "immigrant". Substitute the word "newcomer".

Judith Mastai, a doctoral student in the Department of Adult Education at UBC, is conducting research on how people adapt to new places. The emphasis is on what tasks face a newcomer and how they are resolved when one arrives in a new country. The survey does not inquire why newcomers have chosen to come to Canada or how long they intend to stay here. The results of the survey will be used to inform teachers of English as a second language as to how they can be more helpful to newcomers and more efficient in providing meaningful content for their lessons. Different ethnic groups will be interviewed and, during the next month, Israeli members of the community can expect a phone call from Mrs. Mastai or one of her interviewers: Dvori Balshine, Nathan Davidovitch, Yona Frishman, Dahlia Gottlieb-Tanaka, Ruth Kowarsky, Amos Lakos,

Moshe Mastai, Michal Nachmias, Josephine Nadel, Lois Parag, Harvey Radman. Any inquiries regarding the study can be directed to Mrs. Mastai (733-2003) and your co-operation will be greatly appreciated. In addition, if you have recently arrived in Vancouver or know of someone who has, please phone, as the success of the study depends on interviewing those who have been here a short while as well as those who have been here for some time.

A good opening on the phone might be: "Did you see the article in the Bulletin last week?" Before going to the interview, write the questionnaire number on both the first page and the yellow top card on the deck of cards.

2. At the interview: Introduce yourself again and once more explain in a few words that you represent a student who is doing research at UBC on newcomers to Vancouver. She is interested in the sorts of tasks that people meet when they come to live in a new place. If the people seem suspicious, upset or unwilling to be much help, try to find out why during the first few minutes. If you need to you could mention any of these things:
 - a) we are not interested in their reasons for leaving Israel;
 - b) we are not interested in how long they plan to stay in Canada;
 - c) we are not interested in whether they intend to return to Israel;
 - d) we are not from any agency or the government;
 - e) this is a doctoral research in Adult Education.

Stress that we are only interested in the sorts of tasks that face people when they come to a new place. We have chosen to talk to Israelis because the researcher speaks Hebrew and lived in Israel for a number of years.

Take some time to tell the people what all your papers for the interview are: the cards, the questionnaire, etc. and that they will be used at different points during the interview. When the interviewee feels at ease, begin the interview.

3. Show the interviewee the deck of cards. Explain that there are 36 tasks that people meet when they arrive in a new place. Have them read through the cards to make sure that they understand everything. If there is a question, translate the item into Hebrew. If it is still a problem, ask them what they think it means. Try to avoid giving examples of an item.
4. Ask the interviewee to shuffle the cards.
5. S/he assigns the difficulty of the task on the first card (the card on top of the shuffled deck) a value of 100.
6. S/he assigns a number, any number greater or smaller than 100 except 0, to each subsequent card to indicate its difficulty in relation to the first card. The number stands for how difficult the task was the first time s/he was faced with it. Point out that each card will be "so many" times less or more difficult than the first card. Interviewees could leave the first card on the table for reference. Ask them whether the second card is easier or harder than the first, how many times easier (or harder). Do the same for the next card and so on until they understand what is required. Stress that we are interested in ratios, not percentages. Encourage them to check back and forth among cards if they wish. Please make sure that they assign a value to every card. Even if it's not applicable they can still imagine how difficult it would be for them.

7. Have the interviewee arrange all the tasks in order of their importance the first time they were faced with the task.
8. You record their ordering by writing large numbers on the centre front of the cards - 1 is their most important, 2 their next in importance and so on down to 36 for the least important.
9. Select your ten cards from the deck.
10. Turn one card over. Explain the time line and that all the lines on it stand for days, months, etc. after arrival. Refer to each of the 10 items, one at a time, remind the interviewees of the difficulty value s/he gave it and ask the following four questions about each of your 10 items.
11. Ask the interviewee at what point in time s/he first thought of having to do that task and mark the time precisely on the time line with a dot and the number 1.
12. Ask the interviewee at what point in time s/he resolved that task (or, if s/he hasn't resolved it yet, at what point in time s/he expects to resolve it) and mark the time precisely on the time line with a dot and the number 2.
13. Ask the interviewee what made the task difficult. They could give one or a number of answers to this question. Record all their answers on the back of the card at the top. Some of their answers might refer to:
 - a) the time they arrived, e.g. at a time of high unemployment;
 - b) no source of information available or knowledge of where to go for information;
 - c) wrong information;
 - d) something that was, of itself, hard to learn (Be specific about what that hurdle was)

- e) how long it took to resolve it.
14. Ask the interviewee where or to whom s/he went to get information on how to resolve the task. Show the list of sources to aid the interviewee. Mark the sources by letter symbol on the back of the card at the bottom. If s/he went to C first, then to Q and then to J, mark them C Q J. In other words, try to find out the order in which they consulted each source. Encourage them to "tell you the story" of how they resolved each of these ten tasks.
 15. Ask the interviewee if there are any tasks that s/he had to resolve that are not listed on the cards. Write each new task on a card with a yellow stripe. You need not ask any questions about the new items. Just be specific when you write the item down.
 16. Show the deck of cards to the interviewee. Have him/her read the cards and sort them into five piles:
 - a) not applicable to me;
 - b) I haven't tried this one yet;
 - c) I'm doing this now;
 - d) I tried this but couldn't resolve it;
 - e) I've resolved this.
 17. After s/he has sorted them into piles, you mark each pile with the appropriate colour pencil.
 18. Questionnaire: Please let the interviewee see the questionnaire. There is nothing secret about it. However, you ask the questions and write in the answers. Don't let them just fill it in by themselves. They can fill in questions 47 and 50. Make sure that you get as specific information as possible, especially about employment.

19. Finish your coffee and go home.
20. When you get outside, make any notes about the interview, problems you had, questions, etc.
21. When you get home call Judith to discuss the interview, questions, problems. Please keep in close contact, especially if you have any problems making appointments.

One final word. You will find that the interviews become easier and easier. Please try very hard not to change the precision with which you ask your questions and not to embellish and give examples. Always bear in mind that all of you must ask the questions the same way and follow this script or the results will be useless. Have fun. Good luck.