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He Puna Kōrero - Journal of Maori & Pacific Development



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TE PUĀWAITANGA O TE PUAWĀNANGA

EDITORIAL

E ngā mana, e ngā reo, e ngā matāwaka tēnā koutou. Tēnā hoki tātou i roto i ō tātou tini mate, rātou nei te hunga mate ki a rātou, tātou nei te hunga ora ki a tātou. Nau mai, haere mai, ki tēnei putanga o te kete kōrero o He Puna Kōrero. Kei te tuku atu ēnei kohinga kōrero hei tirohanga, hei pānuitanga, hei wānangatanga mā koutou. Tēnā koutou katoa.

Welcome to the tenth year and eighteenth issue of He Puna Kōrero, Journal of Maori and Pacific Development which covers a broad range of issues from around the Pacific and Aotearoa/New Zealand, including contemporary understandings of the practice of indigenous facial tattooing in Taiwan, Pacific immigrant entrepreneurship in Aotearoa/New Zealand, potential synergies between communicative language teaching and Māori pedagogy and the use of games as a vocabulary extension and language strategy training exercise.

The first article by Diane Johnson (University of Waikato), Yi-Ju Tseng and Jia-Huey Her (Wenzao Ursuline College of Languages in Taiwan), reports on a research project that explored the extent to which, in a small sub-group of the Truku tribe, the Si-La-An, the traditions and practices of facial tattoo are still understood and valued. Of the seven indigenous tribes of Taiwan that practiced some form of tattooing, it appears that only three of these tribes (the Atayal, Truku and Saisiyat) applied designs to the face in common with other Austronesian groups including the Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand. During the period of Japanese occupation in the early 20th century, the practice of facial tattooing was forbidden. As a result, the detailed knowledge and understanding of this significant traditional custom has become fragmented and opinions about the value of continuing the custom vary considerably.

The second article, by Sophie Nock and Winifred Crombie (University of Waikato), explores potential synergies between Māori pedagogy and what is commonly referred to as ‘communicative language teaching’ (CLT). The authors discuss some of the major developments and changes to language teaching and learning over the last few decades, identifying some of the main characteristics of CLT and two different approaches to the conceptualization of Māori pedagogy. They argue that once the theory and practice of CLT are fully understood, the synergies between CLT and Māori pedagogy become more obvious.

The next article is by Huibert de Vries (University of Canterbury), who reports on the findings of a case-study on the entrepreneurial spirit within Pacific People in New Zealand. Referring to selected literature and semi-structured interviews with Pacific immigrant entrepreneurs and community leaders, he identifies a range of factors that facilitate and inhibit entrepreneurial activity. These include family and community networks and social obligations.

The final article in this collection is by Chen Meihua (Wenzao Ursuline College of Languages), who investigates the effectiveness of games as a vocabulary learning strategy for language students. In this article, she discusses the results of a vocabulary

extension training program designed for students of English as a foreign language that uses vocabulary games that she created. The results suggest that participation in vocabulary games can lead to an increase in reported use of a range of language learning strategies, particularly memory-based strategies. At the end of the article, Chen Meihua indicates how the games she created can be adapted for use with learners of other languages such as Māori.

It is a real pleasure to be invited to act once again as guest editor and I hope that you enjoy reading through the treasures contained within this collection as much as I have.

Tihei mauri ora!

Nā Hēmi Whaanga

Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao (School of Māori and Pacific Development)

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato (The University of Waikato)

The tradition of facial tattoo in Taiwan: The case of the *Truku* people

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Abstract

The art of body marking (tattoo), is a traditional pan-Austronesian tradition that has been lost or partially lost in many countries. In the case of the *Truku* tribe in north eastern Taiwan, the traditional practice of facial tattoo ceased around the 1930s and there are now only a few tribal elders (both male and female) who still bear the characteristic tribal markings. This paper reports on a research project in which a questionnaire was administered to 100 members of the *Si-La-An* sub-tribe of the *Truku* people. The findings indicate that although the respondents know that this was once a significant cultural practice within the tribe, detailed knowledge and understanding of the traditional customs and practices associated with facial tattoo is inconsistent and opinions about the value of continuing the custom vary considerably.



Figure 1: Nainai - Atayal Facial Tattoo¹

Introduction

Historical accounts of Taiwan indicate that indigenous people had been living in the country for some 8000 years before major Han Chinese immigration began in the 17th century (Blust, 1999). Although there is some question about the origins of the indigenous tribes in Taiwan, they are largely recognised as Austronesian, with ethnic links to the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Madagascar and Oceania (Bird, Hope & Taylor, 2004; Hill, Soares & Mormina, 2007). Using a combination of DNA, radio carbon and computer simulations, a team of researchers at Victoria University in New Zealand have calculated that Austronesian-speaking people left Taiwan around 5 thousand years ago, travelling to the Philippines, Indonesia, and islands such as Papua New Guinea and reaching parts of Polynesia around 2.5 thousand years ago and New Zealand round 7 hundred years ago (Harrington, 2005).

There are currently 14 different indigenous tribes recognised by the Executive Yuan (the executive ethnic council) in Taiwan - *Ami*, *Atayal*, *Bunun*, *Kavalan*, *Paiwan*, *Puyuma*, *Rukai*, *Saisiyat*, *Tao*, *Thao*, *Tsou*, *Truku*, *Sakizaya*, and *Sediq*. A further eleven groups identify themselves as independent tribes but remain unrecognised by the Executive Yuan - *Babuza*, *Basay*, *Hoanya*, *Ketagalan*, *Luilang*, *Pazeh/Kaxabu*, *Popora*, *Qauqaut*, *Siraya*, *Taokas*, *Trobiawan*. Each tribe has its own geographical territory and each has a range of unique customs and ceremonies.

The indigenous people who participated in the study reported in this paper are members of a sub-group of the *Truku* people (太魯閣族), who are sometimes also referred to as *Taroko* people. This tribe was officially recognized by the Executive Yuan on January 15th 2004. Prior to this, they were regarded as members of the larger *Atayal* tribal grouping, along with the *Sediq* people. The *Truku* people are mostly concentrated in the area around Hualien and the Taroko Gorge in the north east of Taiwan. It is estimated that there are 24,000 people who have ethnic ties to the *Truku* tribe. *Figure 2* below shows the most populous areas of *Truku* inhabitation in Taiwan.

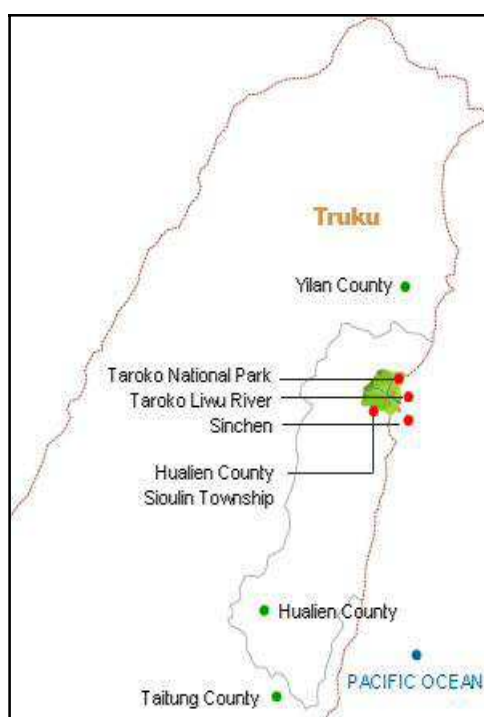


Figure 2: Truku Tribal Population Distribution²

A brief history of facial tattoo in Taiwan

According to the Council of Aboriginal Affairs in Taiwan, the origin of tattooing can be traced back to about 1,400 years ago. At least seven of Taiwan's indigenous tribes - *Atayal*, *Truku*, *Saisiyat*, *Paiwan*, *Rukai*, *Puyuma* and *Tsou* - practised some form of tattooing. However, it appears that *Atayal*, *Truku* and *Saisiyat* were the only tribes who applied designs to the face. While *Saisiyat* women were tattooed only on the forehead, *Atayal* and *Truku* also tattooed the cheeks and the chin. In common with other Austronesian groups (e.g., indigenous Tahitians and Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand), the indigenous people of Taiwan used tattoos for different purposes in the case of different tribes. They were a form of adornment or beautification and a way of signalling status, spirituality, maturity, chastity, geographical origins and genealogy.

Traditionally, the *Atayal* and the *Truku* inhabited Taiwan's mountainous regions (up to heights of 2,400 meters above sea level) and made a living by hunting and weaving. For female members of the tribe, tattoos symbolized chastity, weaving ability and duty. Generally, girls received their first tattoo at around five years of age. At around the age of fifteen, they received a second tattoo as a symbol of adulthood. In addition to being a sign of a female's weaving skills, the second tattoo was also seen as means of testing chastity, the belief being that a promiscuous female would not survive the tattooing process. In order to earn the right to be tattooed, and therefore also the right to take a partner and create their own family, males had to prove their expertise in hunting and in battle. Men who were particularly successful at headhunting were given special tattoos on their chests, feet and foreheads. For both males and females, tattoos were a symbol of the transition from childhood into adulthood. The traditional markings were an indication of recognition that the individual was now ready to take on full adult responsibilities (Liao, 1998).

Tattooing generally took place in winter or in autumn. Tattoo artists (many of whom were women) used jute threads to draw patterns on the face of the person being tattooed. The marks were then etched on the face using iron needles, the wounds being coloured by the application of ashes. The tattoos applied to the faces of women were much more complex than those applied to the faces of men. Women generally had a straight line on their foreheads and chins, with two U-shaped lines on their cheeks. Men, on the other hand, generally had just one straight line each on their forehead and chin (Xu, 1989). According to an *Atayal* tattoo expert, Tien Kuei-Shih, the more complex the pattern, the more responsibilities one had in society (Tien, 1997).

Tattooing and the *Truku* people

For the *Truku* people, tattoos provided a connection between the past, the present and the future. They often evoked past tales and events through reference to the spirit of an ancestor. Tribes people who were tattooed were believed to be protected by the spirits of the ancestors, whereas those without tattoos were vulnerable to early death. For females, the absence of tattoos was also believed to have a negative impact on fertility and thus, in the long term, on family fortune (Lee, 1999).

Tattoos were considered to be of particular importance at the time of death, when tribal ancestors would be waiting to greet and guide their kinsmen and women to the other side of the Rainbow Bridge (彩虹橋) that had to be crossed in order to enter the after world. The form, shape and symbols contained within the tattoos allowed the

ancestors to recognise members of specific families and to link the recently arrived with their closest family ancestors (Ma, 1999). Only those who were tattooed were believed to be able to cross the bridge.

Facial tattooing and the period of Japanese occupation

Up to the point at which Taiwan was colonised by Japan (1895), the practice of facial tattoo was a regular part of tribal custom (Zheng, 1995). The Japanese, however, viewed the practice as barbaric and introduced a policy forbidding tribes to practice this traditional art form. For this reason, during the period between 1895 and 1945, the practice decreased. Although it was still practised in secret for some time, it had virtually ceased by around 1930 (Lee, 1982). Some attempts were made to resist the prohibition of tribal customs by the Japanese rulers of the country. One particularly famous incident of rebellion was the Wu-She Event (霧社事件) of October 1930 when a number of Atayal kinsmen mounted a revolt against the destruction of their land, their property and their tribal customs and practices, including the art of facial tattoo. The revolt was led by Mona Rudao, the son of a famous *Atayal* chief, who committed suicide in December 1930 to avoid being captured alive by those who were hunting him and the other rebels. Although the rebellion was relatively short-lived, it has great significance for the indigenous people of Taiwan. Rudao is revered as a champion of indigenous rights (Liao, 1998). Statues commemorating and celebrating him can be found in many villages and towns in the *Atayal* tribal area.

Recording facial tattoos

A member of the *Atayal* tribe, Tien Kuei-Shih, has begun to make a photographic record of the remaining examples of this lost art in Taiwan. Tien Kuei-Shih remarks "Since most of those with tattoos are very old, it is urgent to preserve their life histories as living records of tribal culture. I have interviewed all the tattooed men, the youngest one being 83 years old and the oldest 103. When I finished my first study in 1993, there were still 82 old men with facial tattoos, but now there are only 34" (Lee, 2003, ¶7). Tien strongly believes that his work will make a contribution to handing down one aspect of tribal heritage. He sees the patterns and traditions of facial tattoo as being linked to other tribal arts (with symbolic patterns), such as textiles, wall-decorations, woodcarvings and ritual dances. Of all of the tribal arts, he considers facial tattoo the most difficult to preserve and he is urging the Taiwanese Government to support the work of the *Atayal* people and other indigenous groups to help to create tribal archives before the traditional practices have gone forever (Tien, 1997).

The research project

The overall aim of the research project reported on here was to explore the extent to which, in a small sub-group of the *Truku* tribe, the *Si-La-An*, the traditions and practices of facial tattoo are still understood and valued. A subsidiary aim of the project was to explore whether there was any prospect of this art form being revived in some way in the future as an expression of tribal identity.

Research methodology

The research was conducted through a questionnaire written in Chinese (because not all members of the tribe speak the tribal language). The 24 questions in the questionnaire were divided into three different categories: a) personal information about respondents, b) understanding of the custom of facial tattooing and c) possible future of this custom. Piloting of the questionnaire involved a small group of

respondents, some of whom were members of other indigenous tribes. On the basis of their feedback, amendments were made to eliminate errors and ambiguities in some of the questions. One hundred (100) copies of the questionnaire were then distributed to members of the *Si-La-An* sub-group of the *Truku* tribe in Hualien County. Ninety-nine (99) completed questionnaires were returned.

Data analysis

Participant profiles

As shown in *Figure 3*, ninety-nine completed questionnaires were returned, with 53% of respondents being male and 47% female.

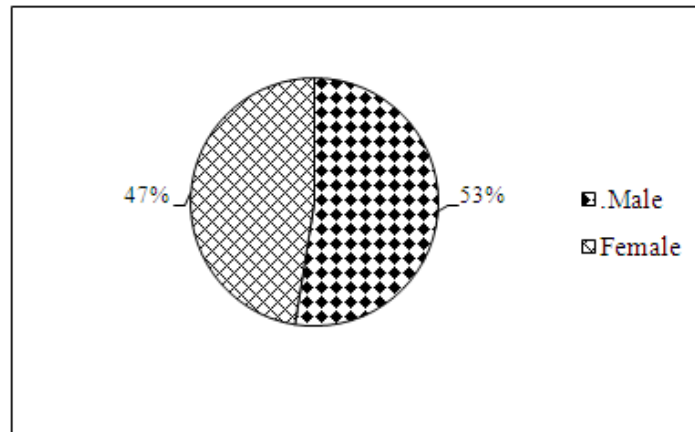


Figure 3: Gender of respondents

The age ranges of respondents are recorded in *Figure 4*. The majority were between the ages of 16 and 20 or over the age of 51. This is perhaps because many people between the ages of 21 and 50 leave the tribal area to live in cities in search of work opportunities.

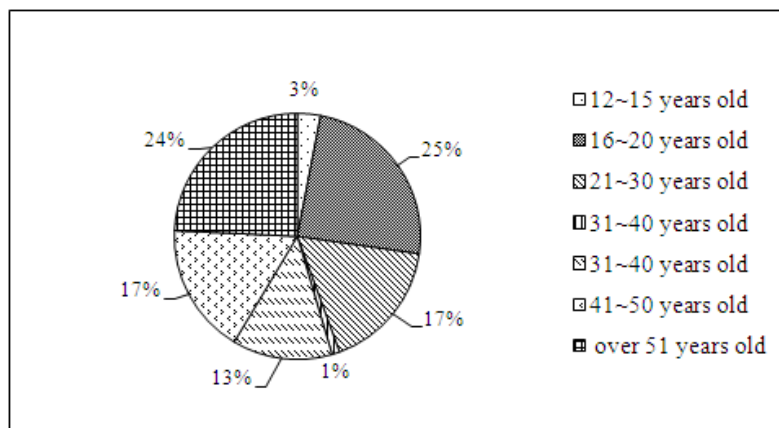


Figure 4: Age range of respondents

Figure 5 shows the respondents' employment status. The majority of respondents were students, white-collar workers or retired.

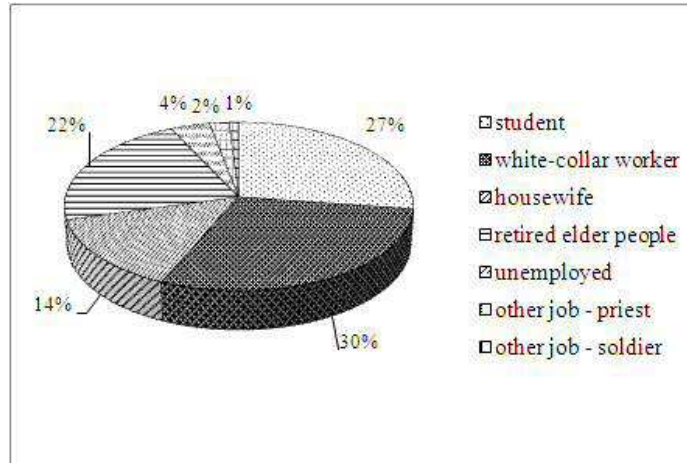


Figure 5: Respondents' employment status

Participants were asked to indicate whether or not they considered themselves to be indigenous. Only 3% did not.

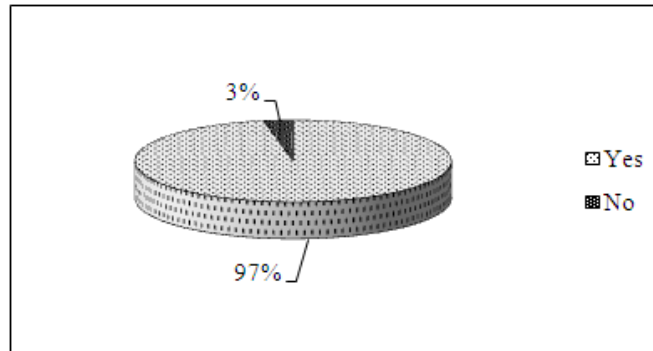


Figure 6: Indigenous or not?

In Hualien County, the inhabitants are almost exclusively indigenous. However, they are not necessarily members of the *Truku* tribe. There are also members of other tribes, such as *Amis* and *Atayal*, who live in the same area. As shown in *Figure 7*, the majority of respondents were from the *Truku* tribe.

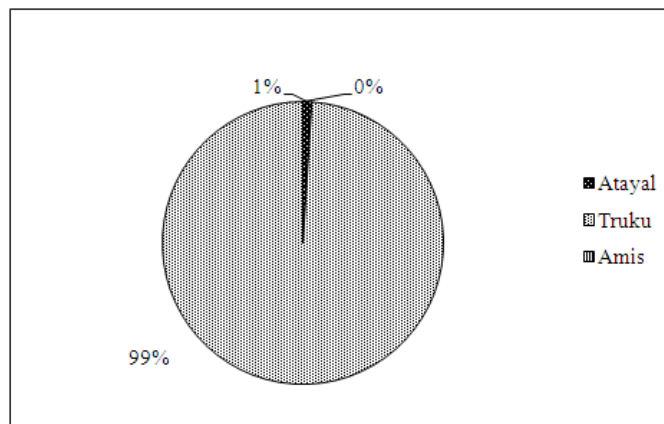


Figure 7: Tribal affiliation of respondents

Knowledge of the traditional practice of facial tattoo

Participants were asked if they had heard about the traditional practice of facial tattoo. Only 5% indicated that they had not. Of the 95% who had heard of this traditional practice, most of their information had come from family members, from friends or from contexts and events where tribal history was passed down orally. The respondents' sources of information about facial tattoo are outlined in *Figure 8*.

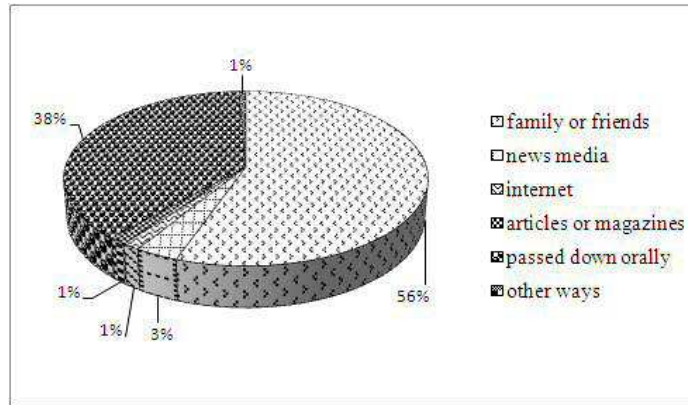


Figure 8: Sources of information about the practice of facial tattoo

Participants were also asked if they had ever talked about, or shared information about the tribal tradition of facial tattoo with friends who were not indigenous. The majority (82%) indicated that they had.

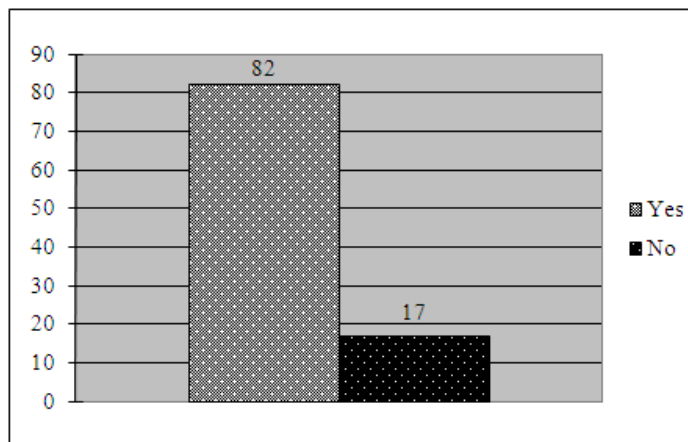


Figure 9: Sharing information about facial tattooing with non-indigenous friends

Respondents who had shared information about facial tattoo traditions were asked which aspects of the tradition they had shared. They were given four options of which more than one could be selected: *history*; *form*; *meaning*; *legend relating to origin of the practice*. A large number (82%) reported that they had recounted the legend relating to the origin of the practice of facial tattoo (see *Figure 10*).

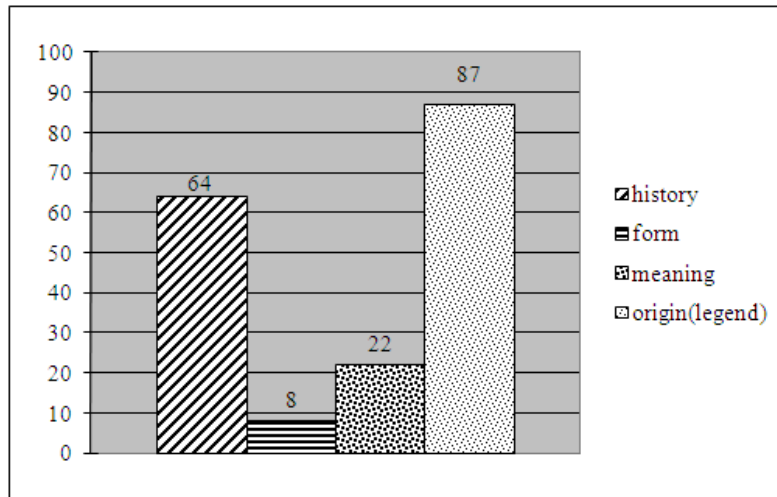


Figure 10: Aspects of the tradition of facial tattoo shared with non-indigenous friends

As indicated in *Figures 9 and 10*, there is a desire to share aspects of the custom of facial tattooing with non-indigenous friends. However, knowledge of the details surrounding the practice appears in some cases to be uncertain and/or inaccurate. An example of this can be found in the data presented in *Figure 11*. When asked about the age at which a tattoo was first applied, most replied that it was between the ages of 11 and 20. In fact, girls were often given their first tattoo around the age of five and so the expected response was 1 – 10. Only 1% of participants responded correctly. The majority (58%) selected 11 – 20, with over one third selecting ‘don’t know’.

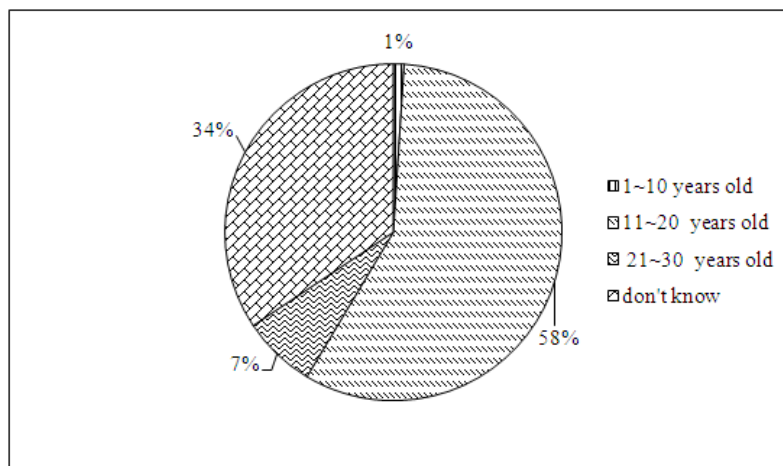


Figure 11: Age when first tattooed

Participants were asked about the qualities that were required by a man to make him eligible for tattooing. They could select from: *divination*; *hunting*, and *I don't know*. While most respondents (83%) responded correctly that a male had to show prowess in hunting, 12% did not know and a further 5% selected divination. This is shown in *Figure 12* below.

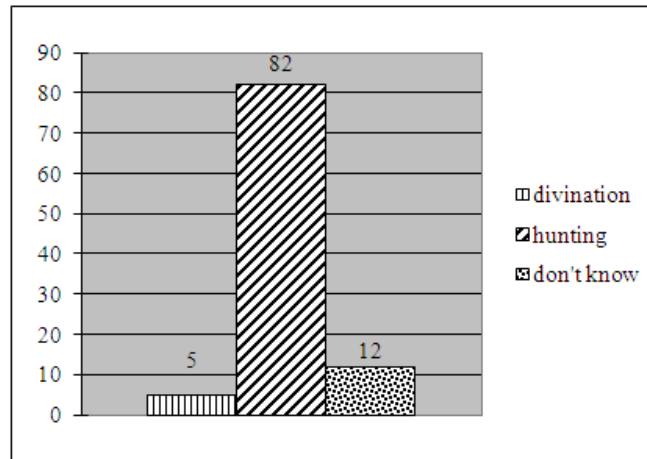


Figure 12: Qualities required of males in order to be eligible for tattooing

As indicated in *Figure 13*, the majority of respondents (81%) indicated that females needed to be able to demonstrate weaving skills in order to be eligible for tattooing. However, 3% selected ‘can give birth’, 2% selected ‘can do housework’ and 14% selected ‘I don’t know’.

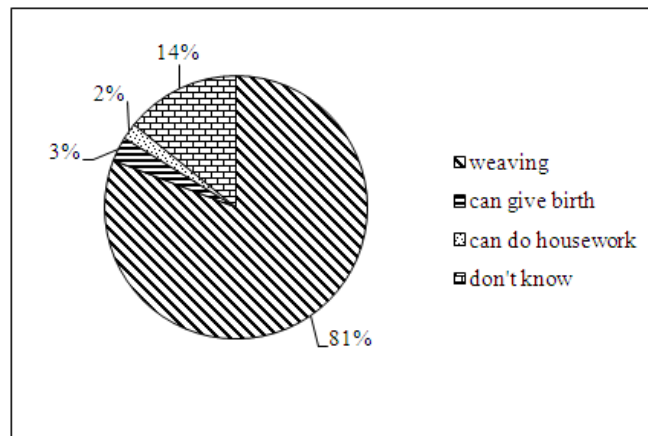


Figure 13: Qualities required of females in order to be eligible for tattooing

As indicated in *Figure 14*, 19% of respondents were unaware that male and female tattoos were different.

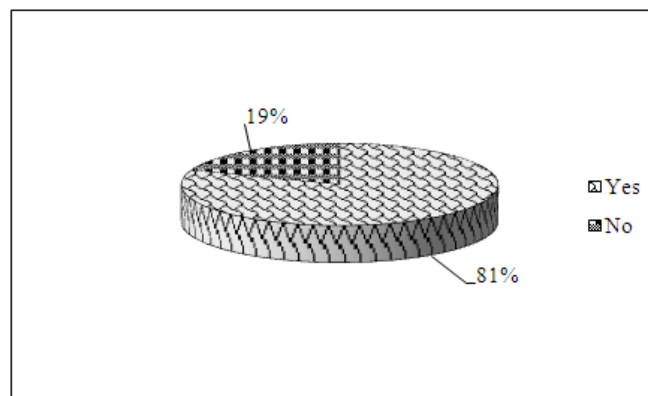


Figure 14: Male and female tattoos – same (Yes) or different (No)?

The data reported in *Figure 15* indicate beliefs of informants about the symbolism of tattoos in the case of males. As this was a multiple response question, that total amounts to over 100%. Just over half (54%) of the respondents were aware that tattoos in the case of males symbolized adulthood and just over 40% (41%) were aware that they also symbolized bravery.

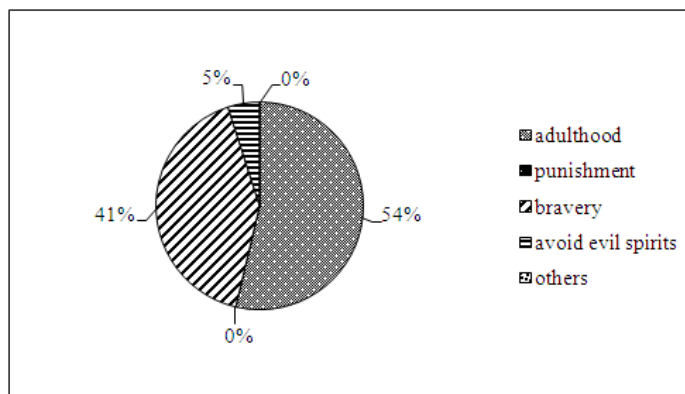


Figure 15: Symbolism of tattoos for males

The data reported in *Figure 16* indicate the beliefs of respondents about the symbolism of tattoos in the case of females. While over half (56%) reported believing that tattoos symbolized adulthood (56%), far fewer (12%) reported that they symbolized chastity.

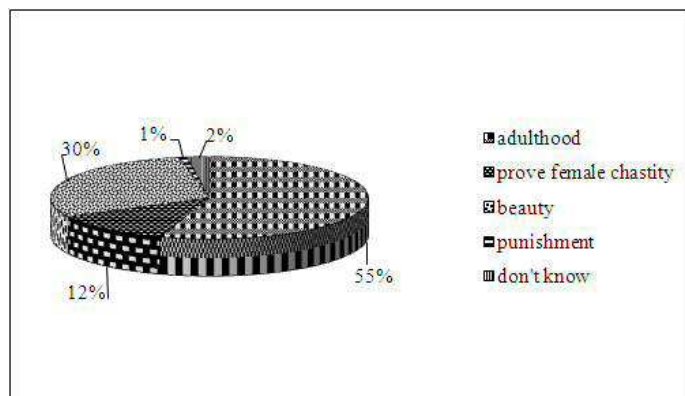


Figure 16: Symbolism of tattoos for females

Views about tattooing and the future

The final questions in the survey focussed on participants' beliefs about communicating information about tattooing to future generations and about the future of this traditional practice. As indicated in *Figure 17*, the majority of the respondents indicated that they believed that information about the practice of tattooing should be communicated to future generations.

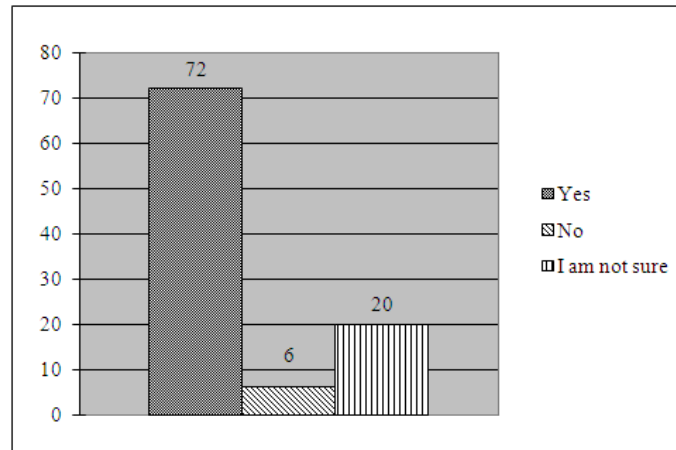


Figure 17: *Should information about facial tattooing be communicated to future generations?*

Participants were asked to indicate which aspects of tattooing they believed to be of positive value. They could select one or more from three listed attributes: *beauty (very pretty)*, *individual symbolism*, *symbolism of group unity*. As indicated in *Figure 18*, just under one third of respondents indicated that they believed that tattoos were of positive value in relation to beauty (31%), approximately one third indicated that they believed them to be of positive value in relation to individual symbolism (33%) and just over one third indicated that they believed them to be of positive value as symbols of group unity (36%).

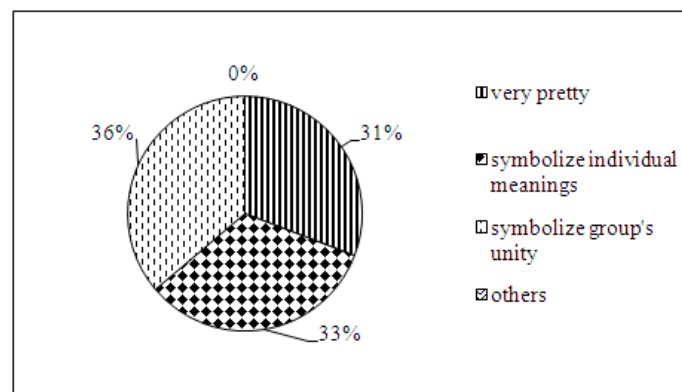


Figure 18: *Respondents' views about the value of particular aspects of tattoos*

Participants were also asked whether they believed that there were negative aspects to tattooing. As indicated in *Figure 19*, only 3% reported believing that there were no drawbacks associated with tattooing. A considerable number reported believing that it was harmful to the skin (42%), and over one quarter believed that it could be the occasion of ridicule by others (26%) and/ or that it was ugly (29%).

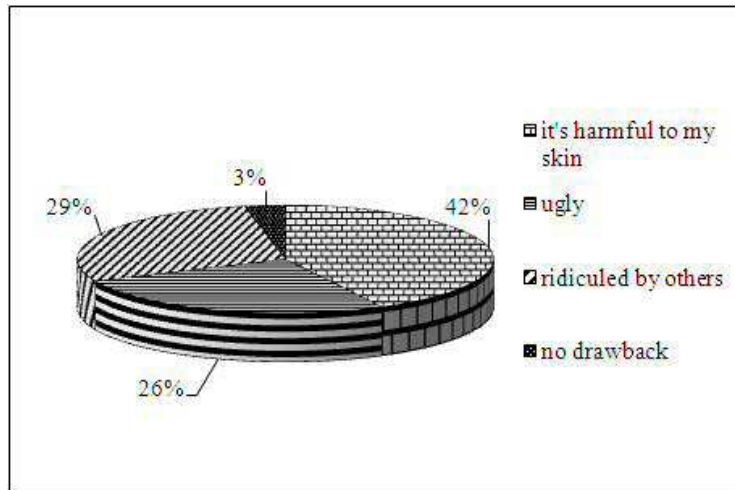


Figure 19: Potential disadvantages of tattooing

When asked their opinion about the disappearance of the custom of facial tattoo (see *Figure 20*), only a small number were unconcerned about it (15). A considerable number expressed regret in that it signalled to them that the culture was disappearing (62) and/or that it made it generally more difficult to pass the culture on to future generations (60). On a personal level, almost three quarters of respondents indicated that it had a negative impact on their own desire to cherish their culture (78) and/ or to pass it on personally to others.

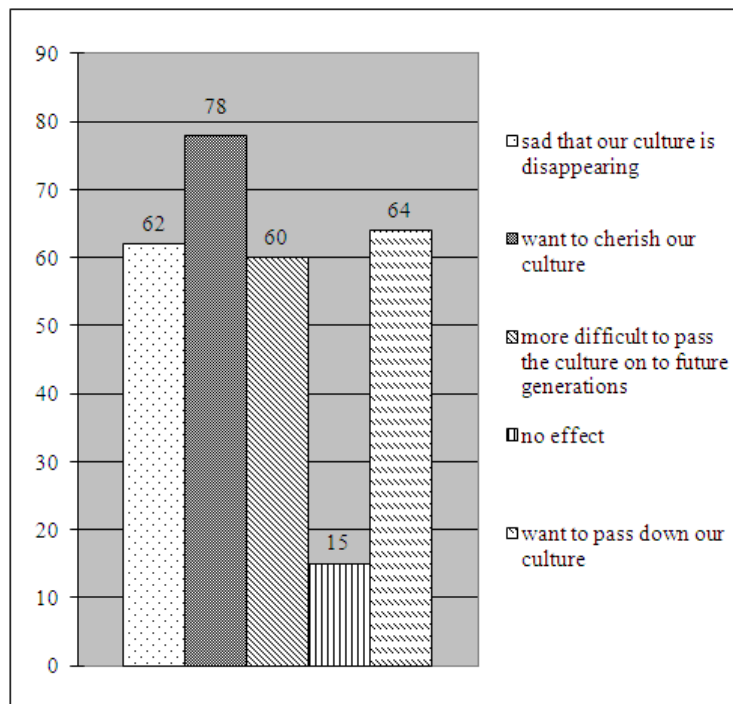


Figure 20: The impact of the disappearance of facial tattoos

A final open question asked whether participants believed that the custom of facial tattoo should be continued and why. Only 18% indicated that they believed that it should. Of those who believed that it should not or indicated that they were uncertain, the majority indicated that they nevertheless believed that passing on information about the practice to future generations was important.

Conclusions

The custom of facial tattoo is a significant aspect of tribal identity for the *Truku* people. The tattoos are reminders of ancient customs and practices, of legends and heroes and a way of tribal life that is slowly disappearing. It is clear that while the majority of respondents to this questionnaire were not in favour of continuing the practice of facial tattooing, they were in favour of ensuring that information about the practice was communicated to future generations and many of them had discussed it with non-indigenous friends. Even so, their own knowledge and understanding of the practice of facial tattooing appears to be patchy. The tools and skills of traditional tattooing have largely disappeared and much information about it has already been lost to many (Liu, 2004). This makes it all the more important that Tien Kuei-Shih's photographic records and his careful documentation of the tradition is supported.

A final note

On Tuesday, January 22nd 2008, the *Taipei Times* reported that a young *Atayal* couple had had their faces tattooed in the traditional manner. In an interview with reporters, Shayun Foudu observed that facial tattooing was a cultural tradition of the *Atayal* tribe and that she felt very proud to have a tattoo on her face and to have finally done something to preserve her tribal tradition of facial tattoo ("Atayal Woman", 2008). It is interesting to speculate on whether the actions of this young couple will mark the beginning of a resurgence of the practice of facial tattoo in indigenous tribes in Taiwan.



*Figure 21: Young Atayal couple*³

Endnotes

1. Photograph reproduced with kind permission of Patrick Cowsill who refers to the custom of Japanese colonialists of “[severing] sections of . . . faces with tattoos” (see *Atayaal Facial Tattoo*: <http://patrick-cowsill.blogspot.com/2006/12/atayal-facial-tattoo.html>)
2. Source: The Digital Museum of Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples. Available <http://www.dmtip.gov.tw/Eng/Truku.htm>
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Exploring synergies between Māori pedagogy and communicative language teaching

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Abstract

The primary aim of this paper is to explore potential synergies between Māori pedagogy and what is known as ‘communicative language teaching’. A brief outline of some changes and developments in approaches to language teaching and learning over the last few decades is followed by a summary of some of the main characteristics of communicative language teaching (CLT) and of different approaches to the conceptualization of Māori pedagogy. Some of the primary characteristics of communicative language teaching are then explored in the context of Māori pedagogy and it is argued that there are some important synergies between the two.

Introduction

The focus here is on the teaching and learning of Māori language and culture in the context of what has come to be known as ‘communicative language teaching’ (CLT). This is an approach that is based on a large body of research about learning generally and about language learning in particular. It is an approach that has had an immense impact around the world. Communicative language teaching can be adapted to a vast range of local circumstances and is now recommended by Ministries of Education around the world. It is an approach that can be used in Māori-immersion and in ‘mainstream’ school settings. It emphasises the importance of cultural respect and understanding and is, it will be argued here, an approach that is, or can be, entirely consistent with concepts of Māori pedagogy.

Brief history of recent developments in language teaching

A very brief account of changes in approaches to language teaching that have taken place in the last fifty years or so is provided here.

Grammar translation and audio-lingual habit theory

Prior to the 1950s, one of the most widespread approaches to the teaching of languages was what is known as ‘grammar translation’ (Larsen-Freeman, 1986). Learners would be given passages from the target language (the language they were learning) and would, with the help of the teacher, translate them into their first language, pausing to discuss vocabulary and structures they were unfamiliar with as they arose. It is hardly surprising, then, that many learners ended up believing that concepts are largely the same in different languages (just labeled differently). Thus, for example, within the context of such an approach, learners of te reo Māori would be likely to think that the words ‘kaitiaki’ and ‘guardian’ represent essentially the same concept because these two words would be associated in their minds through translation. It is also hardly surprising that many learners ended up with little genuine concept of cultural difference.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the study of all aspects of human behaviour was dominated by an approach that is referred to as ‘behaviourism’, an inductive, data-driven approach that is based on the belief that everything that organisms do can be described scientifically with reference to publicly observable processes (e.g. actions) or privately observable processes (e.g. thinking and feeling) without making reference to internal physiological processes (see, for example, Watson, 1930). People were believed to learn things, including languages, largely through imitation and positive reinforcement (such as praise) (see for example, Skinner, 1957). Associated in the 20th century with behaviourism was structuralism, an approach to the analysis of language, culture and society in which specific areas of human endeavour were treated as internally coherent systems of interrelated parts (Sturrock, 2003). Following de Saussure (1916), structuralist linguists treated language as an internally coherent system of signs that were made up of two parts, a *signifier* (a specific sound pattern or its mental representation) and a *signified* (meaning). Structuralist linguists focused on individual sentences and on the rules that governed these sentences (rather than on, for example, complete texts). In the field of language learning, an approach developed that was related to linguistic structuralism. Referred to as ‘audio-lingual habit theory’, this approach was based on encouraging language learners to listen to sentences, memorize them and repeat them before practicing the structures involved by retaining the sentence patterns while changing some of the words. This was referred to as ‘substitution drilling’ (see critique by Rivers, 1964). For example, the initial sentence might be:

She likes eating cake.

Students might then be given words like *muffins*, *steak*, *sweets* etc.

They would then create parallel sentences such as:

She likes eating muffins.

They might then practice sentences where *she* was replaced by *he*; *likes* by *hates*, *eating* by *drinking* etc. Of course, only certain substitutions are possible. For example, it is not possible to produce a grammatical sentence by replacing *likes* by *wants*: * He wants eating cakes. So, for sentences containing ‘wants’, a different substitution drill would be necessary.

There are three problems here. First, the focus tended to be on structure rather than meaning and the sentences that learners produced often had no personal meaning for them. For example, a learner who was encouraged to say “I like eggs” might actually hate them. Second, people do not learn languages simply by listening, memorizing, repeating and doing substitution drills (Ellis, 1985). Third, what little cultural content there was in language teaching tended to be divorced from the language itself and taught (separately generally through the medium of the students’ first language) even though language and culture are inextricably related.

Cognitive code learning theory

As Noam Chomsky (1959) pointed out with reference to the acquisition of first languages, children do not learn languages simply by copying. If they did, children whose first language is English would never say things like *I goed to the shops* (not

something they are likely ever to have heard adults saying). In fact, however, children do say things like this. Chomsky argued that children are equipped with what he called a ‘learning acquisition device’ (LAD). They listen to what people say and then try things out, forming rules that are partially correct and then gradually adjusting them. Errors are therefore an important part of learning. Although Chomsky was not talking about the learning of additional languages, his work eventually led to a change in the teaching of additional languages. This change came about with the introduction of what was referred to as ‘cognitive code learning’ (Chastain, 1969). The belief here is that learners should *not* be taught rules explicitly but should be given controlled input that conforms to rules and left to work out the rules for themselves by trial and error. It is this approach that underlies (but only in a very broad sense) the work of Stephen Krashen (1981), who argued that the only thing that really matters in language teaching is providing comprehensible input, that is, input that learners understand. In fact, however, there are two major problems here. First, the issue of how you actually get learners to understand input was never adequately addressed. Although it is simple enough to get learners to understand some words by using pictures and gestures and actions, this does not take us very far. Secondly, and more importantly, researchers gradually came to understand that learning a second or additional language is fundamentally different from acquiring a first language. If these two things were the same, all you would need to do is immerse people in a second language (whatever their age) and they would quickly become highly proficient in it.

There is now a vast body of research that suggests that an effective approach, whatever context learners are in (whether ‘immersion’ or ‘mainstream’) is an approach based on what is referred to as ‘communicative language teaching’.

What is communicative language teaching and where did it come from?

Communicative language teaching is part of an overall communicative movement in language teaching which is itself part of a general movement towards student-centered (as opposed to teacher directed) education that began around the mid 1960s. This general movement towards student-centered or learner-centered education was initially particularly associated, so far as languages are concerned, with the teaching of English as a first language in schools and with a book by John Dixon (published in 1967) called *Growth through English*. That book was a report of an Anglo-American seminar held at Dartmouth College in the USA in 1966. It recommended an approach to the teaching of English in schools that stressed personal growth and creativity. Student-centred approaches became linked to developments in the teaching of additional languages which placed greater emphasis on content, overall textual structuring and the processes involved in written composition (such as brainstorming and drafting). At the core of the communicative movement in the teaching and learning of additional languages is the concept of ‘communicative language teaching’ which developed out of the concept of ‘communicative competence’ or ‘communicative competencies’.

One of the first formulations of ‘communicative competence’ was proposed by Hymes (1972). Hymes defined ‘communicative competence’ in terms of what learners need to know in order to communicate. Hymes included within his definition of communicative competence each of the following: *formal possibility* (whether an utterance is grammatically accurate), *implementational feasibility* (whether an utterance can actually be understood in terms of, for example, its length and

complexity), *contextual appropriacy* (whether an utterance is appropriate in a particular context), and *the performative role of utterances* (the meanings they have by virtue of the context in which they are used). Since Hymes, there have been many different definitions and descriptions of communicative competence and communicative competencies. For example, Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei and Thurrell (1997) divide communicative competence into five major components: *discourse competence*, *linguistic competence*, *transactional competence*, *sociocultural competence* and *strategic competence*. More recently, the Council of Europe (2001, pp. 108-130) has proposed a three part model that divides communicative competence into: *linguistic skills and knowledge*, *sociolinguistic skills and knowledge* and *pragmatic skills and knowledge* (see also Bachman, 1990). The first of these includes phonology, orthography, vocabulary, morphology and syntax; the second includes rules of politeness, norms governing relationships (e.g., between generations, sexes, classes and social groups) and codification of social rituals; the third includes discourse competence, functional competence and design competence. Clearly, being competent in a language involves a great deal more than being able to create grammatically correct sentences. For one thing, it involves a deeply embedded understanding of culture. How, then, do you teach language learners to develop communicative competence? The development of what is referred to as 'communicative language teaching' came as a response to this question.

There are many accounts of communicative language teaching in the research literature. In fact, there are what is known as 'strong versions' and 'weak versions' (Howatt, 1984, pp. 296-297), the former (generally associated with the early stages of the development of communicative approaches), being based on the assumption that grammar should not be taught, the latter (now by far the most widely accepted) stressing the importance of teaching grammar implicitly in appropriate contexts. The issue is, in fact, no longer *whether* grammar should be taught but *how* it should be taught (Johnson, 2000, pp. 168-169). Littlewood (1981, pp. 6, 77 & 78) defined communicative language teaching in terms of four broad skill domains (*manipulation of the language system*; *ability to relate form and communicative function*; *understanding of the social meanings of linguistic forms*; *strategic control in the use of language to communicate effectively in specific situations*) and three general principles (*the communication principle* - activities that engage genuine communication promote learning; *the task principle* - the extent to which language is used to carry out tasks is regarded as important to language learning; and *the meaningfulness principle* - the learning process is supported to the extent that language is used meaningfully). One of the best known definitions of communicative language teaching is that provided by Nunan (1991, pp. 279-295) which includes:

- emphasis on learning to communicate through interaction in the target language;
- introduction of authentic texts into the learning situation;
- provision of opportunities for learners to focus not only on language but also on the learning process itself;
- enhancement of the learner's own personal experiences as important contributing elements to classroom learning; and
- attempt to link classroom language learning and language activities outside the classroom.

Communicative language teaching is therefore teaching that encourages learners to engage in meaningful communication in the target language as they learn, communication that has a function over and above that of language learning itself. The communication in which they are involved during the process of language learning should have personal, social and cultural meaning.

Communicative language teaching involves teachers and learners in *using the target language for all or most of the time*, not just when new language is being introduced and practiced. Teachers will generally give instructions in the target language even when they are teaching students whose existing level of competence in that language is low. However, teachers who use the target language for all or most of the time need to be able to *grade their language* very carefully in relation to what learners already know and, of course, use gesture, illustrations etc. very carefully. There is no point in teaching learners to use a relatively simple piece of language and then chatting to them in much more complex language.

Teachers who use communicative approaches do not dominate language lessons. It is the learners who do most of the talking (often in pairs or groups). After all, it is the learners who need to practice using the language, not the teachers.

Translation is generally avoided in communicative language teaching. There are several reasons for this. First, it wastes time. It is the target language that learners need to focus on, not their first language. Secondly, translation interferes with the learning process: learners who constantly switch between languages while learning often have difficulty in becoming fluent in the target language. In addition, although it is possible to provide an accurate translation of some simple concepts, it is not possible to provide an accurate translation of more complex concepts.

Communicative approaches teach vocabulary, grammar and discourse features (e.g. how to link dialogue segments or paragraphs together or how to create coherent texts) *in meaningful contexts and encourage learners to practice using the language in the context of meaningful activities*, such as information gap activities (in which learners ask others for information that they genuinely need in order to complete a task (e.g. preparing an information booklet about a particular area or explaining the rules of a game such as *Mū tōrere*)).¹

Tutored language/ culture learning is inevitably artificial in some respects. Even so, those who subscribe to the ideals of communicative language teaching aim to keep this artificiality to a minimum. They also try to ensure that learners use the language as often as possible and in contexts in which they can interact with other speakers of the language, particularly native speakers.

Communicative language teaching emphasises *the importance of not being over-ambitious*. Language programmes that are too ambitious, programmes that introduce too much new language too quickly, do not provide learners with a genuine opportunity to learn. They may even undermine the confidence and motivation of learners. Thus, the learning of the target language should not only be *enjoyable, but also purposeful*. It should be *challenging but never overwhelming*.

Do we teach grammar in communicative language classes? The answer is NO - if what we mean by teaching grammar is teaching lots of grammatical rules explicitly and expecting learners to memorise them. However, if teaching grammar means teaching about language forms implicitly, then the answer is certainly YES. Students who are taught communicatively generally learn the grammar of the target language implicitly rather than explicitly. Because communicative language teaching does not involve the memorisation of lots of grammatical rules, an important aspect of an effective language teacher's repertoire is knowing how to teach grammar implicitly in interesting and effective ways.

What about errors? Although accuracy is as important as fluency in many contexts, it is completely unrealistic to expect learners to produce language that is error-free all of the time (see Stern, 1983, p.465). Language learning is a developmental process and making errors is part of that process. For example, learners may find that they can use new language accurately when they first learn it but begin to make errors when they start to use the new language in different contexts and integrate it with their existing knowledge, or they may find that they are able to correct errors themselves when they are writing (and have time to monitor their work) but still continue to make errors in rapid speech. Thus, it is sensible to *treat errors as opportunities for further learning*. On some occasions, teachers may choose not to correct errors so as not to interfere with fluency development; on other occasions, when their focus is on accuracy, they may indicate the location of errors (often just with a gesture) and give learners an opportunity to correct them themselves before they intervene. On those occasions when teachers choose not to correct errors, they will nevertheless wish to note them, making them a focus for teaching at some later date.

Here are some of the things that teachers who teach language communicatively do:

- welcome all learners and treat them all with *respect, courtesy and consideration*;
- try to create a context in which *learning is genuinely enjoyable and in which different needs, interests and learning styles* are accommodated;
- include *as much variety as possible* in the activities they introduce in class;
- *introduce new language in meaningful contexts* and use a range of techniques (generally not including translation) to communicate meaning;
- encourage learners to practice using the target language in contexts in which they need to *communicate for a genuine reason* (for example, to find out information they do not already have);
- *use the target language for most of the time* (adapted to students' level of understanding);
- encourage learners to use the target language as much as possible to *perform tasks in pairs and groups*;
- encourage learners to *learn from one another*;
- introduce new language in a way that is *challenging but never overwhelming*;
- *encourage learners to take responsibility for their own learning*, developing strategies (for example, making use of context) to work out the meaning of words they encounter in reading and listening that they do not initially understand;

- encourage learners to seek out opportunities to use the language they are learning outside of the class, especially *opportunities to communicate with native speakers* and more advanced learners;
- introduce a wide range of *authentic materials, activities and text-types*;
- *recognize that language and culture are inseparable* and reflect this in their teaching;
- recognize that *errors are an inevitable part of language learning* and that they can provide a useful basis for further learning.

Learning a target language is multi-faceted. It involves **learning to**:

- understand and use *a wide range of vocabulary, grammar and discourse features* (for example, ways of linking conversational turns and text segments);
- recognise and use *appropriate gestures and body language*;
- develop *awareness of what is culturally appropriate* as well as what is linguistically correct;
- develop *sensitivity to the relationship between language and gender, language and age, language and status, and language and regional and situational context*;
- appreciate *the different ways in which people interact in different contexts*, including different cultural contexts;
- understand and use language that is appropriately selected and organized in different types of *formal and informal text* (including culturally specific text-types);
- understand *the conventions that guide traditional modes of communication as well as contemporary modes of communication* (such as texting and communicating in Internet-based groups).

A very important aspect of communicative language teaching is that it can be adapted in all sorts of ways to suit different teaching and learning contexts. Fundamental to it is, after all, respect for and understanding of people and culture.

Synergies between communicative language teaching and Māori pedagogy

Are there synergies between communicative language teaching and Māori pedagogy? In order to attempt to answer this question, it is important to determine what is meant by Māori pedagogy. Here are two possible interpretations of Māori pedagogy:

- 1) An approach to teaching and learning that characterized traditional *whare wānanga*.²
- 2) An approach to teaching and learning in which *kaupapa Māori* is central (see, for example, the literature review on *Kaupapa Māori and Māori Education Pedagogy* by Pihama, Smith, Taki & Lee, 2004).

It seems unlikely that there are any genuine synergies between communicative language teaching and the first of these interpretations of Māori pedagogy. In fact, although there were, and are, almost certainly commonalities among groups in the ways in which traditional *whare wānanga* operated (see, for example, Mead, 2003), there were/ are also some differences. Thus, for example, the ways in which *Ngā Puhi*

traditionally taught in *whare wānanga* are almost certainly different in some ways from the ways in which *Waikato* traditionally did. The critical point is that no claim is being made here about any specific synergies between communicative language teaching and the ways in which traditional schools of learning operate except to the extent that the centrality of language and culture and their inextricable relationship are emphasized in both.

There are, however, potential synergies between communicative language teaching and the second conceptualization of *Māori* pedagogy. Tuakana Nepe (1991) notes that *Kaupapa Māori* derives from distinctive cultural, epistemological and metaphysical foundations and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) has observed that the concept of *Kaupapa Māori* implies a way of framing and structuring thought. Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1990, p. 100) observes that a *Kaupapa Māori* base presupposes each of the following:

- the validity and legitimacy of *Māori* is taken for granted;
- the survival and revival of *Māori* language and culture is imperative;
- the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being, and over our own lives.

These are three very general presuppositions that cannot have any direct relationship with communicative language teaching itself, particularly when it is borne in mind that *Kaupapa Māori* is a resistance strategy and that communicative language teaching is a global phenomenon whose origins, although it has now spread throughout the world, are particularly associated with Europe. The issue in relation to these three presuppositions is therefore not, and could not be, whether they are consistent with communicative language teaching but whether they are inconsistent with communicative language teaching. At first sight, it might appear to be the case that communicative language teaching, emerging as it does from a global movement and having its origins in Europe, is, in fact, necessarily inconsistent with all three of these presuppositions. In fact, however, a critical aspect of communicative language teaching is its insistence on the inextricable relationship between language and culture and its openness to interpretations that are culturally specific.³

Ako is a traditional *Māori* concept that has been translated as ‘*Māori* pedagogy’. As Pihama et al. (2004) observe, in tradition-based *Māori* society, *ako* was an educative process that was integral to the creation, conceptualisation, transmission and articulation of *Māori* knowledge, one that necessarily emerged out of *Māori* epistemologies, values and constructions of the world. Metge (1985) has glossed ‘*ako*’ as ‘education through exposure’ and has referred to its all-encompassing nature.

What, then, are some of the characteristics of *ako* that suggest potential synergies with communicative language teaching? First, let us remind ourselves of some of the characteristics of communicative language teaching. It is: learner-centered, meaning-centered, activity based, co-operative and collaborative. It emphasizes learning by doing. It stresses the importance of good relationships between teachers and learners and good relationships among learners. It encourages engagement with communities of speakers. It focuses on success, on what learners *can do* rather than on what they cannot yet do. It also places cultural understanding at the very centre of learning.

The characteristics of *ako* include each of the following.

The centrality of *whanaungatanga* and *wairua* (relationships and spirituality). *Aho Matua*, Māori life principles as a working philosophy for all aspects of school life, locates learning firmly within the complex inter-relationships (physical and metaphysical) that constitute *Te Ao Māori* (see, for example, Mead 2003, p. 307; Nepe, 1991). As Walker (1990, p. 63) observes, community is central: “The basic social unit in Māori society was the whanau, an extended family which included three generations. At the head were the kaumatua and kuia, the male and female elders of the group. They were the storehouses of knowledge, the minders and mentors of children”. In the words of Nepe (1991, p. 31):

There are many and varied learner-teacher relationships associated with *ako*. Everyone has a role to play in a child’s education - *kaumātua and kuia* [elders]; *matua and whaea* [parents]; *tuakana and teina* [elder and younger siblings of the same gender] *tuahine and tungāne* [siblings]; *tama and tamāhine* [children]; *tipuna whaea and tipuna matua* [grandparents]. Among the most significant educators are *tipuna* whose task it was to “[transmit] to *mokopuna* knowledge that [would] develop [their] intellect to ‘think Māori’ as well as to nurture the child’s *wairua* to ‘feel and be Māori’.

This is an area in which there is an important synergy with communicative language teaching, in which the learning of language and the understanding of culture are not separated but are considered to be inextricably linked. Through conforming to cultural norms and expectations in the learning of language, learners begin to appreciate that a language divorced from its cultural roots and associations is essentially meaningless.

There are other significant synergies. Fundamental to *ako* is the role of *kaiako* and *tūāpā* (teacher as facilitator). Also fundamental is the transmission of knowledge and understating through action, observation and exposure to activities and protocols (both physical and spiritual) (Makareti, 1986; Metge, 1985). Communicative language teaching emphasizes the importance of the teacher becoming a facilitator of task-based learning. Within the context of communicative language teaching, learners are involved in a wide range of activities, some of which are designed to inculcate an understanding of culturally appropriate ways of behaving. Therefore community involvement is important. We can readily compare the role of *kaiako* and *tūāpā* in *ako* with that of *teacher as facilitator* in CLT, and that of *akoranga kaupapa whakamahi* with *task based learning*.

Within the context of *ako*, learners learn through exposure to *whakapapa* (genealogy), *whakataukī* (proverbs), *kōrero tāwhito* (old stories), *waiata* (songs), *karakia* (prayers/incantations), etc. (Te Rangi Hiroa, 1949). Once again, there is an important synergy between *ako* and communicative language teaching. In communicative language teaching, learners are introduced to a wide range of authentic materials and text-types (including culturally specific ones) and are encouraged to develop competence in ways of knowing and expressing that knowledge that are culturally embedded.

Within the context of *ako*, teaching and learning is not a “bits and pieces” process but an “integrated developmental type of philosophy” (Pere as cited in Pihama et al., 2004, p. 68). The overall approach is an holistic one, important aspects of *ako* being

education in values, identity and belonging (Nepe, 1991). Communicative language teaching is learner-centered. The learner is at the very core of communicative language teaching and it is acknowledged that language education is education that necessarily involves every aspect of a learner's being and personal development.

What of the learners' responsibility? *Ako* involves the inculcation of learners into playing an active, participatory role within society (Pihama et al., 2004). Central to communicative language teaching is the concept of learner responsibility. Learners are expected to develop skills as self-directed, lifelong learners as they proceed, developing learning strategies and seeking out sources of information and understanding for themselves.

Conclusion

In its curriculum for the teaching and learning of te reo Māori in mainstream schools, the Ministry of Education recommends that teaching be underpinned by a communicative approach. When it is fully understood what this means in terms of theory and practice, it becomes clear that there are synergies between communicative language teaching and *ako*.

Endnotes

1. A distinctive board game with similar concepts to draughts, Chinese chequers or chess played by our ancestors.
2. The 'whare wānanga' were the sacred traditional learning houses of most tribal areas, each 'whare wānanga' had its own philosophical beliefs, history, genealogy, traditions and teaching practices according to their tribal areas. Entry was restricted to only the chosen ones and in the early days women were prohibited from entry.
3. In connection with this, it is relevant to note that Gattegno's (1978) 'silent way' was very successfully adapted and interpreted in a way that was appropriate for Māori in the late seventies, Katarina Mataira (1980, p. 15) and Ngoi Pēwhairangi introduced the *Te Ataarangi* method (often in the context of tertiary institutions such as polytechnics).

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The entrepreneurial spirit of the Pacific Peoples: A study of Pacific immigrant entrepreneurship in New Zealand

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Abstract

The difficulty associated with determining what constitutes immigrant entrepreneurial behaviour lies in the road being travelled differently by immigrants from dissimilar backgrounds, value systems, and cultural heritages. Migration and settlement issues present themselves in a multitude of different forms, depending on a complex and dynamic combination of the ethnic characteristics of the specific ethnic immigrant group and the receiving country's socio-economic infrastructure. This paper presents the findings of a case study-based approach to a description of the entrepreneurial spirit within Pacific People in New Zealand, an approach involving triangulation (semi-structured interviews with Pacific immigrant entrepreneurs; selected immigration literature, and interviews with Pacific community leaders). The case study is based on four constructs (migration profile, settlement profile, cultural profile and business profile) which were identified as impacting on immigrant entrepreneurship patterns. Conclusions relating to each of the following are presented: business drivers (e.g. generational differences and social obligation); business strengths (e.g. uniqueness, family, and community networks); and weaknesses that inhibit the entrepreneurial spirit (e.g. lack of confidence and social obligations).

Key words: Pacific Peoples, entrepreneurship, immigrant entrepreneurs, New Zealand

Introduction

On any given working day, Pacific people who have migrated to New Zealand are likely to be making decisions regarding the employment opportunities that are available to them. A major element of their social and economic adjustment to life in New Zealand is tied to the status attained through some form of employment - which impacts on their family viability, social acceptance and personal esteem. One approach to satisfying this need is to engage in entrepreneurial activity. A major conclusion of the international literature on ethnic minorities is that entrepreneurial activity is a promising springboard for immigrants' social integration, reinforcing their economic position and social status (e.g. Hunter, 2007; Masurel, Nijkamp & Vindigni, 2004). Furthermore, in many migrant receiving countries the level of immigrant entrepreneurship has trebled in the last two decades (Rath & Kloosterman, 2003). In fact, researchers have concluded that over the last 100 years immigrants were more likely to have been self-employed than their native born counterparts (Fernandez & Kim, 1998, p. 654). This trend towards high levels of immigrant entrepreneurial activity is not evident among the Pacific People in New Zealand, even though there are numerous examples of successful entrepreneurial activity among the Pacific community. Those who have chosen the self-employment option constitute 4.7% of the Pacific Peoples ethnic group, whereas 20.3% of Europeans and 17.6% of Asians are self-employed (in a country where 18% of the total resident population is

involved in some form of self-employment) (Statistics New Zealand, 2006a).

In order to better understand the entrepreneurial patterns of the Pacific People of New Zealand, this paper explores the drivers and limiters that impact on their entrepreneurial behaviour in the context of the broader New Zealand society. Gaining an understanding of such behaviour is challenging as the drivers and limiters that affect an ethnic minority's entrepreneurial choices are often dynamic and complex. Furthermore, patterns of behaviour and decision-making may be unique to specific ethnic groups. As Krueger and Brazeal have observed, "entrepreneurial activity does not occur in a vacuum. Instead it is deeply embedded in a cultural and social context, often amid a web of human networks that are both social and economic" (1994, p. 230). The overall aim of the research reported here was to provide insight into the specific case of the Pacific Peoples of New Zealand. The importance of such a study is grounded in New Zealand's strong historical, geographical and economic ties to the Pacific Islands. Niue and Cook Islanders have New Zealand citizenship and many Samoan, Tongan, Tokelauan and Tuvalan Islanders have also made New Zealand their home. Following World War II, New Zealand needed workers for its factories and service sector. The indigenous people of the surrounding South Pacific proved a popular source of labour (Gough, 2006, p. 34). This demand remained high during the 1960s and 1970s. However, when New Zealand began to experience recession, Pacific People became the 'scapegoats' for many of society's problems and they suffered from high unemployment and discrimination. By the turn of the century, New Zealand's economic position had improved substantially and the Pacific community had become firmly established in its own suburban communities within the New Zealand societal infrastructure. In the years from 1991 – 2006, the Pacific community grew from 167,070 to 265,974 (from 5% to 6.9% of people in New Zealand). Two-thirds of this community lived in the Auckland region, half were of Samoan background, and six out of ten were New Zealand born (Statistics New Zealand, 2006b). Pacific Peoples now constitute the fourth largest ethnic group in New Zealand behind European at 67.6%, Māori at 14.4% and Asian at 9.2% (Statistics New Zealand, 2006c). The community is therefore well established in New Zealand, its cultural and economic impact is felt throughout society and the community is likely to continue to gain in importance with future generations.

The case study reported here is based on narratives from Pacific Island immigrants or their immediate offspring who have been engaging in entrepreneurial behaviour in New Zealand (referred to here as immigrant entrepreneurs (IERS)). The article ends with discussion of the strengths and weakness of Pacific immigrant entrepreneurship in New Zealand.

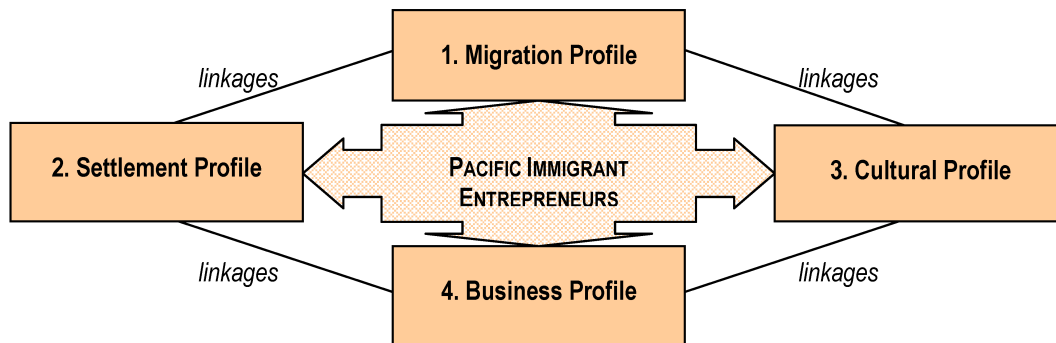
Methodology

This paper draws from a larger qualitative study (de Vries, 2008) that involved the development of an Immigrant Entrepreneurship Model through an inductive process utilising grounded theory. The original study was based on 77 semi-structured interviews with 42 immigrant entrepreneurs¹ who owned small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in New Zealand. The study was undertaken over 18 months, within four heterogeneous ethnic groups (Chinese, Dutch, Indian, and Pacific Peoples) in New Zealand. The data was coded and indexed using thematic analysis, and NVivo data analysis software was used as a coding, retrieval and analysis tool during the theoretical development stage. The model's framework stressed four main constructs:

- The migration profile - which identified homeland characteristics of the IERs or their families, and their migration drivers.
- The settlement profile - which identified the influence of societal fit and social perceptions as they impacted on the IERs' business activity.
- The cultural profile – which identified personal, family, and cultural influences, and their impact on the IERs' business activity.
- The business profile – which identified the catalysts for entrepreneurial activity, the business drivers, human and financial capital capability, and the business philosophies of the IERs.

This paper attempts to apply the model to bring further understanding to the specific topic of Pacific immigrants engaged in entrepreneurship in New Zealand (see *Figure 1*).

Figure 1: Model of Immigrant Entrepreneurship



The case study reported here focuses on the nature of the entrepreneurial activity of Pacific Peoples in New Zealand, and is based on triangulated research undertaken from September 2005 to May 2007 consisting of: (1) eleven face-to-face or telephone interviews with Pacific immigrant entrepreneurs and seven follow-up interviews within this cohort; (2) two face-to-face interviews with community members who could comment from a Pacific community perspective: one a senior member of a business development organisation and the other a Pacific Affairs officer; (3) and finally a consideration of the relevant immigration and ethnic literature which is integrated into the following discussion.

The case study evidence is presented in a format based on the immigrant entrepreneurship model presented in *Figure 1*. The findings illustrate the unique dimensions of the four constructs - migration profile, settlement profile, cultural profile and business profile which evolved during the case analysis of the Pacific IERs.

Migration Profile

Homeland: The Pacific People of New Zealand come from numerous Pacific Islands, and with this geographic diversity comes a strong sense of cultural and demographic distinctiveness among the various Pacific communities (e.g. Gough, 2006, p. 35). Nevertheless, a sense of unity in diversity among Pacific IERs with regard to the challenges they faced in establishing themselves in a new country was evident in the interviews. With respect to migration, the first generation Pacific IERs came from 'rural' Island backgrounds, while the second generation was New Zealand-born, coming from urban (city) backgrounds. The evidence of the full immigrant

entrepreneurship study (de Vries, 2008, p. 82) suggests that urban (homeland)-to-urban (New Zealand) migration was the most compatible with entrepreneurial activity. First generation Pacific migrants fitted the rural-to-urban profile, whereas the second generation (New Zealand-born) fitted the urban-to-urban profile. It is, therefore, not surprising that urban-based second generation Pacific people appeared to have a higher business orientation than their rural first generation counterparts.

Interpersonal/family dynamics: Pacific IERs in this case study were generally from large families and varying homeland work backgrounds. Many second generation New Zealand-born IERs reflected on their experience of both parents working long hours to establish themselves in New Zealand, as in “*I think my mother started by cleaning floors in Auckland hospital, she didn’t know what a mop was, and my father he was sweeping floors so that was factory work.*” This perspective was also highlighted by Jennings (1997, p. 25), who said of her childhood: “*She [mother] worked as a nurse aide and, as soon as we got home from school, she’d be dressed and ready to go to work. . . . My father was a labourer and he was working two jobs, he was seldom home.*” Religious beliefs were identified by all Pacific IERs as influencing their daily lives, as in “*I’m a Christian and for my personal life I always have a quiet time with God*”. Religion was identified as being fundamental to their family and community roots: “*[We] go to church and support each other that way through the church ministry.*” To highlight the interconnected nature of faith, family and community, one community commentator drew attention to the example of a Catholic church in Christchurch which was predominantly patronised by a congregation made up of people from the same village/family.

Migration drivers: Having an established family network in New Zealand was a strong motivating factor for the decision by many of the Pacific IERs or their parents to migrate. Fletcher (1999, p. 61) found that, within the Pacific community, individuals came first and would then be followed by other family members seeking employment, thus creating a ‘snowball’ effect. As one of the community commentators observed, many migrants who came from village subsistence settings needed New Zealand contacts in order to facilitate migration. Another of the community commentators confirmed this observation, noting that first and foremost migrants relied on their families to help them out, and therefore congregated in areas where family or village members were most strongly represented. In New Zealand, this ultimately manifested itself in the development of urban enclaves such as those found in South Auckland.

The overwhelming personal driver for Pacific IERs or their immigrant parents was the perception that they would achieve a better quality of life. As one of the community commentators noted, resources at home were limited and so Pacific people came to New Zealand in search of better opportunities. Because of the lack of opportunity in the Islands, the decision to migrate was often a fairly easy one for those who had family contacts in New Zealand and the likelihood of job opportunities. Nine of the study participants referred to the ‘quality of life factor’ through references to the desire for better career and educational opportunities. Some second generation New Zealand-born Pacific IERs felt that their parents had migrated to give them greater opportunities: “*They came here pretty much for us to get an education.*” This was confirmed by one of the community commentators: “*They had a dream that their kids would be academically successful.*” Gough (2006, p. 35) stated that prestige was

associated with migrating, living abroad, earning an income, and also being able to support family back home. However, homeland dissatisfaction did not appear to be a significant driver for Pacific IERS or their parents. Many spoke of idyllic island settings, noting that migration (as indicated earlier) was purely an issue relating to family or betterment. The 'pull' factor was therefore highlighted in this study: New Zealand beckoned with a higher standard of living, job opportunities in factories and the service sector, and a western education system. This is consistent with Gough's (2006, p. 32) observation that the South Pacific now has a culture of emigration, with the lives of Pacific people being increasingly embedded in their international mobility.

Settlement Profile

Arrival: The case study identified the fact that Pacific IERS were either born in New Zealand cities or resided in a city on arrival in New Zealand. Eight of the eleven Pacific IERS interviewed remarked that they or their families had experienced difficulty with social integration in New Zealand, especially with respect to language, with comments such as the following:

My English and my knowledge is not good enough to achieve a better wages or another standard of living

OK the first aspiration was to learn how to speak English a lot better

Also emphasised was the changed living context: *"I mean, going from a village to city was actually quite different."* Participants also spoke of Pacific Peoples' limited economic means, thus appearing to confirm the 'social disadvantage theory' according to which Pacific People are held to be disadvantaged in New Zealand because they have neither the economic power and resources of the Pakeha, nor the moral claim to resources of the indigenous Māori (Poots, 1993, p. 130). However, one of the community commentators noted that coming from the Islands and living on a tight budget was nothing new for Pacific people. The vital role of the extended family in combating social disadvantage was highlighted by the community commentators and was often reflected in a strong sense of family obligation reported by Pacific IERS.

A further obstacle was the major challenge posed by transition from Island life to city life. As one community commentator said:

I could safely say that those that come from the smaller Islands get a fright with the transport in terms of the fast cars, trains and everything else that moves at a 100 miles per hour. In comparison to where they came from where people walked around.

The difficulty posed by this transition could be ameliorated by strong family and community support networks and by living within enclaves, something that was emphasised by one of the community commentators who confirmed that overall it was easier for Pacific Peoples to establish themselves in Auckland because of the networks, critical mass and structures they now have in place to support new immigrants. This supports Gough's (2006, p. 34) contention that enclaves have been established as a result of the social and economic challenges faced by Pacific Peoples over the last few decades. This formation of enclaves manifests itself in communities

working together and pooling resources, much as they would have done back in their Island villages where they managed to survive as communities by taking advantage of whatever opportunities were on offer. Coupled with extended family and community ties (as discussed later in the cultural profile), enclaves have offered a safe option. It was, however, noted by one of the community commentators that this also had a potentially negative effect in that it limited broader New Zealand-based opportunities such as, for example, job opportunities in the rural sector. Interestingly, one of the case study findings is that some Pacific IERs no longer live within enclave environments and reside in the broader New Zealand community.

Social integration: Difficulty associated with fitting into New Zealand society was also intimated in experiences of discrimination experienced by Pacific IERs or their families (as reported by seven of the participants). Examples of comments are:

They [IER's parents] came back one night and all the locks were changed and all their baggage and belongings were outside.

I used to have huge bouts of tears over it, you know, because of the names that you would get called and that sort of thing.

One of the community commentators lamented the fact that new immigrants would always experience discrimination, real or imagined, and that this would always be an issue. North and Trlin (2004, p. 32), in their study of immigrant businesses, also report examples of racial abuse and harassment related to immigrant status. Dunstan, Boyd and Crichton (2004, p. 111) note that although there is discrimination against the Pacific community in New Zealand, other ethnic minorities, such as the Chinese, experience greater discrimination. In connection with this, it is interesting to note that one Pacific IER participant in this study said: *"I think there are pockets of resistance still, and I think a lot of that at the moment is aimed at Asians."* Pacific IERs, overall, reported that they were resigned to some level of discrimination. As one noted: *"So that is something we have accepted that happens. We don't like to see it but we know it's there"*. It was also noted, however, that they did not let it affect their business ambitions. This is in line with an observation by Jennings (1997, p. 26): *"I always regarded prejudice as someone else's problem – not mine"*. In fact, one of the community commentators noted that where discrimination occurred, it had often driven Pacific people to an even greater desire to succeed. The majority of Pacific IERs were satisfied with their own or their family's settlement, something that was endorsed by one of the commentators who said: *"I think they have done well. You had the bad old days of the 1970s when you had the dawn raids but I think since then we have gone and assimilated into New Zealand quite well. We are a lot more accepted."*

Employment: Some Pacific IERs or their parents entered into work immediately on arrival in New Zealand (n=5)²: *"My father was a church minister. He was invited to teach at a Tongan bible college here."*; *"They came during the boom time, I suppose, the industrial boom time of New Zealand when jobs were plentiful"*. Others, however, had difficulty finding employment or entering the education system. Pacific IERs did comment that Pacific people faced some discriminatory practices in the labour market in New Zealand, which was confirmed by a commentator who said:

It is still hard to find a job, even if well educated. There is the perception that

migrants are not up to the standard. This is a challenge for the machinery in New Zealand to understand the Pacific, and Pacific communities understanding the machinery and how to get past it.

The broader immigrant literature confirms that discrimination and social barriers are evident in labour markets worldwide (see, for example, Apitzsch, 2004; Benson-Rea & Rawlinson, 2003; Dunstan et al., 2004; Mace, Atkins, Fletcher, & Carr, 2005). Even so, there was no evidence of unrealistic job expectations among the Pacific IERS or their parents, hence work dissatisfaction was not an apparent driver of self employment (as it was among other ethnic groups within this study). This attitude of acceptance was summed up by one of the commentators: *“I suppose those that are well educated back in the Islands and come here with a degree, they all look for white collar work first off and if they can't find that they will look for blue collar work.”*

Figures from Statistics New Zealand (2001b) indicate that the most common occupational classification for Pacific Peoples were plant and machine operators and assemblers (12,804), followed by service and sales workers (11,382), and clerks (110,107). All Pacific IERS in the study had fully integrated into the workforce (in both white collar and blue collar occupations) prior to their business ventures and thus had all experienced some form of employment in New Zealand. As a commentator said: *“We first try to find a job before getting into business.”*

Perspectives of New Zealand: Overall, the Pacific IERS involved in this study felt that New Zealand was a good society to live in (n=7) - *“I mean I love New Zealand, I love the people, the culture and the country”* - although they did comment that some New Zealanders displayed a level of disrespect and intolerance. One commentator suggested that the cold was a negative factor for Pacific people, but conversely some Pacific IERS commented positively on their enjoyment of the clean, green environment. Even so, in spite of a generally positive response to New Zealand, Pacific IERS involved in this study did make reference to some infrastructural problems in New Zealand which affected integration and business capability (n=5): *“No country is perfect, every country in the world has good and bad people – New Zealand is no different.”* In fact, however, one commentator suggested that the infrastructure was showing significant improvement so far as Pacific immigrants were concerned, citing the following example:

Some of the things we have addressed with New Zealand immigration is to enable our Pacific People to have a better understanding of the services available to them; have pamphlets, fliers, leaflets, whatever else at the airports in their specific languages. So if you got to Christchurch then here is a list of all the hospital, doctors, transport and all that stuff.

Pacific IERS involved in the study suggested that Pacific people brought depth and diversity to the New Zealand cultural mix (n=8): *“Collectively we bring colour and art, music, all those cultural influences that are now becoming mainstream.”* One of the commentators suggested that Pacific people also bring humour, humility and spirituality to the New Zealand mix. Another of the commentators referred specifically to the creativity Pacific business people bring to this country but lamented that this was not being utilised in New Zealand: *“We have ‘NZ Inc’ but we do not see in ‘NZ Inc’ the Pacific. 100 percent pure in the brand of New Zealand overseas but*

you don't see the Pacificness." This commentator went on to suggest that Pacific business people could make real contributions if their Pacificness was added to the New Zealand business framework, particularly in the form of unique products that could be exported around the world. This is in line with an observation by Janes (2006, p. E1), who highlighted the same issue with reference to the broader immigrant community, suggesting that the majority of New Zealand businesses are hesitant to use immigrants' natural capabilities and networks.

Cultural Profile

Personal perspective: Pacific IERS' values and beliefs were strongly influenced by religious affiliations (n=11). Some spoke freely of their personal faith, of the importance of their church, and of community connection through religious observance, as indicated in the following quotations.

That's through my faith, I am content with who I am, and because I know I am unique.

The church played a very big part.

He [son] still does the Sunday School thing . . . to still give him that bit of culture and a sense of how we were brought up, and not to lose the identity.

I always have a quiet time with God.

The commentators also reflected on the significant role religion plays in Pacific Peoples' lives with respect to family and community. The fact that the case analysis identified a lower desire for independence among Pacific IERS than other IERS in the full study may be a reflection of Pacific Peoples' stronger sense of community connection as opposed to individual material considerations.

Pacific IERS' achievement orientation reflected a strong 'internal locus of control' (n=10) and was reflected in comments such as the following:

My feeling is that everybody can achieve anything if you really try hard enough and persevere.

I think anywhere is a good place to live – really it is not the external things that make your life.

They were very proactive in setting goals (n=9): *"It was setting a goal and I just focused on the goal and that's what really motivated me."* However, the dominance of a collective cultural predisposition may account for the fact that, in relation to the study as a whole, Pacific IERS showed the lowest level of determination and perseverance to succeed at an individual level (n=4). One of the commentators suggested that one reason for this is the fact that Pacific business people can lose focus over time as family, lifestyle and community obligations come to the fore.

Work ethic: This was revealed as a prominent feature for all Pacific IERS, the descriptors 'hard working' (n=7) and 'long hours' (n=11) being the most common themes in this category. Typical comments were:

But you've gotta do a lot of hard work.

The newspaper, you know, started at 5:30 in the morning and you don't get home until maybe one the next morning.

One of the community commentators confirmed this emphasis on hard work, noting that they did not know any successful Pacific business people who were not willing to put in long hours and make the commitment.

The relationship between ethnicity and work ethic is a difficult one to quantify. Indeed, it has been argued that the 'migrant factor' is a far more significant driver of immigrants' work ethic than is any particular ethnic predisposition: the work ethic underlies the search for social advancement as part of migrant transition (see, for example, Benson-Rea & Rawlinson, 2003; Whybrow, 2005). On the other hand, one of the commentators suggested that hard work was simply a trait of business people themselves rather than a reflection of any cultural or migrant traits. Irrespective of the precise nature of the motivators, the work ethic of the Pacific IERS was quite evident throughout the case study, one of the issues they identified in connection with this being the fact that long hours and hard work were often necessitated by a lack of capital. However, Pacific IERS were also generally aware of the trade-offs. As one of the commentators observed: "*Those that are motivated to go into business are willing to pay the cost.*" Associated with the strong work ethic was a high level of stress among Pacific IERS (n=8), although the strength of their faith and their family relationships were perceived by them as being a way of reducing stress. Many Pacific IERS did comment on their desire to work fewer hours, and commentators raised the issue of whether there was a reduction of commitment over time:

Though one of the things we have seen is after one or two years, is effort still consistent? For some Pacific businesses one of the downfalls is they become distracted as business owners from what is the plan moving forward - putting in the hours, putting in the effort. And they start to think about other things, like wife's frequent trips back to the Islands and buying a nice new house. That's a trend I have noticed. Keeping on the course is a real challenge.

One of the commentators expressed their belief that although current Pacific entrepreneurs had a strong work ethic, there were some concerns with the fact that this was less evident among some of the New Zealand-born, something that could be detrimental to overall entrepreneurial development of Pacific Peoples in New Zealand.

Family: Strong family focus was evident among all Pacific IERS, as reflected in a comment such as ". . . a very close family, so we did a lot of social activities together as a family." Family unity was emphasised by the Pacific IERS: "*The family unit is, you know, the most important thing.*" The commentators also highlighted the fact that family was critical to the Pacific Peoples' way of life. One commentator suggested that first priority was the church and then the family, while another reflected on the importance of family to business makeup. The Pacific IERS family focus included extended family (n=10), which, as Elliott and Gray (2000, p.17) have observed, represents a different concept from the Western concept of immediate family priority.

Most Pacific IERs took social obligations to their extended families seriously, as reflected in a statement such as: *“My nephews and nieces, I bring them here [office] as often as I can during the holiday, just to be around”*. This was also evidenced in attitudes towards the creation of job opportunities: *“Probably the main reason really is just to help family out, some of our [extended] family didn’t have jobs”*. The fact that this approach reflects a cultural imperative, the bringing of traditional family patterns from their home island, is emphasised by both Douglas (2001, p. 206) and Jennings (1997, p. 25). As Elliott and Gray (2000, p. 28) note, obligations within Pacific families are extensive and the importance of family solidarity is reinforced by a number of informal sanctions and pressures that can be brought to bear on those who attempt to avoid their social and financial responsibilities to their kin. In what they refer to as the ‘resource hypothesis’, Elliott and Gray (2000, p. 9) note that economic necessity may be the rationale for family commitment, those with the fewest economic resources (such as migrant minorities) being most likely to live in extended family relationships when they emigrate.

Nearly all Pacific IERs had some sort of family member involvement in their businesses (n=9). As pointed out by one of the commentators: *“Family has an important part in the business makeup”*. Another said: *“Largely the workforce are family and extended family and those that come from the Islands”*. The Pacific IERs all stated that they preferred family involvement. They commonly had their spouse working in their businesses (n=7) and they highly valued their input: *“My wife working with me. In my various talks to the community about business I highly recommend that anybody that thinks of going into business on their own to have their partners, wives and husbands fully involved.”* They reflected on the important dynamic that this brought to the business and noted its significance as a source of social capital. The family’s usefulness as an informal source of labour has been noted by Elliott and Gray (2000, p. 9), Min and Bozorgmehr (2003, p. 27) and Salt (1992, p. 1079). However, although one commentator noted that he could see why they would want family working with them, he cautioned that *“they also take liberties that employees don’t”*. This cautionary note was also reflected in the fact that Pacific IERs highlighted the challenges of family involvement, especially with regard to the difficulty involved in balancing family obligations against business expediency (n=10). For example, with regard to financial expectations, one IER said, with reference to the family: *“They think I have a money tree out back!”* Conversely, Pacific IERs were the most likely of all of the groups involved also to identify the benefits of family (n=9), with comments such as:

I have their loyalty and I can trust them and I think if you can get that out of an employee that’s fantastic . . .

. . . reliability between ourselves and not having to think, you know, is he or she going to be there at work today or um be let down.

The case study included a mix of both male and female Pacific IERs, the findings suggesting that the cultural element of male family line dominance was not a strong factor. Nevertheless, some did reflect on the prominence of fathers as the head of the family and the need to respect parents. They referred to the importance of the values transferred by their parents (n=9) with respect to work ethic and culture: *“I have been influenced a lot from Mum and Dad, mostly because of the way I was brought up. I*

see my parents, their faith". This accords with the observation by Elliott and Gray (2000, p. 17) that there is an emphasis in Pacific culture on wives obeying their husbands and on the enduring nature of the parent/child relationship, with this relationship enduring even after the 'child' marries and moves away from home. Thus, as Elliott and Gray (p. 17) note, even 'adult children' are still obliged to 'obey' and respect their parents. Even so, Pacific IERs involved in the full immigrant entrepreneurship study highlighted the importance of family teamwork and of the need for their children to develop independence, something that appears to indicate changing attitudes towards the traditional family authority line.

Expectations for children: There were examples during the case study of Pacific IERs having their children involved in the business, although they saw this as secondary to their children's educational development (n=9). Pacific IERs placed priority on education over work, as they saw it as fundamental to their children's independence and success: *"I'll send him to University and he will get a degree in business"*. One of the commentators observed that Pacific IERs use business as a means of helping their children achieve academically. This appears to be consistent with Poot's (1993, p. 128) observation that second generation New Zealand-born Pacific people have higher educational qualifications and incomes than the Pacific-born. Poot (p. 136) then cites Larner and Bedford's study which demonstrates that New Zealand-born Samoan women, as a result of better education, tend to be more ambitious in terms of occupational mobility and tend to have better labour market networks than their parents. Some Pacific IERs reflected on the educational successes of the young people: *"In May we have the most Samoan students ever graduating from Otago University, it is fantastic. I hope that there are going to be more in the future of the second and third generation kids."* There were mixed views by Pacific IERs on whether business succession would occur or even whether it was a good thing. This may have been because of the fact that entrepreneurial enterprises are often at a relatively early stage of development. As one commentator said:

Not too many businesses getting to that point yet. We are still very early in our foundation of business. Although you look at families of entrepreneurs in the Pacific and they are all handed down through the families. It's common to happen, but we haven't got to that stage yet in New Zealand.

National identity: As Pacific IERs in this case study were mainly second generation (n=8), they had New Zealand nationality coupled with a Pacific identity. In the words of one IER: *"A New Zealand Pacific Islander, is that a fair call?"* As Gough (2006, p. 38) observes, there are challenges involved in maintaining both identities, in attempting to take advantage of what the 'new' world has to offer while remaining loyal to tradition and the homeland. Both the beliefs and actions of Pacific IERs reflected the fact that although adaptation has occurred in many aspects of the Pacific Peoples' way of life, there is not, as yet, full integration into New Zealand society. In fact, the Pacific community expects its members to maintain their distinctive identity whilst being a part of New Zealand society.

Ethnic Community: Pacific IERs emphasised the importance of a strong connection to the New Zealand Pacific community (n=9). Many (n=8) highlighted the ways in which they support the Pacific community in New Zealand. Gough's (2006, p. 36) reference to the 'obligation' or 'service' that is expected within the Pacific community

is reinforced by comments made by the Pacific IERs such as: *"We always had people coming through from the Islands, through our place and then moving on"*. Another aspect of this is willingness to take on leadership roles in the community: *"... so it is a very high title for someone female as young as myself - to be privileged to actually have - so those are the things that do make an impact out in the Samoan community because I get addressed on the formality and that Samoan way"*. Particularly relevant here is the provision of support for the community through their businesses: *"If I can do something that will impact on that [Pacific community] whether it is through directly [IER's business] or through some other avenue, I am committed to finding a way in which I can do that"*. However, Elliott and Gray (2000, p. 48) have suggested that links are weaker among the second generation who did not maintain kinship, family values and networks to the same extent as the Pacific Island born population. One of the commentators suggested that some Pacific IERs feared that discharging their social obligations would have a huge negative impact on their business resources, especially as there was often the belief that Pacific businesses had far greater financial resources to draw on than was actually the case. As one commentator noted: *"Some successful businessmen have drawn the line and said this is where I can help you and can't. It's not our business, it's my business."*

Ethnic characteristics: The case study revealed that Pacific IERs believed that the Pacific community had some identifiable characteristics. One of these was a need to be respectful (n=6): *"Just treating people respect - it's a big culture thing for all Pacific Islanders, you know, you respect people, respect your elders and that's a big thing that's going on in New Zealand."* As indicated earlier, Church was identified as important (n=7). One of the commentators said:

Like anything, you look for things that are familiar to you and because our churches have migrated to New Zealand it is a familiar structure. Many ministers are from your home country so you already have a relationship with them. It is a very familiar structure for you to become part of and you might struggle to become part of networks somewhere else.

Also identified by IERs (n=6) as a characteristic was informality/ relaxation: *"I think we are a bit more laid back"*. They were, however, sometimes critical of this characteristic within their community: *"I think they don't have a work ethic. I think they are too casual. I think in general they are a little bit too casual."*

Gough (2006, p. 35) has noted the importance of the ancient practice of reciprocity, a practice that is at the core of Pacific cultures. Underlying this practice is the belief that the welfare of the collective is paramount, more important than that of the individual. In such a context, an important characteristic is the fact that identity has a strong collective component. It is therefore not surprising that Pacific IERs commented on the association between culture and identity (n=6). For example, typical comments from the Samoan community were:

I was brought up with the typical Samoan way of life.

One thing about Samoan community is that it doesn't matter where you are, you are a Samoan.

This was confirmed by one of the commentators who said: *“For them [Pacific Community] identity and culture are very, very important.”*

In discussion of how ethnic characteristics can translate into business strengths or weaknesses, the Pacific IERS identified what they perceived as some ethnic-related business strengths, including culturally grounded traits and values (n= 6) such as Pacificness, community, and creativity. Overall, however, they tended to focus more on the weaknesses of their communities with respect to business capability, seeing many cultural traits, such as casualness, pride and social obligation, as weaknesses (n=8). One commentator argued that cultural values can deter Pacific people from engaging in business because they often say that business is a Western concept. However, he went on to observe that because Pacific communities have traded amongst themselves for centuries, the concept of business should not be foreign to them. A’avua (2000, p. 185) has argued that the Pacific collectivist culture does not fit the New Zealand business model of individual success and personal acquisition. In relation to this, it is relevant to note that one of the commentators observed that the collectivist culture of sharing can lead to financial difficulties when it results in an inability to differentiate effectively between the individual and the collective.

Pacific IERS were also concerned with the lack of business knowledge within their community (n=7): *“A firmer knowledge on how to run a business properly or a firm appreciation of how important it is to set up properly, register GST, your financials, and accounting systems. That is a vital part of starting business”*. Also of concern to them was the perception that there was a lack of the confidence necessary to engage in business (n=6): *“I think a lot of them undersell themselves as well.”* Pacific IERS noted that this hindered Pacific community entrepreneurial activity, something that Dunstan et al. (2004, p. 125) believed accounted, in part, for lower levels of entrepreneurial activity among Pacific People than was evident in other ethnic groups. One commentator noted that this problem was compounded by the fact that Pacific business people were often too proud to seek advice, especially when they were having difficulties: *“. . . so pride gets in the way - refusing to take advice – thinking they know all the answers. That’s come through with a number of people we have worked with.”*

Pacific IERS spoke of an emphasis on the English language in business and at home, with only a few emphasising the significance of bilingualism within their family (n=4). Even so, one commentator suggested that emphasis is being placed on mother tongues at a Pacific community development level (as opposed to a family level). Another commentator noted that although language is one of the pillars of identity and cultural retention and must be preserved and taught to other generations, the fact remained that business talks in the language of the dollar and that is not an ethnic concept.

Homeland connections: Pacific IERS had strong personal connections to their homeland (n=8): *“We have a very strong family connection – Samoans in general, we are very tight”*. Although they noted the importance of the homeland family connection, few spoke of extending this to financial support of their homeland family (n=2). Even so, Poot (1993, p. 128) has claimed that remittances to homeland kin still play an important role in the Island economies. As one commentator noted:

In the old days when Pacific Islanders first came to New Zealand there was always the attitude - you come make a good living, then send money back to the Islands. Whether that still happens or not – I don't know- but I do know that the links back to the Islands are still very important.

Although a second commentator stated that New Zealand's geographic proximity to the Pacific Islands and the traditional close relationships ensured that the Pacific People maintain their strong connection back home, Elliott and Gray (2000, p. 48) have maintained that an increasing number of New Zealand-born Pacific people have weaker links, or none at all, with their parent country and do not maintain kinship, family values and networks to the same extent as the island-born population. As one commentator observed:

It depends on the upbringing. If parents are quite strong culturally and they raise the kids where you still maintain the links back to the Islands, then yes it is still important to the offspring. At the end of the day they want to go back and visit anyway.

The Pacific IERS had made regular visits to their homeland (n=8). Thus, for example, one said: *“Over the last ten years I have been over four times and Mum goes over every year”*. Some spoke of eventually returning to live in the Islands. Few business connections with the homeland were identified in the case study (n=3), although many Pacific IERS stated that they intended to establish business connections in the future (n=7) as part of what they saw as their social obligation. They made comments such as the following:

Well, later on down the track I am going to do business in Samoa.

The reason for my next visit is to look at a business opportunity.

Commentators argued that a homeland business connection was contingent on business success in New Zealand, with one commentator stating that the trend is for successful Pacific IERS in New Zealand to replicate this success in their home country or to invest in other businesses.

Business Profile

Personal drivers: Financial considerations, specifically material rewards and security (n=5), were business drivers for Pacific IERS. Gough (2006, p. 35) has argued that Pacific Peoples' desire to improve their financial position is, unlike that of Westerners, driven by collective rather than individual needs. Many Pacific IERS did claim that personal wealth beyond financial security was not a driving force (n=4). In fact, social acceptance through such factors as business reputation (n=4) and sustainability (n=5) rated highly in the case study. Thus, for example, one of the Pacific IERS said: *“I guess for me to be successful, not money wise, but to be a successful person, a father, and integrate into society.”* The Pacific IERS expressed a high level of desire for autonomy and personal responsibility (n=7), with comments such as:

... being able to choose really, whether you want to work or not

. . . to create my own opportunities, be accountable to myself

As one commentator expressed it: “*Many Pacific people are sick and tired of ‘working for the man’.*” Pacific IERs had a high need for challenge and achievement (n=8): “*I’ve always been after a challenge*”. In this connection, the material wealth motive *did* arise: they wanted to be rewarded for their efforts.

Overall, the characteristics referred to above do not appear to be consistent with the collectivist cultural trait and low business confidence identified in the broader Pacific community (as discussed previously). On the other hand, gaining a quality lifestyle for themselves and their family was also identified as being very important to Pacific IERs (n=7) as reflected in comments such as the following:

It’s about being able to create a lifestyle for our children and ourselves.

. . . so it was at that point I realised that if she [competitive swimming daughter] was going to be able to travel we needed to be self employed. And that’s where it all kicked off really.

Pacific IERs had, in addition, a desire to contribute to their ethnic community (n=5): “*I firmly believed that I had something to offer and could contribute to the community.*” They also believed in helping the extended family through job creation or other forms of business success (n=6): “*Probably the main reason really is just to help family out – some of our family didn’t have jobs*”. These characteristics appeared consistent with Pacific Peoples’ collective culture and can be viewed in the light of the insistence by one of the commentators that the family is still the main motivation for Pacific people becoming involved in business as a way of discharging their social obligations.

External catalyst: Although the case study identified little evidence of ‘forced’ entrepreneurship, disadvantages associated with language, discrimination and employment dissatisfaction did influence some levels of decision making among the IERs (n=5). One commentator argued for a concept of ‘necessity entrepreneurship’ (as opposed to forced entrepreneurship), suggesting that IERs felt that starting a business was the only way of earning enough money to discharge their social obligations: “. . . *like supporting the church more, looking after the family more, answering cousins when they call from the Islands. . . . They cannot support it by being a factory worker, so there is no other way to discharge social obligations.*”

For Pacific IERs, the importance of social networks was highlighted as a major factor in undertaking entrepreneurial activity. Their social capital factors were the emotional, financial and labour support of family (n=7), and help and interaction with colleagues and friends (n=8): “*My family [overseas] offered me some money, so when I came back we managed to buy a van and we started from there*”. These factors strongly influenced the decisions of Pacific IERs to go into business. Non-family influences included forming partnerships with colleagues or acquaintances: “*I started that off with my business partner*”. Also relevant was financial or resource assistance: “*The general manager gave me the opportunity to actually start my own business while still working under the [IER’s employer] umbrella.*”

Pacific IERs (n=6) also demonstrated the ability to seize opportunities when they were

presented: “. . . and the business fell over and there was an opportunity to buy into that business. It didn't cost me anything because it had been run right down to the ground and owed a lot of money.” In seizing opportunities, they often identified niches within their community, ethnic or multi-cultural. As a commentator observed: “They go about finding a niche in the market and knowing they have that certain area they then go into business.”

Learning: The case study revealed the fact that fewer Pacific IERs had completed any form of University or Polytechnic study than members of the other groups in the full study or the general New Zealand population. Even so, Pacific IER's qualifications were significantly higher than those of the general Pacific population in New Zealand. One of the commentators noted that Tongans and Samoans lead the way for other Islanders in the business sense, and suggested that Tongans have the highest educational levels and the most entrepreneurs. Most of the Pacific IERs did not have tertiary level qualifications. However, most (n=10) were involved with post-business formal education, something that suggested that Pacific IERs were aware of a positive link between formal education and business capability. The Pacific IERs had a significant amount of relevant practical experience (n=8), having either been previously employed in a position of direct relevance to their business or having some other relevant in-depth knowledge of the industry. They saw this experience as vital to their success. Typical comments were:

With my connection I had built up in the timber industry I didn't have any problems getting accounts with a number of small suppliers.

I don't think the boss was the fairest person but I did definitely learn a lot – took a lot on board.

Pacific IERs were unanimous in their view that there was a need for considerable ‘learning on the job’ once they became self-employed (n=11): “You make the wrong decisions - I mean - just as long as you learn from it, that's the key.”

The perception of Pacific IERs was that practical experience was more important than education as a prerequisite for their entrepreneurial activity: “I am more a street smart person than book smart”. Even so, they did rate formal education highly. In connection with this, one of the commentators reflected on the need for applied education, suggesting that although the Pacific IERs understood their trades well, they needed the skills required to pay taxes and keep their books (rather than academic qualifications). Another commentator summed up the position as follows: “Pacific Islanders are practical people, very much hands-on. . . . However, you need both, you need the academic background to succeed, but you need practical sense as well”. The Pacific IERs appearing in this case study were effectively managing both needs: they had gained practical experience and had supplemented or were supplementing this with some form of relevant education.

In addressing the academic and practical needs of setting up and running their businesses, Pacific IERs generally used some form of professional or peer support. Accountants (n=8) were highlighted as the most useful professionals, although other business professionals were also used (n=6). For example, one IER observed: “I have an executive coach”. The input and skills of spouses (n=6) was also rated highly: “If

I didn't have her there just answering the phones and helping with the paperwork I don't think the business would be here if we didn't do this together."

The case study identified the fact that the Pacific IERs (n=9) were inclined to talk with and seek advice from their peers (as business people of any ethnicity tend to do) and community members whom they respected. However, as has already been noted, commentators suggested that less successful Pacific IERs allowed pride to get in the way of asking for help or support. One commentator said that Samoan business people would seek help "only as a last resort":

Samoans are always too humble to ask for help even if they know their business is going under or failing. That is largely due to pride: 'No I'm fine, I'll get myself out of this crap.' They keep going and going until they find they can't go any further.

Another of the commentators noted that Pacific people have difficulty accessing appropriate advice before entering into business because of the lack of business networks in their community:

They don't know any accountants or anyone who owns a business. So we are still trying to develop that connectedness. So those are the kind of barriers we need to work our way through – actually knowing the people who are in business or knowing something about business.

Although the Pacific IERs in this case study have demonstrated the ability to overcome issues such as these, they do have a far reaching impact on the business capability of the broader Pacific community.

Role models: Pacific IERs (n=10) spoke of being inspired by others. Parents rated highest as role models (n=6) For example: "She [mother] always inspired us to be the best that we can be Yeah a very strong woman, and never settled for less. I guess I've got a lot of her in me." Many Pacific IERs (n=6) saw themselves as role models for others in their ethnic community: "So it is nice when people come up to me and say 'You have done really well, can you come and talk to our group of women' and I say yeah, sure, not a problem." The Pacific IERs who did not view themselves as role models were often unknowingly a visible face in their community, as the comments of one IER demonstrate:

I'm on the board of trustees for three charitable trusts for youth in West Auckland. I'm rebuilding a Christian camp in Rotorua and habitat for humanity building house for people who otherwise wouldn't have a home. And so it keeps me humble.

Financial practices: Pacific IERs identified the need to be responsible and organised with money matters (n=8): "I've never been good with money and all that, but at the end of the day money makes the world go around and you need to know where you are at with accounts and bits and pieces." Some stressed that careful management of finances needed to be in place from the start up: ". . . proper structure, financial records and processes set in place right from the very beginning". Others, however, noted that community expectations in respect of the discharge of social obligations

(family, extended family, church and community) could put pressure on businesses. The commentators highlighted the fact that managing capital needs was a significant issue for Pacific Peoples.

Within the context of this case study, capital was often sourced from personal or family money, including money lent by overseas family members (n=7) and was reflected in comments such as:

I was lucky because my dad had faith and belief in me. My first business he loaned me the money and I'd just paid him back on the monthly basis.

I had time to go to the States and see my family there and they offer me some money. So when I came back we managed to buy a van and we started from there.

Three Pacific IERs noted that they needed very little capital to start their venture, so financing was not an issue. Banks were generally not the first source of finance. In fact, four Pacific IERs involved in this study discussed the difficulties they had in attempting to obtain funding from banks and only three appeared to have been successful in securing start up capital from a bank. When asked about difficulties connected with obtaining capital, one of the commentators observed that he believed that this was often used as an excuse: “*You hear that complaint a lot. But you can get any great idea off the ground with little capital if you have your thinking right. ‘If I have nothing in the bank how do I start?’ is the thinking needed. There are ways to access business – it’s a mind set.*” Nevertheless, Pacific IERs did identify financial pressures (n=3), profitability (n=3), and lack of capital (n=3) as major issues in establishing and growing their businesses. This was often compensated for through working long hours and support of family and community networks, although, as indicated earlier, discharging community obligations could also create financial burdens if not managed carefully.

Business activity: The case study identified a service industry dominance (n=10) and a predominance of ‘one site’ businesses, although no particular industry sector dominated. There was a mix of ethnic market-based and New Zealand market-based businesses. One commentator stated that generally Pacific IERs preferred to sell to their own community to test the waters and then expand into the broader New Zealand market. Duncan, Bollard and Yeabsley (1997, p. 57), however, have warned against making any strong claims about any typical ethnic business focus in New Zealand in the absence of a critical mass with respect to the size of the economy or the size of migrant groups. In fact, one of the commentators suggested that business focus differs throughout the country. For example, whereas Auckland-based Pacific IERs could focus initially on selling to their community, in a city such as Christchurch, which has a small Pacific population, IERs needed to focus on selling to a broader market from the outset. Only three Pacific IERs identified any international focus for their businesses. So far as business type is concerned, whereas one commentator noted that Pacific people were very active in hands-on type businesses (such as carpentry and engineering), another referred to the fact that they were very active in the creative sectors (such as graphic design and communications) and generally sought business opportunities where they could commercialise their personal skills. The reality is, no doubt, that Pacific people are likely to begin by taking advantage of whatever

opportunities are available to them, with personal preference becoming a motivator only when they are more firmly established in their host country.

The Pacific IERs in this study began with small start-up businesses (n=10), with four having bought established businesses. One of the commentators noted that starting small was a common approach for Pacific business owners. All of the Pacific IERs involved in the study expressed a desire to grow their businesses. With reference to this, it is relevant to reiterate here that the case study highlighted risks associated with social obligations and loss of focus as possible impediments to growth. As one IER commented: *“We seem to have a limitation. We seem to be able to grow to a certain size and then it all seems to unravel.”*

Honesty, integrity and fairness were highlighted by many Pacific IERs (n=7) as part of their business philosophy:

I mean my father, one of the things he always says is ‘If a job is worth doing, it is worth doing well’ and it doesn’t matter what you do you’ve got to be able to get up in the morning and look at yourself in the mirror and like what you see.

Respect and faith also rated as important, as did customer focus and word of mouth:

I never focused on the money. I always focused on the service that I deliver to people.

It’s just through the grapevine that people have heard about us.

The study identified a prominence of Pacific entrepreneurial activity among second generation New Zealand-born (n=8). One of the commentators regarded this as a natural evolution:

In the first wave of migration we were looking for a better life and employment was that chance – so that was the first step. We spent the first wave teaching our children and now we have a second wave of Pacific migrants that are coming through that are already educated together with those that are second generation New Zealanders now starting to look beyond employment. . . . It is part of the natural journey for any migrant community - the evolution and where we go to. Our young people are coming through well qualified and experienced through other businesses, and now wanting to start their own.

This evolution may still be in its infancy (see Statistics New Zealand, 2006a). As another of the commentators said:

We are still early on in our foundation of business. . . . Studies have been done that suggest by 2050 half of the New Zealand population will be brown. So in 2050 the profile of New Zealand will be brown, well paid, and businesslike, if we are to be prosperous. But people in New Zealand have not bought into that idea, when in fact the number of Pacific People in business in the next 20 years will determine how well we do as a country in the future.”

Conclusion

The Pacific community is well established in New Zealand, its cultural and economic impact is felt throughout society and it is likely that its entrepreneurs will continue to grow in importance with future generations. Currently, entrepreneurs are predominantly found among second generation, New Zealand born Pacific people, and overall entrepreneurial activity is lower than that of the general New Zealand population. In an attempt to understand some of the complexities of Pacific entrepreneurship, this paper has offered a profile of a sample of Pacific entrepreneurs in the belief that there is a need for greater understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of Pacific entrepreneurship.

The case study profile of Pacific Island immigrant entrepreneurship indicates that these Pacific IERs are predominantly from island or New Zealand lower-middle socio-economic backgrounds. They began as employees and developed into entrepreneurs at a later stage. They generally came from large families and had strong religious affiliations. These Pacific IERs historically came from a Pacific people characterised by a cultural tradition of island migration, strong family or community support in New Zealand, and the desire to seek improved quality of life through career and educational opportunities. They were hard working, had an internal locus of control, and felt a strong obligation to care for extended family and to respect their parents. Their educational levels were higher than those of the general Pacific population in New Zealand, but were nevertheless lower than those of other ethnic groups in the full study. They placed emphasis on practical experience but realised the importance of education in achieving business success. They sought out and made use of professional advice, although a Pacific community tendency to be too proud to ask for help was identified. Parents were strong role models for Pacific IERs, and they also believed it was important to act as Pacific role models themselves. Their businesses were predominantly service-orientated and many had strong ethnic community focus, with little or no international activity. They started small and were focused on growth, with strong relationship and customer focus. Family involvement in Pacific IERs businesses was high, which they viewed as having benefits (trust and loyalty) and drawbacks (financial drain and loss of focus), yet their priority was that children should be well educated rather than that they should be extensively involved in family business. Pacific IER entrepreneurs also emphasised the importance of strong Pacific Island community connections. They often made reference to the need to discharge their social obligations and to the social pressures driving this need, referring sometimes to the challenges associated with attempting to balance business practicalities with the resource drain involved in discharging their social obligations. Most Pacific IERs were New Zealand citizens but maintained their historical cultural identity. They had strong personal connections, but few business connections, to their homeland.

The study highlighted the importance to the entrepreneurial activity of these Pacific IERs of family and community networks as a source of emotional, labour and financial support. A strong connected Pacific community was viewed as critical to Pacific people's economic and social development in New Zealand, and Pacific IERs played an essential role in this. However, there was also evidence of pride in the unique Island identity of the different island countries. The study identified Pacific IERs as people who looked to seize niche market opportunities within their community and who often brought a unique Pacific quality to business activity. Pacific IERs saw their

people's cultural traits as both a strength (e.g. creativity and community) and a weakness (e.g. casualness and losing focus) when engaging in business. A significant challenge to business growth was the fact that many Pacific IERs were looking to develop their businesses while simultaneously discharging their social obligations, which at times presented difficulties associated with attempts to balance family, community and business needs. Also identified was the fact that the current low level of Pacific entrepreneurship can be attributed, at least in part, to Pacific Island immigrants' preference for being employees, the need for a greater critical mass of Pacific business activity and more business role models, the lack of business knowledge and confidence and unwillingness to ask for help. However, among the New Zealand born Pacific IERs in the study, these limiting factors were less evident. These people were characterized by higher educational levels, more networking, and, overall, a higher level of entrepreneurial activity than was evidenced in those born in the Islands. A higher level of understanding of the entrepreneurial characteristics, strengths and weaknesses of Pacific people may operate as a positive driver of increased entrepreneurial activity within the Pacific community in New Zealand in the future.

Endnotes

1. In the context of this study, immigrant entrepreneurship has been defined as: immigrants or their immediate offspring who have a specific ethnic identity, and who create work place settings for themselves and others within their receiving country. Whilst the term 'immigrant' implies 'migrating peoples', it is noted that the definition has been extended to include New Zealand-born second generation for a number of reasons. Firstly, this is because the grounded theory approach of theoretical sampling drew on second generation entrepreneurs. Secondly, the extended definition takes into account the 'immigrant factor' and cultural influence that are often very strong across generations within ethnic minority groups, and impacts on the minority groups, and that impact on entrepreneurial behaviours of their community (e.g. Butterfield, 2004; Dhaliwal & Kangins, 2006; Peters, 2002). Thirdly, it gives a stronger longitudinal perspective of immigrant adaptation and their entrepreneurial participation in New Zealand.
2. Note that n=5 refers to five of the Pacific IER participants in the study.

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Vocabulary learning strategies and language games: Reporting on a Taiwan-based study

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Abstract

This study investigates the effectiveness of games as a vocabulary learning strategy. Forty-six students of English as a foreign language (EFL) voluntarily joined a vocabulary extension training program, using games created by the author, for a total period of 20 hours in the summer of 2008. Oxford's (1990) Strategies Inventory for Language Learning (SILL) was used before and after the program to detect learning strategies and any changes in learning strategies before and after the program and Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used for data analysis. In terms of strategy use, there were significant differences between pretest and post-test results, particularly in the area of memory strategies. This suggests that further research in the area of games-based vocabulary enhancement, particularly in the area of strategy use and development, would be likely to be of value.

Keywords: Language learning strategies, vocabulary learning strategies, educational games

Introduction and background of the study

In Taiwan, English is a compulsory subject from the third grade of elementary school to the end of high school. Excluding time spent in attending supplementary classes at cram schools, Taiwanese students will have spent approximately 1,080 hours learning English (that is, an average of 3 hours each week for 360 school weeks - 20 semesters over 10 years). It therefore seems reasonable to assume that the majority of them will have achieved a proficiency level at least equivalent to the Common Reference Level (CRL) B1 (Threshold level) as outlined in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) whose general descriptor is as follows (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 24):

Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.

Unfortunately, what is known about Taiwanese scores on proficiency tests suggests that the majority of learners do not achieve the level of achievement outlined in the above proficiency descriptor at the end of their high school studies. Although the average score of Taiwanese test takers on the TOEFL-iBT test increased one point (from 71 to 72 out of a possible 120) between 2006 and 2007 (www.toefl.org), Taiwan still ranked a considerable distance behind both Chinese and South Korean test takers (with an average score of 78 and 77 respectively). Furthermore, although it is widely accepted that most university students should be able to achieve at intermediate

level on the national General English Proficiency Test (GEPT) test, the reality is that many fall short of this expectation. The Department of Technological and Vocational Education of the Taiwan Ministry of Education (MOE) tested the English language proficiency of 11,205 students in technological and vocational colleges and universities over three consecutive annual tests from 2001 to 2003. These tests revealed that only 18.1% (2026 students) achieved the basic level of the GEPT. Furthermore, a study reported in 2004 revealed that over 80% of student test takers from the technological and vocational system were not even able to comprehend or use commonly occurring simple English phrases that appear in the tests designed by the Language Training and Testing Center (LTTC, 2004). A year later, data collected by the Integrated Higher Education Database System in Taiwan (2005) indicated that only 35.94% of the 71,104 university and technological and vocational freshmen tested passed the basic level of the GEPT. All of these indicators are of considerable concern, particularly as, in a test-oriented country such as Taiwan, the objectives of English courses are heavily influenced by testing. Most of the English taught in schools is for test purposes and not for communication or for career preparation. This is evidenced in the English curriculum for schools in which most of the objectives are related to teaching content rather than learning strategies (Her, 2007, pp. 92 - 143). In Taiwan, there is a need for further research in the area of learning strategies and teaching strategies. A critical issue is how we can help students to become 'good language learners'.

Critical review of selected literature on learning strategies

General

A number of trends can be detected in research in the area of learning strategies from the 1970s onwards. Rubin (1975) and Stern (1975) initiated research in this area by investigating how 'good' language learners approach the task of learning (Naiman, Frohlich, Stern & Todesco, 1978). From the 1980s onwards, while some researchers began to focus on the identification and classification of learning strategies in a general sense (O'Malley, Chamot, Stewner-Manazares, Kupper, & Russo, 1985; O'Malley & Chamot, 1990; Oxford, Nyikos, & Crookall, 1987; Rubin, 1981, 1987), others focused on language learning techniques associated with specific language skills and tasks (Naiman, et al, 1978; Rubin & Thompson, 1994). Inventories of language learning strategies for both ESL and EFL learners began to be compiled (Brown, 2002; Chamot, Barnhardt, El-Dinary & Robbins, 1999; Cohen & Chi, 2001; Cohen & Oxford, 2001; Ehrman, 1998; Oxford, 1986, 1990; Pintrich, Smith, Garcia, & McKeachie, 1993). Initially, the primary focus was on the identification of effective strategies for language learning. More recently, however, more attention has been directed towards exploring those factors that affect the choices made by learners (Oxford & Bury-Stock, 1995; Oxford & Nyikos, 1989), with increased attention being paid to the variety of strategies employed (Cohen, 1990; O'Malley & Chamot, 1990; O'Malley, Chamot, Stewner-Manzanares, Russo, & Kupper, 1985; Oxford, 1989, 1990, 1992; Wenden & Rubin, 1987) and the frequency with which different strategies occur (Chamot & Kupper, 1989; Chamot & O'Malley, 1987; Oxford & Ehrman, 1995) and their variety (Cohen, 1990; O'Malley, Chamot, Stewner-Manzanares, Russo, & Kupper, 1985; O'Malley & Chamot, 1990; Oxford, 1989, 1990, 1992; Wenden & Rubin, 1987). This has led to developing interest in the correlation between language proficiency achievements and the effectiveness of language learning strategies among different groups (Green, 1991; Green & Oxford,

1995; Ho, 1999; Mangubhai, 1991; Okada, Oxford & Abo, 1996; Park, 1997; Politzer & McGroarty, 1985; Purpura, 1998).

Language learning strategy research in Asian countries (including Taiwan)

In the context of globalization, competence in English has become increasingly important in Asian countries and there has been growing interest among Asian researchers in the area of language learning strategies. Researchers in, for example, China, Hong Kong, Korea, and Japan have adopted approaches to language learning strategy research that are similar to those to which I have already referred (Gan, 2004; Gan, Humphreys & Lyons, 2004; F. Kato, 2002; S. Kato, 2005; Ko, 2005; Lam, 2008; Lee & Oxford, 2008; Li & Qin, 2006; Olah, 2006; Takeuchi, 1993; Wakamoto, 2000, 2007; Watanabe, 1990; Yamato, 2001). In Taiwan, learning strategy research has often focused on frequency of use of particular strategies (Chang, 2002; Y. C. Chen, 2005; M. Chen, 2007; Chiang & Liao, 2002; Huang, 2002; Teng, 2000; N. D. Yang, 1993; S. C. Yang, 1997). Another area of interest in Taiwan is the investigation of factors that affect the use of language learning strategies. Thus, for example, researchers have investigated the correlation between strategy use and language proficiency level (Y. C. Chen, 2005; M. Chen, , 2007; Chiang & Liao, 2002; Fan, 2003; Ho, 1999; Ku, 2003; Teng, 2000; N. D. Yang, 1996; S. C. Yang, 1997, 1999), strategy use and motivation (Hsu, 2004; N. D. Yang, 1996), gender (M. Chen, 2007; Chang & Chang, 1998; Sy, 1996; Teng, 2000; N. D. Yang, 1996; S. C. Yang, 1997, 1999), and strategy use and (a) students' major area of study and (b) the number of years they have been learning English (M. Chen, 2007; N. D. Yang, 1996; S. C. Yang, 1997, 1999). In a major study conducted in 1999, S. C. Yang investigated the interaction between language learning strategies, learning type and psychological types in the areas of vocabulary acquisition and listening and reading skills. N.D Yang (1996) carried out a research project that investigated the factors affecting the use of language learning strategies. She then moved to a focus on the implementation of strategy-based learning in the language classroom (N. D. Yang, 2003, 2005), using both paper and web-based portfolios that were intended to promote independent learning through tailor-made programs for each individual learner. Huang (2001) also implemented an English learning strategy training course, assessing its impact on college-level students in terms of learning achievement, attitudes, anxiety, and proficiency. The findings indicated that the program appeared to have a significant positive impact on strategy use and on proficiency and motivation, with a significant decrease in anxiety associated with the learning of English.

Vocabulary learning strategies

Research relating to 'good learners' (Schmitt, 1997), led, from the 1970s, to the development of one of the major sub-fields of research in the area of language learning strategies, that of vocabulary learning strategies (see, for example, Atkinson & Raugh, 1975; Pressley, Levin, Hall, Miller & Berry, 1980). Notable among researchers in this area were Pressely, Levin and Miller (1981) who investigated keyword vocabulary learning methods. Most studies in the area of language learning strategies have focused on specific aspects of vocabulary acquisition in relation to particular groups of learners, such as contextual guessing, association, note-taking, dictionary use, and rote repetition. Thus, for example, O'Malley et al. (1985) found that repetition as a strategy was much more frequently used than were strategies requiring complex manipulation of information. Nation (1982) noted that tools involving rote memory, such as word lists, were considered effective in enhancing the

acquisition of a great deal of vocabulary in a short period of time, Gu and Johnson (1996) reported that learners' vocabulary size and overall language proficiency were related to their ability to make skilful use of a dictionary and to their willingness to invest time on practicing newly learned words and Cohen and Apeh (1980) found that there was a link between proficiency and association skills, with higher levels of proficiency being associated with greater capacity to apply association skills.

Vocabulary learning strategy training

Fan (2003) studied the strategies employed by 1,067 Hong Kong-based ESL students in learning high- and low-frequency words (in terms of actual and perceived usefulness and frequency of application), finding that the students involved in the study tended to use guessing strategies in the case of high-frequency words and source strategies (such as referring to known words) in the case of low-frequency words. However, that study, in common with other similar studies, did not incorporate a structured strategy training course. Thus, although many studies have shed light on learners' vocabulary learning strategies, there remains a need for research that focuses on vocabulary strategy training. One example of research of this type is a study by Yen and Chuo (2007) who incorporated into reading classes, using Oxford's (1990) *Strategy Inventory for Language Learning* (SILL), *Memory Trigger Instruction* (MTI) techniques, including mnemonic devices (association, the keyword method, and mnemonic strategies involving discourse and music). Yen and Chuo concluded that MTI significantly enhanced learners' use of memory strategies (and overall English proficiency) but had no impact on other language learning strategies. Furthermore, although MTI mainly focuses on vocabulary learning strategies, this study did not measure the learners' vocabulary gains.

Although the concept of integrating strategy training into language programs is not new, O'Malley, et al. (1985), Oxford and Burry-Stock (1995), and many Taiwanese researchers (Chiang & Liao, 2002; I. J. Ku, 2003; P. Y. Ku, 1998; Teng, 2000; N. D. Yang, 1996; S. C. Yang, 1999) have stressed the need for in-depth research on its effectiveness in view of the fact that (as indicated above) the focus to date has been on identifying and classifying language learning strategies and exploring the contexts in which they are used. There is therefore a need for research that relates to ways of improving language learning strategies, including research that explores the potential of games in this area.

Background to the study reported here

The research reported here represents a further development of the approach adopted by M. Chen (2007) and Chen and Hsu (2006). Chen and Hsu (2006) explored the learning strategies employed by 77 students (divided into two groups). In terms of English proficiency scores, some of these students made significant progress between 2004 and 2005; others had actually regressed. The aim of the study was to identify the language learning strategies these students employed and to determine whether there was any relationship between the use of strategies and proficiency gains/ losses. In the event, it was found that, irrespective of proficiency, the strategies that were least frequently used were memory strategies that help learners to store and retrieve new information (including creating mental links, applying images and sounds, reviewing well, and employing action (e.g. using body language to express/ reinforce word meanings)). It was also found that there was a positive relationship between proficiency gains and strategy use. In a later study, making reference to the *Strategy*

Inventory of Language Learning (SILL) (Oxford, 1990), Chen (2007) surveyed the use of language learning strategies by 1,090 students. Once again, there was found to be a positive correlation between proficiency and strategy use. Once again, over the whole group, memory strategies were found to be used the least frequently in comparison with cognitive, compensation, meta-cognitive, affective, and social strategies.

Introduction to the study

A 20 hour vocabulary game training program was designed to explore the effectiveness of one approach to strategy training, particularly the impact of vocabulary games on memory-based strategies. Central to that program were vocabulary games designed by the author as strategy training tools, the intention being to encourage students to develop or enhance a range of vocabulary learning strategies (particularly memory-based strategies) in the context of the stimulation, challenge and fun associated with game playing.

Purpose of study

The purpose of the study was to test the following two hypotheses:

1. Playing the vocabulary learning games for 20 hours will lead to an overall increase in participants' use of language learning strategies.
2. There will be a particularly marked increase in participants' use of direct strategies, especially memory and compensation strategies.

Details of the study

Participants

The participants in the study were 46 students from a language college in Kaohsiung, Taiwan, Republic of China. All of them joined the training program voluntarily. All of them took the College Students English Proficiency Test (CSEPT) which was administered by the Language Training and Testing Center (LTTC) in September, 2007. Their average score in that test was 143.65 (regarded as being equivalent to level A1 of the CEFR). Because the program was offered on a voluntary basis, there were differences among the participants in relation to educational context. One third of the participants were from the 4-year college, the other 29 were from the 5-year junior college. Although all of them were studying English, only 9 were majoring in English. The other majors were: French (3); German (10); Spanish (2); Japanese (14); Applied Chinese (1); Foreign Language Instruction (1); Translation and Interpreting (2); International Affairs (1); International Business (1); and Communication Arts (2).

Throughout the study, participants were divided into groups according to the nature of the games. However, in order to make the learning process equally competitive and challenging, the grouping criteria were based on their proficiency scores.

The program was conducted at the Language Diagnostic & Consulting Center (LDCC) of the institution referred to above. Four female research assistants and three student tutors (all of whom had experience in English or Foreign Language Instruction) were recruited to be game dealers in addition to one college student from another educational institution in Southern Taiwan who was doing an internship in the LDCC at the time the study was conducted.

Instruments

In this study, two instruments were used. First, three types of vocabulary game invented by the author¹: Poker cards, Chinese Chess and Gobang. These involved 153 single words (all nouns) which could be matched in different ways to create up to 454 compound nouns. The game rules were adapted from three well-known games PickRed², Chinese Blind Chess³ and Gobang⁴. The SILL (1990) was employed before and after the program. Details of the vocabulary games are provided below.

Poker cards. Two sets of Poker cards (each containing 54 cards) were created for the training program. The first set of cards has 42 illustrated nouns, the other set has 45 illustrated nouns. In each case, the illustrations are accompanied by an English word and, in much smaller script, its Chinese translation. The overall aim of the game is to match cards from the two sets to create compound nouns in English (e.g. ‘land’ can be matched with ‘mark’ to produce ‘landmark’; ‘head’ and ‘line’ can be matched to produce ‘headline’). Some of the nouns, those that can occur in the highest number of different combinations to produce compounds, occur on more than one card. By matching two cards from the first set, players can generate 159 compound nouns; by matching cards from the second set, they can generate 147 compound nouns. If the two sets of cards are used together in the same game, there is a potential to generate at least 306 compound nouns. However, because some of the words (21) on each of the two sets of cards are the same, 61 of these compound nouns may be repetitions. Some of the cards used in the game are illustrated in *Figures 1* and *2* below.



Figure 1: Samples from one set of poker cards created by the author

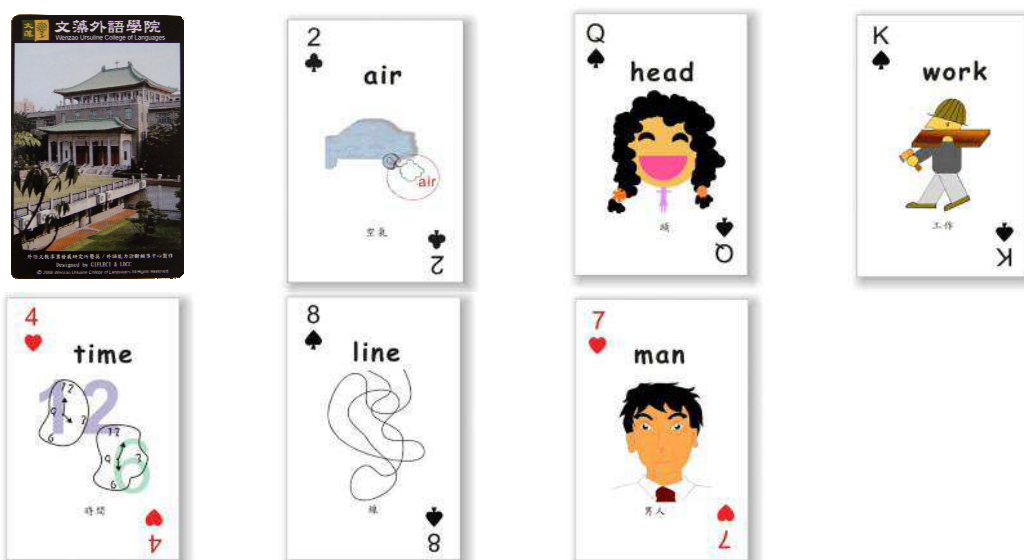


Figure 2: Samples from the other set of poker cards created by the author

All of the words on these cards are considered appropriate to Levels A1 and A2 of the DEFR and most of them also appear in Taiwanese elementary and junior high school English textbooks. The poker game outlined and illustrated above was played by participants in the first four and a half to five hours of the program.

Chinese Chess (Xiangqi). Unlike the Poker cards (which include illustrations to indicate the meaning of words), the Chinese Chess set has no illustrations. There are 32 word pieces, eight of which are red (containing core words) and 24 of which are black. Players match red and black pieces to form compound nouns. Each of the core words on the red pieces can be matched with at least three of the words on the black pieces, allowing for the construction of between 33 and 58 compound nouns in the case of each game set. Four sets of chess pieces were used in the program. Some of the compound words that can be created are common to more than one game set. The total number of different compound nouns that can be created using all four game sets is 161. *Figure 3* below indicates the appearance of the game pieces.



Figure 3: Samples from one set of Chinese Chess game pieces created by the author

Gobang. Gobang is a popular game in Asian countries. In this version of the game, created by the author, 60 nouns can be matched to create up to 222 compound nouns. This game can be played by two individual players or by two groups of players. Each player/team has a bowl containing 60 pieces, on each of which an English word (a noun) is written. Although the words written on each player's/ team's pieces are the same, the colour of the pieces is different in each case. The first player/ team to line up five pieces (horizontally, vertically or diagonally) of the same color with all juxtaposed pieces creating compound words wins the game.



Figure 4: The Gobang-based game created by the author

Taking all three games together and excluding repetitions, there are 153 nouns from which it is possible to create approximately 454 compound nouns (see *Table 1* below). Although the nouns that appear on the cards would generally be introduced at beginner or low intermediate level, many of the compound nouns that can be created would be unlikely to be introduced into most language learning programs until the students had reached a higher level of proficiency.

Table 1: Nouns involved in all three games

Game type	Coding	Original word count	Unrepeated original word count	Compound noun count	Unrepeated compound noun count
Poker Cards	P1	42	18	159	88
	P2	45	19	147	67
Chinese Chess	C1	31	4	58	7
	C2	31	14	38	17
	C3	32	18	34	26
	C4	32	20	33	28
Gobang	G	60	60	221	221
Total		273	153	690	454

Strategies Inventory for Language Learning (SILL)

In order to determine whether the participants' use of language learning strategies increased, version 7 (50 items), of the *Strategies Inventory for Language Learning* (Oxford, 1990), designed for ESL/EFL learners, was used for data collection. It includes six language learning strategy types: memory strategies; cognitive strategies; compensation strategies; meta-cognitive strategies; affective strategies; and social strategies. The first three of these are direct strategies; the others as indirect strategies.

CSEPT scores.

All of the participants in the study took a *College Students English Proficiency Test* (CSEPT) in 2007. The test, designed and administered by the Language Testing and Training Center (LTTC) in Taipei, has three sections: listening, reading

comprehension and grammatical usage, a possible score of 120 being associated with each component (i.e, a total possible overall score of 360). Participants were assigned to game play groups according to their score in the CSEPT, with groups being made up of students with similar overall scores. Scores in the 2007 CSEPT were also used for quantitative data analysis purposes.

Procedures

Setting up the procedures and administering the SILL

The study was conducted in two parts, the first part (involving one of the two groups) took place in July 2008, the second (involving the other group) in August 2008. Participants took part in the program for two hours a day for ten days, a total of 20 hours. On the first day of the program, they were administered SILL and given an outline of the program that provided information about the order in which the games would be played, the number of rounds of each set of each game that would be played, and the game length. Also outlined were the ways in which participants would be grouped and the role of the dealers (who would introduce the game types and explain the rules at the beginning of each session). Participants were urged to arrive punctually for each session and were told that they would receive a certificate on completion of the course. The procedures followed are outlined in *Figure 5* below.

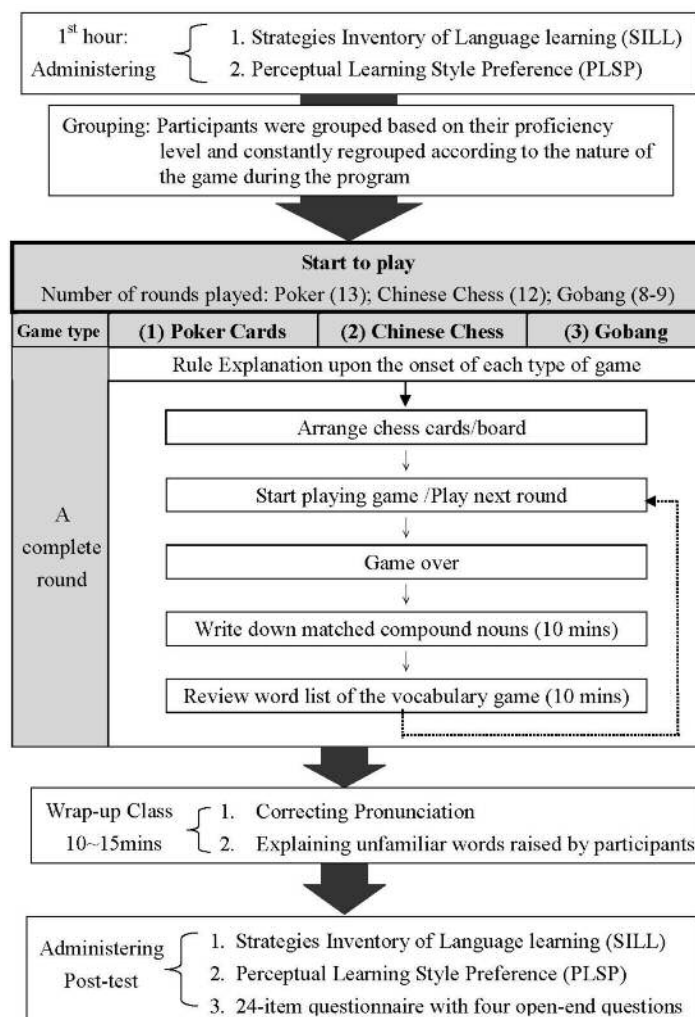


Figure 5: Procedures followed

Game length and rounds

Each type of game was assigned approximately four and a half to six hours of playing time. The number of rounds that could be played in that time was therefore determined by the type of game being played. Participants generally played at least two or three rounds a day, depending on their progress.⁵ *Table 2* indicates the actual number of rounds of each game played and the time taken.

Table 2: *Time used and the rounds played in the program*

Game type	(1) Poker			(2) Chess				(3) Gobang	
Game set	P1	P2	P1+P2	C1	C2	C3	C4	G	Contest
Time taken (hr)	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	2 2
No. of rounds played	5	5	3	3	3	3	3	3	5-6

After each type of the game, participants were given ten minutes to review the words that had been encountered in the game by exposure to a word list. The word list contained all of the possible compound nouns with Chinese translations. The students could make use of these lists in a variety of different ways. They might, for example, search only for the words that had been successfully matched during the game or they might review other words on the list. They might ask for some of the words to be expressed in sentences or they might draw pictures to match the word meanings. Whatever approach they took, the expectation was that they would be able to create a greater number of successful matches in the next round of the game.

Game grouping

Due to the nature of the games, participants were required to play with a different number of people for each of the three game types. Thus, a Poker game requires three to four participants; a Chinese Chess game requires two to three participants; a game of Gobang is played by two participants. Participants were grouped and regrouped for different games and different game rounds in the hope that this would not only create a sense of novelty but also help to foster cooperative learning. In the last four hours of the program, a Gobang tournament was held, the intention being to increase motivation and encourage competition. Prizes were given to the overall champion and the group winners.

Game dealer

The series of vocabulary games outlined here requires well-trained dealers to lead and monitor the pace of learning. Each group had a dealer to supervise the game flow and regulations. All game dealers received approximately five hours' training relating to the conduct of the experiment and the game rules.

During each new game round, the dealers encouraged payers to attempt to match words that they had not matched in previous rounds and kept records of each player's score. Where a wrong match occurred, the dealer would point it out so that everyone would be informed about the error. At this point, s/he would not answer any questions relating to correct word combinations. However, after each iteration of the game, in breaks between game rounds, players were encouraged to ask questions, to make a written list of the words encountered during the round and to match these against the word list. In addition, dealers were expected, at the end of each day's session, to hand in observation sheets in which they reported on, for example, comments made by players that they had overheard, issues relating to the composition

of groups, the types of question that players had asked during game breaks, etc. This could lead to changes being made in relation to, for example, the composition of groups.

Game rules

The game rules were intended to facilitate the learning of vocabulary in a variety of ways. Players were requested to say out loud the words they tried to match, and also to say out loud the resulting word combination. This was intended to help the players to associate the pronunciation of words with word forms. Since oral repetition has been shown to be positively correlated with vocabulary growth (Gu & Johnson, 1996), the repetition involved, particularly after several iterations of a game, providing an aid to retention. During the process of the game, players were encouraged to guess the possible combinations, but a word list was not presented until the end of each round. Players could learn the meanings of compound words they had not encountered before from observations made during the game by other players or, at the end of each game round, from reviewing and asking questions about the word list.

Data Collection

Participants completed SILL Questionnaire online at the beginning and end of the program (referred to later as the pre-test and post-test). Qualitative data included classroom observations by dealers (see above), minutes of meetings held by the researcher with dealers at the end of each day, players' records of the vocabulary matched, and dealers' records relating to the length of time taken for each iteration of a game time, game scores etc.

Data Analysis

Quantitative data were processed using SPSS to calculate the overall means and standard deviation. Players were then further grouped in relation to CSEPT scores in order to determine whether their proficiency correlated with their use of particular language learning strategies. *One-way ANOVA and paired-sample t-testing* were used to investigate whether there was any detectable relationship between proficiency and use of particular vocabulary learning strategies.

Results and Discussion

The two hypotheses were:

1. Playing the vocabulary learning games for 20 hours will lead to an overall increase in participants' use of language learning strategies.
2. There will be a particularly marked increase in participants' use of direct strategies, especially memory and compensation strategies.

The results appear to confirm the first of the two hypotheses. Applying a *paired-sample t-test* to strategy uses as a whole (as indicated in the pre-test and post-test) yielded the results indicated in **Table 3** below.

Table 3: Participants' use of strategies before and after the program (Paired-sample t-test)

	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Memory</i>	<i>Cognitive</i>	<i>Compensation</i>	<i>Meta-cognitive</i>	<i>Affective</i>	<i>Social</i>
<i>Pre-mean</i>	3.09	2.86	3.16	3.29	3.18	2.79	3.19
<i>Post-mean</i>	3.31	3.22	3.34	3.49	3.39	3.03	3.37
<i>t</i>	-5.801	-6.475	-4.324	-2.895	-3.408	-3.013	-2.225
<i>p</i>	.000***	.000***	.000***	.006**	.001***	.004**	.031*

Note: *= p<.05, **= p<.01, ***=p<.001

As indicated in the table above, participants' language learning strategy use had increased after the 20-hour training program, a significant difference being found in each strategy use area, with the most significant difference being seen in the area of memory strategies (followed, in order, by cognitive, meta-cognitive, affective, compensation and social strategies). For the whole group of 46 participants, the mean of their overall language learning strategy use *before attending the program* was 3.09 ($SD=.64$) out of a possible score of 5, within the range (2.5 – 3.4) which, according to Oxford's (1990) SILL Result Profile, indicates that participants believed that they "sometimes apply [these] language learning [strategies] in the process of learning". The mean of their individual language learning strategies use is shown in *Table 3* as well. *After attending the program*, the overall mean had increased to 3.31 ($SD=.63$), still within the same range but nevertheless significantly higher than the pre-test mean. Furthermore, the means for each strategy type increased⁶. However, the order of frequency of use of each strategy type remained almost the same, affective strategies being reportedly used least frequently and compensation strategies being reportedly used most frequently.

A number of studies have reported a positive correlation between proficiency and frequency of use of learning strategies (see, for example, Chamot & Kupper, 1989; Chamot & O'Malley, 1987; Y. C. Chen, 2005; M. Chen, 2007; Chiang & Liao, 2002; O'Malley, et. al., 1985; S. C. Yang, 1997). Thus, the second hypothesis. The average CSEPT score (all 46 participants was 143.65 ($SD=29.82$)). In order to determine whether this was the case here, the 46 participants were divided into three proficiency groups based on their CSEPT scores. Group 1 (7 students) included those with the lowest proficiency scores (below 114); Group 3 (9 students) included those with the highest proficiency scores (above 173); Group 2 (30 students) included those with proficiency scores between 114 and 173. Each group was then compared in terms of reported strategy use. *Table 4* presents the findings.

Table 4: Participants' strategy use in relation to proficiency groupings

Group	No. of subjects	CSEPT Range	Avg. CSEPT of each group	SD	Pretest Overall strategy Means
Group 1	7	114	96.86	8.84	3.07
Group 2	30	115~172	142.43	17.37	2.95
Group 3	9	173	184.11	9.31	3.57
Overall	46	86~198	143.65	29.82	3.09

In the SILL pretest, Group 3 recorded the highest overall frequency of strategy use. However, the next highest reported overall strategy use was Group 2 rather than Group 1. This may simply be a reflection of the fact that Group 2 had the largest number of participants and the standard deviation of the proficiency scores occupied a wide range ($SD=17.37$).

In order to determine whether there were significant differences in pretest and post-test scores within different proficient groups (Groups 1, 2 & 3), *one-way ANOVA* and *post-hoc* analysis were applied within the three proficiency groups. The results are provided in *Tables 5* and *6*.

Table 5: Use of language learning strategies prior to the program – Comparison in terms of proficiency grouping (*one-way ANOVA*)

Pretest	Overall		Memory		Cognitive		Compensation		Meta-cognitive		Affective		Social	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Group 1	3.07	.57	2.80	.64	3.10	.60	3.23	.71	3.27	.66	2.96	.67	3.13	.78
Group 2	2.95	.62	2.67	.67	3.04	.65	3.16	.69	3.03	.83	2.66	.72	3.04	.75
Group 3	3.57	.55	3.52	.55	3.63	.50	3.74	.56	3.63	.59	3.09	.68	3.72	.87
<i>p.</i>	.033*		.005**		.048*		.081		.121		.228		.082	
<i>f-ratio</i>	3.69		6.05		3.26		2.66		2.22		1.53		2.65	
Post-hoc	G3>G2*		G3>G2**		G3>G2*									

Note: *= $p<.05$, ** = $p<.01$, *** = $p<.001$

Table 6: Use of language learning strategies after the program – Comparison in terms of proficiency grouping (*one-way ANOVA*)

Post-test	Overall		Memory		Cognitive		Compensation		Meta-cognitive		Affective		Social	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Group 1	3.30	.37	3.17	.61	3.33	.53	3.49	.58	3.39	.45	3.26	.40	3.17	.73
Group 2	3.17	.66	3.08	.67	3.21	.64	3.32	.68	3.27	.88	2.82	.75	3.26	.93
Group 3	3.79	.48	3.72	.45	3.78	.59	4.06	.44	3.80	.65	3.53	.45	3.89	.75
<i>p.</i>	.033*		.033*		.061		.014*		.232		.016*		.145	
<i>f-ratio</i>	3.71		3.7		3.0		4.76		1.51		4.53		2.01	
Post-hoc	G3>G2*		G3>G2*				G3>G2*				G3>G2*			

Note: *= $p<.05$, ** = $p<.01$, *** = $p<.001$

As indicated in *Table 5*, the most significant difference in pre-test results related to memory strategies, with a slight difference also being detected in overall strategy use and use of cognitive strategies. Group 3 reported using memory strategies more frequently than the other two groups, and there was also a slight difference in memory strategy use between Group 2 and Group 3. No significant difference was found between Group 1 and Group 2.

As indicated in *Table 6*, significant differences were found in overall, memory, compensation and affective strategy use. However, when the results of both tests are taken into account, the difference in the area of memory strategy use among the groups becomes smaller. Even so, what is clear is the fact that the differences in terms of direct strategy use (memory and cognitive strategy) narrowed after completion of the program, suggesting that the program was effective in reducing the gap between proficient learners and less proficient learners in this respect.

Paired-sample t-test was applied to investigate differences between the pretest and posttest within each proficiency group. The results are recorded on *Table 7*.

Table 7: Comparison of participants' pre-test and post-test scores in relation to proficiency groupings

<i>Mean</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Memory</i>	<i>Cognitive</i>	<i>Compensation</i>	<i>Meta-cognitive</i>	<i>Affective</i>	<i>Social</i>
Group 1 Pretest	3.07	2.80	3.10	3.23	3.27	2.96	3.13
Group 1 Posttest	3.30	3.17	3.33	3.49	3.39	3.26	3.17
<i>t</i>	-1.96	-3.83	-3.20	-.938	-.868	-1.76	-.206
<i>p</i>	.098	.009**	.019*	.385	.419	.129	.844
Group 2 Pretest	2.95	2.67	3.04	3.16	3.03	2.66	3.04
Group 2 Posttest	3.17	3.08	3.21	3.32	3.27	2.82	3.26
<i>t</i>	-4.67	-5.14	-3.14	-1.95	-3.16	-1.65	-2.18
<i>p</i>	.000***	.000***	.004**	.060	.004**	.109	.037*
Group 3 Pretest	3.57	3.52	3.63	3.74	3.63	3.09	3.72
Group 3 Posttest	3.79	3.72	3.78	4.06	3.80	3.53	3.89
<i>t</i>	-2.63	-3.32	-1.64	-2.44	-1.06	-2.29	-.811
<i>p</i>	.030*	.010**	.141	.040*	.320	.051	.441

Note: *= $p < .05$, **= $p < .01$, ***= $p < .001$

As indicated in *Table 7*, there was a significant difference in reported overall strategy use before and after the program in the case of Group 2, a slight difference in the case of Group 3, and no detectable difference in the case of Group 1. This suggests that that participants in Groups 2 and 3 applied language learning strategies more often after the training program.

Observation of *p*-values in *Table 7* indicates that the participants with the lowest proficiency level showed an increase in the use of memory and cognitive strategies after the program, whereas participants in Group 2 showed an increased use of all strategy types except compensation and affective strategies. Those in the group with the highest proficiency level showed an increase in strategy use overall and in memory and compensation strategies.

Examination of the recorded use of specific strategies before and after the program indicates a significant difference in memory strategy application for all groups (Group 1, $p=.009$, Group 2, $p=.000$, Group 3, $p=.010$), suggesting that participants applied memory strategies more frequently after the training program. Although there was an overall increase in reported strategy use among participants in the highest proficiency group (Group 3) before and after the program, there was no significant difference in the area of cognitive strategy use and only a slight difference in compensation strategy use. However, in the case of participants in Groups 1 and 2, there were significant differences between the pretest and the post-test in terms of cognitive strategy use, but no difference in terms of compensation strategy use. This suggests that programs such as the one outlined here could be effective in reducing the gap between more proficient and less proficient students in terms of cognitive strategy use. The fact that students in the highest proficiency group (Group 3) reported using compensation strategies and affective strategies slightly more often after the program than they did before it, whereas participants in other groups did not (see *Table 7*) suggests that the program was effective in encouraging the use of such strategies (e.g. guessing, referring to resources and using linguistic clues) only in cases where students had already achieved a certain level of proficiency.

So far as indirect strategies are concerned, only in the case of Group 2 was there a reported increase after the program – a slight one – in the use of meta-cognitive strategies. Furthermore, although there was a slight difference among the groups in reported use of affective strategies before the program (see *Table 6*), there were no significant differences among the groups in terms of degree of increase in reported strategy use after the program (see *Table 7*). However, the fact that there was a reported increase in the use of affective strategies in the case of all groups suggests that the program had some positive impact on their anxiety levels.

Only in the case of Group 2 participants was there a recorded increase – a slight one – in the use of social strategies. This may be a reflection of the fact that all of the participants in the program were already familiar with co-operative approaches to learning, being members of a college community in which discussion and pair and group activities are encouraged.

Overall, then, in spite of some differences among groups and in spite of some differences relating to different strategy types, the results show some increase in the reported use of every language learning strategy type after the 20-hour training program, an increase that is significant in the case of direct strategies and also in the case of some indirect strategies. This supports the two hypotheses. There is, however, further evidence that supports the second hypothesis, that is, that there would be a particularly marked increase in participants' use of direct strategies, especially memory and compensation strategies. As indicated in *Table 8*, application of the *paired-sample t-test* and *one-way ANOVA* indicates a significant difference between pre-test and post-test results in terms of reported use of memory strategies. Although an overall significant increase in the area of reported use of cognitive strategies is also evident, there is no such significant increase in the case of the highest proficiency group (Group 3). There was, however, a significant increase in the reported use of compensation strategies among members of that group.

Table 8: Comparison of reported direct strategy use between the pretest and post-test (paired-sample t-test)

	<i>Memory</i>		<i>Cognitive</i>		<i>Compensation</i>	
<i>paired t-test: Whole</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>pretest</i>	2.86	.000***	3.16	.000***	3.29	.006**
<i>posttest</i>	3.22		3.34		3.49	
<i>paired t-test: Group</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>Group 1-pre</i>	2.80	.009**	3.10	.019*	3.23	.385
<i>Group 1-post</i>	3.17		3.33		3.49	
<i>Group 2-pre</i>	2.67	.000***	3.04	.004**	3.16	.060
<i>Group 2-post</i>	3.08		3.21		3.32	
<i>Group 3-pre</i>	3.52	.010*	3.63	.141	3.74	.040*
<i>Group 3-post</i>	3.72		3.78		4.06	

Note: *= p<.05, **= p<.01, ***=p<.001

In terms of reported use of indirect strategies, there was a significant overall difference between the pre-test and the post-test results and, in the case of Group 2 participants, a significant reported increase in relation to meta-cognitive and social strategies (see Table 9).

Table 9: Comparison of reported indirect strategy use between pretest and post-test (paired-sample t-test)

	<i>Meta-cognitive</i>		<i>Affective</i>		<i>Social</i>	
<i>paired t-test: Whole</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>pretest</i>	3.18	.001***	2.79	.004**	3.19	.031*
<i>posttest</i>	3.39		3.03		3.37	
<i>paired t-test: Group</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>Group 1-pre</i>	3.27	.419	2.96	.129	3.13	.844
<i>Group 1-post</i>	3.39		3.26		3.17	
<i>Group 2-pre</i>	3.03	.004**	2.66	.109	3.04	.037*
<i>Group 2-post</i>	3.27		2.82		3.26	
<i>Group 3-pre</i>	3.63	.320	3.09	.051	3.72	.441
<i>Group 3-post</i>	3.80		3.53		3.89	

Note: *= p<.05, **= p<.01, ***=p<.001

Conclusion and recommendations

This study supports the contention that participation in vocabulary games of the type referred to here can lead to an increase in reported use of a range of language learning strategies, particularly memory-based strategies. Although it seems likely that the strategy use enhancement detected in this study is transferred to other skill areas, such as reading, further research would be required to determine whether this is actually

the case. Other considerations that could be taken into account in constructing further studies in this general area are **(a)** the possibility of developing other games of a similar type, some of which do not involve the creation of compound nouns, **(b)** the desirability of including a roughly equal number of male and female students and students from different institutions⁷, **(c)** the desirability of having a control group whose members are involved in different approaches to vocabulary learning, **(d)** the potential value of introducing the games in different sequences⁸, and **(e)** the desirability of finding ways of detecting short-term and longer-term vocabulary gains and the longer-term impact of studies of this kind on strategy use. It would also be interesting to design similar types of game for use in the case of different languages. Thus, for example, in the case of Māori, a member of the Polynesian language group that makes extensive use of compound nouns, game cards could include compounds such as the following: *wharekai* (dining room) and *wharepaku* (toilet), from *whare* (place/ building); *kai* (food/ eat) and *paku* (small); *papatuhituhi* (blackboard) and *papamā* (whiteboard), from *papa* (board), *mā* (be white) and *tuhituhi* (write/ draw); *ipupara* (rubbish bin) from *ipu* (container) and *para* (rubbish/ trash).

Perhaps most important of all is the possibility of making use of technology in order to provide participants with immediate feedback in terms of meaning and use. If the games were redesigned for Internet-based use, the selection of a combination that produced a compound noun, could be immediately followed by a pop-up that provided a definition, an example of contextualized use and, where feasible, an illustration. Individual and group scores could also be recorded more easily.

Endnotes

1. 2008, Patent Application No. 097101167
2. PickRed is a game in which players are given up to six cards, depending on the number of players. The rest of the cards are put aside and four cards are placed face-up on the table. Players aim to match cards (from their hands or the cards on the table), producing pairs of red cards (hearts and diamonds) that add up to ten. In the version of the game designed by the author, the cards have pictures and words on them and paired cards must combine to create compound nouns.
3. Blind Chess is played with all pieces upside down on one half of the board. There are 16 red pieces and 16 black pieces which, depending on type, may move horizontally, vertically and/or diagonally. Pieces can leap over one another to capture their target or capture their target directly by moving in any direction except diagonally. In the version of the game designed by the author, the pieces have words written on them and players gain points by lining up pieces to form compound nouns. The game ends when one player successfully takes the general, or checkmates the other player.
4. Gobang, also known as 5-in-a-Row, is a traditional oriental game played with black and white pieces on a 19x19 go board. The pieces can be lined vertically, horizontally and diagonally. It can be played by two individuals or two teams. In the version of the game designed by the author, each piece has a word written on it and players need to line up the pieces so that each juxtaposed pair makes up a compound noun.
5. Some groups might spend longer on a round than others but all groups needed to complete the minimum number of game rounds specified for the program.
6. Note that the strategies used by players included guessing, observing the links made by other players, etc.

7. All of the students in this study came from the same institution and there was only one male participant.
8. Game order might have some impact on the results.

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Guidelines for Final Submission of Article for JMPD

General

Manuscripts should be in Times 12 cpi with 1.5 spacing and fully justified. There should be the equivalent of one line left between paragraphs within sections and new paragraphs should not be indented. Articles that are 20 pages in length or shorter are preferred. The manuscript should **NOT** have numbered pages but should have a footer on each page with the first three words of the title.

Title

The title should be in Times 12 cpi boldface and should be centred on the page. The title should indicate as clearly as possible the nature of the content of the manuscript. All content words of the title are to have an initial capital letter.

Abstract

Each article must include an abstract of not more than 200 words. The heading Abstract should be in Times 12 cpi boldface, and centered.

Headings

Level 1 headings should be capitalized in the same way as the main title, and centered. The font used is Times 12 boldface. The format for *level 2* headings is the same as for *level 1* headings except that the font is Times 11, and the heading is justified to the left of the column. There should be the equivalent of a one line space between level 1 and level 2 headings and the following text. The format for *level 3* headings is the same as for level 2 headings, except that the font is Times 10, and there should be no space left between the heading and the text.

References within the text

All references within the text should be placed in parentheses containing the author's surname followed by a comma and a space before the date of publication (Jones, 1999). If the sentence already includes the author's name, then it is necessary only to put the date in parentheses: Jones (1999). When several works are cited, each entry should be separated by a semicolon: (Jones, 1999; Peters, 1995; Simon, 1993). When a reference has more than three authors, cite only the name of the first author followed by *et al* in every subsequent reference to the same work. When including page references, separate them from the date by a comma and a space (Jones, 1999, pp. 7 – 14). Page numbers should be indicated as follows: Peters (1999, p. 1), Jones (1998, pp. 4 - 7).

Endnotes

Endnotes are indicated within the text by a number¹ in superscript. They should be in Times 9, and appear together at the end of the article and before the reference list.

Tables and Figures

All tables and figures should be centered in the manuscript. Tables and figures should be numbered in the text, and should be preceded by a caption in Times 12 cpi italic. The equivalent of one line space should be left between captions and the tables or figures to which they refer. Captions and the tables or figures to which they refer should always appear together on the same page.

References

References should be listed in alphabetical order at the end of the article. The title of the section, 'References', should be a *level 1 heading*. The first line of each bibliographical reference must be justified to the left of the column, and the rest of the entry should be indented five spaces. The following examples (of fictitious references) illustrate the format required for conference proceedings, books, journals, articles, Ph.D. theses, and chapters of books respectively:

- Jones, L. E. (1999). Marae Protocol. In *Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society for Māori Language Revitalisation* (pp. 71 -- 133). Wellington, NZ: Te Rapa Books.
- Peters, S. O. (1997). *Words and Meanings*. London: Groves and Parker.
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- Houia, A. (1992). Common Syntactic Errors in Young Learners of Greek. Doctoral Thesis. University of Te Rapa, Auckland.
- Edmonds, A. B. (1991). Scaffolding Second Language Learning. In T. A. Stone, A. T. Bread & V. Matthews (Eds.), *Scaffolding in Education* (pp. 12-48). Wellington, NZ: Learning Media.

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The editors will respect the decisions made by authors in relation to their use of the macron in text written in English and/or Maori. Where Maori words are included by the editors themselves in text written in English, the macron will not be used in cases where a particular word (such as, for example, the word *Maori* itself) is deemed by the editors to have been fully integrated into New Zealand English. Thus, the macron is not used in the title of the Journal.

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Each manuscript should be submitted on white A4 paper (3 copies) and sent to the Production Editor (Dr. Winifred Crombie) at *Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao* (the School of Māori and Pacific Development), *Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato* (University of Waikato), Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand.

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Acknowledgments

Place all acknowledgements (including those concerning research grants and funding) in a separate section at the end of the article.
