A STUDY OF THE PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT FACED BY A
GROUP OF HONG KONG ORPHANS ADOPTED INTO NEW ZEALAND
FAMILIES, WITH AN INVESTIGATION INTO POSSIBLE PROBLEMS
OF SCHOOL AND LATER LIFE.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to discover how far orphan children, of a race other than European, would, if adopted into New Zealand-European homes, be likely to adjust to, and benefit from, a permanent life in New Zealand.

Interest in the problems of Hong Kong orphans had been initiated for the writer some years before there was any knowledge of there being any orphans brought to New Zealand. In the course of his work as Inter-Church Aid Secretary for the East Asia Christian Conference, her husband had been many times in Hong Kong, and had become deeply involved in the relief of refugees, and in the varied personal problems of adjustment attendant on such relief.

Thus when permission was granted by the New Zealand Government in 1962 for the National Council of Churches and the Immigration Committee of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul to bring in fifty Hong Kong Orphans, consciousness of some of the difficulties stimulated the desire to discover if this scheme would bring lasting benefit to the orphans themselves, and whether it would bring enrichment to the adoptive families. Coupled with these questions was the desire to consider the effect this form of immigration would have, if continued, on the life of New Zealand as a whole.

It seemed that there were two areas in which study should
be undertaken:–

(a) The area concerned with the growth, development and adjustment of Chinese orphan children to their New Zealand-European adoptive families, and

(b) That area related to the interaction already taking place in primary schools, between Chinese and European children, in order to anticipate, as far as possible, the future adjustment problems which the Hong Kong children would encounter.

First, however, it is necessary to review the background conditions in Hong Kong and in New Zealand, against which the immigration took place.
CHAPTER I  BACKGROUND CONDITIONS IN HONG KONG

Few cities in Asia have received as much publicity throughout New Zealand as has Hong Kong during the last seven or eight years. Newspapers, journals and radio have publicised the problems brought about by the fantastic influx of refugees into Hong Kong and the New Territories; travellers, returning by swift jet planes with scenes of incredible poverty and hardship still fresh in their memories, have spoken at public meetings; social workers, missionaries on furlough, ministers of religion, have alike expressed their deep concern for the people in desperate poverty and need in that desperately overcrowded, never sleeping city.

What basis of fact is there behind all these stories? Why is there so much misery, poverty and human need in Hong Kong?

During World War II Hong Kong surrendered quickly to the Japanese, thus avoiding some of the horror which is still remembered in some other parts of Asia. Hong Kong Island and the New Territories on the Chinese mainland together have an area of 391 square miles. ¹"Of this, twelve square miles are developed for residential or commercial or industrial purposes, fifty square miles are cultivated, and the remainder is

¹ "A Problem of People, Hong Kong", Government Press, Hong Kong, pp. 2-3.
largely hillside or swamp which is unsuitable for agriculture, and could not be developed without disproportionately heavy expenditure on site formation or services". On sixty-two square miles then, there lived 1,600,000 people at the beginning of the War. The population was reduced during the occupation of the area by the Japanese, but within a year and a half of the end of the War it was once again at pre-War level, while at the end of 1960 it was reliably estimated that there were more than three million people living in Hong Kong and the New Territories.

Under such overcrowded conditions, and where so many of the population are refugees who have few possessions and no money, it is inevitable that there is much hardship, especially for the old and the very young. Yet Hong Kong in 1963 has a bustling, industrious air. The Government is erecting huge multi-storey H-shaped blocks of one-roomed "flats". The first of these was erected after a disastrous fire, which started on Christmas night in 1953, had swept through the canvas shacks of more than fifty thousand refugees. The area of the fire at Shek Kip Mei was levelled and drained to give the maximum possible new building land, and fifty-three days after the fire, the first of the resettlement blocks was completed.

These one-roomed "flats" measure nine feet by twelve feet, and they are available to house five people, a child
counting as "half". Thus if a father and mother have three children, this counts as three and a half people - another adult and child may be taken in also. There are usually sixty-four of these rooms on one floor, and the buildings mostly consist of eight floors. With a minimum of three hundred and twenty individuals on each floor, and two thousand five hundred and sixty in the whole block, conditions cannot be ideal; yet these are not "the refugee problem" - these are in fact the Government's answer to the refugee situation. In the cross-bar of the H-shaped buildings are toilet facilities, including flush lavatories and communal space for washing clothes. One of the amazing feats of engineering in Hong Kong is the provision of two complete drainage and water systems - one, for flushing toilets, runs always on salt water, of which there is an abundant supply; the other system, for washing, cooking, drinking, etc., contains fresh water; this is always in short supply, and is available for two hours at a time, during parts of the day, according to zoning patterns throughout the city. During the drought of 1963, water was rationed even more strictly.

Whole families not only live in these rooms - many have small sewing machines in a corner, at which they work long hours. These are the fortunate ones - these strong concrete structures have electric light, and the roof does not let in the rain. The Chinese are a very clean people - there is always washing hung out on a bamboo pole to dry, and the young
people come out of these crowded flats in spotless clothes. In some of the more recent blocks of dwellings, the ground floor has space for small shops, while the roof-tops are used as dental clinics, and sometimes as schools for some of Hong Kong's thousands of children.

On the other hand are the refugees. What of the living conditions for these newly arrived refugees who have managed to get in from China? Many have erected rude shacks of cardboard, bits of wood from boxes, and odd bits of tin, wherever they can find a space. Some of these are on the flat roofs of other houses, some are on the pavements. Many families have erected a kind of stall where they seem to make a living by selling all kinds of fruit and vegetables as well as other foods. They are still working at a very late hour, and the permanent arrangement of the fruit and produce is mute evidence of the fact that the members of the family take turns to sleep in a chair, partly hidden by piles of foodstuffs. And always there are the children. Many of the little ones sleep on the ground, in the partial shelter of empty fruit cases. The children in Hong Kong seem to sleep very little - presumably they fall asleep from sheer exhaustion, where they stand. It was estimated by social service agencies a few years ago that there were as many as twenty-three thousand derelict children roaming the streets of Hong Kong.

In the one roomed flats, in the poor little hovels, as well as in the homes of the wealthy, all the processes of
life and death go on. It is not surprising that many babies, especially baby girls, are abandoned by mothers who have already too many mouths to feed - and still more refugees creep in to Hong Kong. Apart altogether from the refugees, Hong Kong has a history of impoverished living in city slums, as well as in the over-crowded sampans which throng that famous harbour.

It was in 1962, after the report of the famine in China, that there was such an influx of penniless refugees streaming into Hong Kong that the Government, in alarm, felt impelled to return some of these miserable, famine-driven families to China proper, and forbid them entry.

Apart from the sudden influx of refugees, it is estimated that there are approximately two hundred babies abandoned each year on the streets of Hong Kong, and these are almost always seriously damaged by malnutrition and near starvation. The children are picked up by the police and taken to orphanages in and near the city. At the end of 1960, 2,543 children were in such institutions in Hong Kong. In addition to these, there were in 1957 some sixty thousand children unable to attend school because of the tuition fees, and another sixty thousand whose families could afford to pay for


their schooling, but for whom there were no schools or teachers available. The child welfare officer estimates that 50 per cent of children between the ages of four and sixteen years do not attend schools".

Small wonder that in New Zealand at this time, and even before this, the National Council of Churches, and the Catholic Relief Services had been pressing the Government here to admit one hundred Chinese families from Hong Kong. But this the Government steadily refused to do. It was not until Britain and the United States of America announced that they would admit some of the orphans from Hong Kong that the New Zealand Government finally consented to do something. However, there was still no admission of whole families - they consented to allow fifty Chinese orphans to come to New Zealand.

It is an interesting facet of Chinese culture that even under extremes of poverty and real hardship, usually only female children are abandoned. There are some few exceptions to this, notably those male children who have a handicap of some kind. If a male child is healthy and "normal", other Chinese families will adopt him with alacrity. Thus of the fifty orphans allowed to enter New Zealand, forty-nine were girls; the only male child had had an early operation on a hare lip, probably arranged by the orphanage authorities.
CHAPTER II  OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

Increased interest in the population problems of South East Asia caused relief agencies throughout the world to try to persuade the governments of their respective countries to provide some large scale help. It was probably the cumulative effect of this work which caused the agitation by the people of New Zealand. This was undoubtedly a factor in the Government's sudden change of policy. The bringing of fifty orphans of another race than European into this predominantly European-run country was something unheard of before. Many people received the impression that the Government also paid the travelling expenses of the Hong Kong babies, but this was not the case - the Government granted entry permits only.

The orphans were allowed into New Zealand approximately according to the numbers of Roman Catholics and Protestants in the total population - Roman Catholics make up approximately 13 per cent of the population of New Zealand, so they were permitted to bring in 20 per cent of the babies, and the National Council of Churches were to be responsible for bringing in the others.

As soon as the bare facts about the babies were known, applications from prospective parents came pouring in to the National Council of Churches. Without any appeal being made, more than two hundred and seventy-five offers came in from
families wishing to adopt the forty available children. Being married to the General Secretary of the National Council of Churches, the writer became very interested and involved in the preparations for the arrival of the first children, and in the discussions of problems which took place for some months beforehand.

The general purpose of this study was to seek information concerning several questions, the answers to which might possibly affect future policy. The New Zealand Government wished to make a gesture towards Hong Kong - but was this the best way of doing it? Would Chinese children adjust well to New Zealand families? Would New Zealand European parents be able to cope with the problems of adjustment attendant on the upbringing of a Chinese child?

How would the wider kinship groups react? Would European neighbours and friends welcome a Chinese child into their inner circle with the warmth of acceptance which every child needs? If adjustment to the family was successfully made, would there be later problems concerning careers and marriage? From the point of view of the children concerned, the importance of the answers to these questions could hardly be overestimated.

The two previous chapters have already indicated the circumstances which occasioned the writer's first interest in Hong Kong and its children, and the conditions in Hong Kong which made help from other nations necessary. The general
aims of the study can now be stated.

1. To discover the problems of adjustment of a small, but unique, and much publicised group of orphans and foster-parents to each other.

2. To consider the problems involved in the adjustment of foster-parents to a child of a different race.

3. To consider the likelihood of later difficulties (a) in education, (b) in choosing a career, and (c) of finding a marriage partner.

It was in relation to (a) that it seemed wise to include a consideration of the adjustment of Chinese children already in New Zealand Primary Schools.

There are therefore three main aspects to this study, together with a consideration of later areas of difficulty:-

1. The orphan-foster-parent relationship, together with the development of the Hong Kong children in New Zealand homes.

2. The Chinese-European adjustment, as studied in the adoptive homes.

3. The Chinese-European adjustment in school, as studied in five New Zealand Primary Schools.

4. Consideration of career and marriage difficulties which may arise.
During the course of the study, some difficulties of method and approach became clear, so a special note of these is taken in Appendix A.

Within a few weeks after the arrival of the first orphans in New Zealand, it became possible for the writer to make a brief visit to Hong Kong. Letters of introduction to the Director of the Catholic Relief Services in Hong Kong were provided by the Chairman of the Catholic Immigration Committee in Wellington, and these proved of great value, enabling visits to be made to the Homes from which the Catholic babies came. A meeting had been arranged with the Director of International Social Service Hong Kong, when she came to New Zealand with the first five babies to arrive under the auspices of the National Council of Churches; visits were arranged to the Homes from which these babies came also. These visits proved most interesting and enlightening; they were also valuable from the point of view of this study.

**THE SAMPLE.**

When the first aspect of this enquiry was undertaken it was confidently expected that the other thirty-five babies due to arrive under the sponsorship of the National Council of Churches would reach New Zealand within a few months, so that all of the children could have been studied, even if perhaps for a shorter period. However, difficulties in Hong Kong made
this impossible, and as stated elsewhere, (page 63) nine months elapsed before the next group of children arrived.

With the help and co-operation of the Roman Catholic Relief and Welfare agency, nine of the ten families who received their children have been available for study, plus the five babies under the National Council of Churches. In addition to these children, one other Chinese orphan, adopted in Hong Kong in 1961 and brought into New Zealand because of the initiative and drive of her adoptive father, has been included in the study, making a sample of fifteen children in all.

While not a large number, it was almost the complete population at the time of the study, and it was unique in that this was the first time that a group of orphans of another race had been permitted to come to New Zealand. To appreciate the significance of this, some consideration must be given to past European-Chinese relationships in New Zealand. The next chapter will therefore examine some aspects of the history of Chinese people in this country.
CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF CHINESE / EUROPEAN RELATIONS IN NEW ZEALAND

Chinese people have lived in New Zealand for more than one hundred years. In spite of this, little has been written on the history of their life in this country. There are isolated references to the Chinese in books on different aspects of life in New Zealand, but even those Chinese who undertake research in this area have to rely largely on the works of writers who have dealt with the acculturation and adjustment problems of Chinese in the United States of America.

As early as 1853, Fitzgerald wrote a strong article in favour of cheap labour for New Zealand 1"boldly advocating the systematic introduction of Chinese labour at the expense of the Province".

It was in 1866 that the first "rush" came, from Victoria, Australia. Twelve hundred Chinese had come to Otago by the end of 1869. "In 1871 they came by the shipload direct from China - 1,596 for that year". The first arrivals from Australia had sent word to their relatives in China of the gold to be found in Otago, and hundreds of young farmers left their wives and children and set off, with baskets and bamboo

2 "The Church and the Chinese in New Zealand", George H. McNeur, Presbyterian Bookroom, 1951, p. 10.
carrying poles, on their long journey. These men were ignorant of the English language, and in many cases their fare had been made possible by an entire family going into debt, under a scheme which came to be known as a "credit-ticket system".

3"Not one of these men intended to stay in New Zealand. They were not colonists... they hoped soon to return when fortune smiled on them". After they had found work, they frequently sent for a younger brother or other relatives, to join them. By 1874 there were 4,816 Chinese in New Zealand altogether, but

4"As early as 1857 (just four years after Fitzgerald had been advocating the importation of cheap Chinese labour) Nelson had formed an Anti-Asiatic Committee to fight the 'Mongolian Filth', although not a single Chinese had attempted to settle in that district."

In Otago, according to Fong, because of the loss of trade occasioned by the departure of European miners from the mines, the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce asked the Chinese to take over the mines left idle by the miners, of whom 7,000 had left during a three month period in 1864. As more and more Chinese arrived, those European miners who were left began to show hostility. 5"The Chinese miners worked in gangs, and had a

3 "The Church and the Chinese in New Zealand", George H. McNeur, Presbyterian Bookroom, 1951, p. 11.

4 "Chinese Immigration in New Zealand", Ng Bickleen Fong, Hong Kong University Press, 1959, Oxford University Press. Quoted from The Nelson Examiner, August 19th and 22nd, 1857, p. 16.

5 Ibid. p. 16.
common purse. They were willing to work longer hours for less reward... they were working successfully on grounds which Europeans had abandoned as uneconomic". The Press immediately protested 6"All classes agree that the Chinese are eating up an inheritance that we should leave for our race in the future".

Scurrah 7 describes how, as the mines became exhausted and Chinese began to seek employment in the growing towns, anti-Chinese feeling there was added to the hostility of the miners. The hostility was due to three main factors:-

(a) Economic competition - the cheapness of the Chinese labour would reduce the standards of living of the labourers.

(b) The social organization of the Chinese. It was an exclusively male population, and because of this the Chinese were suspected, and accused, of immorality. They were accused too of immoral association with degraded European women. Mostly it was their utterly alien character which led men to believe that there was something sinister in their organisations.

(c) The Chinese coolie was a serf - regarded as an inferior. To have such labour in their midst was somewhat degrading, even dangerous.

In 1871 the New Zealand Parliament set up a Select

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6 Lake Wapatipu Mail, May 17th, 1871. Quoted from "Chinese Immigration in New Zealand", Forg, p. 16.
7 "Asiatic Immigration into New Zealand" Vernon H.H. Scurrah, M.A. Thesis, Chapter II.
Committee of Inquiry into the Chinese situation. This was the only impartial inquiry ever made into the question of Asiatic Immigration into New Zealand. Evidence was gathered from police, wardens and others, and several signed petitions were received from miners in Otago, protesting against Chinese immigration. The findings of the Committee were as follows:

1. That the Chinese were industrious and frugal.

2. That there was no special risk to the morality and security of the community from their presence in the Colony. The European women they married were usually of the lowest type; those on the Victorian goldfields being, for the most part, ignorant Irish women.

3. That they were not likely to introduce any special infectious diseases. They were usually the fittest physically in the communities from which they came. All had to pass a medical examination at the ports of departure and arrival. On the whole they were reasonably healthy, and not more likely to propagate disease than the usual class of immigrant.

4. That they were well adapted for menial and light work, and for light agricultural occupations.

5. That nearly all of those who went to New Zealand did so for the purpose of gold-mining.

6. That, as a rule, they occupied and turned to good account ground which at that time would not pay European miners.

7. That, as a rule, they returned to China as soon as they had amassed a net sum of £100 and upwards.

8. That no considerable number of them was likely to become permanent settlers in this country.

9. That they spent less per head than the European population.

10. That the presence of the Chinese in the country had not hitherto entailed any additional police expense.

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8 Report H5B of Select Committee of Inquiry. Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives and the Legislative Council, p. 4.
The report continues: "In view of the foregoing, the Committee are of the opinion that there has been no sufficient ground shown for the exclusion of the Chinese; and that no sufficient case has, up to the present time, been made to require the Committee to propose that legislative action should be taken, having for the effect, the exclusion of Chinese, or the imposition of special burden on them".

In spite of the findings of the Select Committee, from 1871 till 1936 the Government continued to act as if the enquiry had never been held. Scurrah\(^9\) writes "In all the files that have been searched, there is not one letter in favour of, or an impartial view expressed on, the Chinese question. Without exception the Press was anti-Asiatic. To R. J. Seddon, later Prime Minister of New Zealand, the Asiatics 'were degenerate, immoral, filthy, and a festering sore on the economic life of the country; if he had not been restrained by Imperial Commitments he would have rid the country of them'. No one held stronger views than he on 'race purity', and to the Asians in New Zealand he will always be remembered as the great persecutor... There was little charity in his attitude, such as we expect to see in great souls." It is probably a reflection of the then social climate in our schools that this aspect of Seddon's character was not emphasized more, in early school history books.

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Seddon's attitude was made clear by his attempts to persuade Parliament to pass an Act restricting Asiatic immigration. As soon as he became Prime Minister in 1893, he introduced his Bill.

As early as 1890 the Chinese community protested vigorously against the measures they felt were about to be taken against them. They pointed out to the Legislative Council that in the treaty between China and Great Britain, provision had been made for Chinese subjects 10 "to enter and trade in any Colony or Dependency of Great Britain". They drew attention to the contribution that Chinese had made to the welfare and health of the community since they had taken up market gardening - they denied the charges of immorality laid against them, pointing out that they were industrious and hard working;... They cited the evidence of the Inquiry of the Select Committee to support their plea, but all this was of no avail.

The three main provisions of Seddon's Bill were: 11

a. That Asiatics were to be restricted to one in every 200 tons of shipping.

b. That a poll-tax of £100 was to be paid by every such immigrant.

c. No naturalization certificates were to be issued to any Asiatic after the Act was to take effect. Any Asiatic returning to the country after an absence should be deemed on return to be arriving for the first time.

10 "The Chinese in New Zealand", Ng Bickleen Fong, Hong Kong University Press 1959, p. 23.
11 "Asiatic Immigration into New Zealand 1870/1920". Vernon H.H. Scurrah, M.A. History Thesis Auckland University College 1930, Chapter III.
During each of the three following years Seddon introduced his Bill, but there was enough opposition to prevent its being passed. In 1897 Seddon consulted the Imperial Government concerning Asiatic restriction. Mr. Chamberlain, Secretary of State, stated his Government's policy:-

"The Imperial Government objected to any exclusion of immigrants on the ground of colour or race as offensive to nations and contrary to the traditions of the British Empire. It realised however, the Colony's point of view, and the necessity for it. It approved the terms of Natal's legislation which introduced a quasi-education test. The character of the immigrant and not his colour should be the test."

Seddon's Bill had to be abandoned - but in 1899 the Immigration Restriction Act was passed. This Act prohibited the entry of insane criminal or diseased people into New Zealand as immigrants, and it made provision for those not of British birth or parentage - no distinction of race or colour was made, but all were required to satisfy a quasi-education test.

There was a rider that the above restriction applied to Chinese, but in addition, the latter were to continue to be subjected to the poll-tax of £100, and only one Chinese per 200 tons of burden was allowed in a vessel;". Most important of all from the point of view of this study, no Chinese was permitted to become naturalized after the Act of 1899. As Fong points out, Chinese were debarred from citizenship.

13 ibid. p. 25.
14 Fong, op. cit. p. 25.
until 1952.

The early years of the twentieth century saw little increase of racial tolerance in New Zealand, as far as the Chinese were concerned. In 1907 Sir Joseph Ward introduced a Bill with the words "The object of the Bill is to restrict further the immigration of Chinese..." Societies like the 'White Race League' were formed in this period also. The organizer, W.A. Lloyd, went up and down the country making emotive speeches which seem to have had little scientific foundation - 15 "The Chinamen were aliens and will never be anything else. Nature had made them so. The fact that there were 4,000 of them here and no women is a danger to morals. Terrific stories could be told about the Chinese, but he wanted to hold his tongue about them." 16 Fong writes in this connection "Census Returns of 1906 gave the number of Chinese as 2,590, of whom fifty-five were women".

The Anti-Asiatic Society used the same methods of abuse of Orientals as did the White Race League, with further talk about the "Yellow Peril" and the menace to the 'purity' of the white race. There is little doubt that the Chinese were most unwelcome in New Zealand, at least by those who were most vocal. On the other hand, there were some members of Parliament, among whom Sir Downie Stewart 17 was prominent, who

16 Fong, op. cit. p. 28.
pointed out that New Zealand's attitude was an insult to a
great nation, and warned politicians that China might not
always be weak - if New Zealand could act so as not to cause
offence, while still safeguarding her own interests, that
would be the wise course to take. In spite of this, the
years 1907, 1908, and 1910 saw further Immigration Acts and
amendments. During the 1914 - 18 War there was less notice
of the Chinese, but when the War ended and returning service-
men could not find jobs, there was a return of hostility;
anything which resembles an economic depression or a slump in
trade seems to be regarded as the responsibility of the alien
group.

The Honourable Apirana Ngata\textsuperscript{15} appears to have had little
sympathy with Asians - he did not know who were the more
objectionable, the Chinese or the Hindus. "You will probably
find that the best that can come in from India will be more
objectionable than the class coming in now". The Asiatic was
strongly objected to because he was uneducated and belonged to
the coolie class. Mr. Ngata... suggested that raising the

\textsuperscript{15} Fong reports this speech, p. 29, but in fact she has the
names mixed, and attributes the above to Mr. Sydney Holland
(later Sir). A Mr. H.E. Holland does take part in this debate,
but he is the Labour Member for Buller, (Parliamentary Debates,
Vol. I, p. 913), and he speaks in favour of the Chinese and
Hindus... "And I deny our right to make legislation against the
Indians... while refusing them the right in their own country
to make laws of the same nature relating to us. I would apply
the same argument in the case of the Chinese".
education test would be worse than lowering it. "They will not be selling fruit at every street corner... they will be entering into active competition in every profession, and even become labour agitators".

It is worthy of note that it was a Maori member of the Government who so enthusiastically sought to limit the entry of Chinese into New Zealand. Known universally since as a wise and a tolerant man, this must have been one of his lesser moments, in that he spoke so scathingly on this question.

One can appreciate the reasons behind the concern of the Government of the day that Chinese immigration into New Zealand should not be completely unrestricted. They felt it their duty to safeguard the interests of those of British stock who had so recently settled here. If they had not proclaimed, loudly and long, that this was, in fact their concern, they would certainly have lost their seats in the Government in the following election. These men were products of their own day, when New Zealand, along with most other countries in the world, existed in splendid isolation, separate from other races and cultures, ignorant of their ways. As Michael Banton\(^\text{16}\) writes of the contemporary scene in Britain even to-day "Not only do Britons regard others as less favourably disposed than themselves, but they often seem to regard this imputed reserve as

something creditable... To retain our pride we must exclude some people at least, and who is more clearly a stranger than a coloured man?"

The 1920 Act is significant in New Zealand legislature, in that it stopped Asiatic immigration, except for the wives and children of Chinese already naturalized, or living in New Zealand. In 1926 there was a proposal to allow Chinese immigration on a small annual basis, but low prices for the potato crop once again brought the fear of economic depression, so the cry of 'Yellow Peril' was again heard. As Fong points out, "From January 1926 for the next twenty years, no permits for permanent residence were granted to Chinese. Temporary permits from six months to two years were issued, which could be extended in some cases. Chinese were virtually excluded from the country. Those who chose to remain in New Zealand had to be prepared to be separated from their families... sometimes forever."

In 1934, after forty years, the poll tax was waived, but it was not until 1944 that it, together with the delimiting of the number of Chinese in proportion to the ship's tonnage, were finally abolished. The speech of Mr. Walter Nash, reported in The Evening Post of 18th December 1944 (and quoted by Fong) expresses his pleasure that "we are in effect removing

17 Fong, op. cit. p. 30.
a blot on our legislation".

The coming to power of the Labour Government brought about some significant changes for the Chinese. With the ideal of racial equality before them, the Labour Government made the then 'old-age pension' payable to the Chinese who were British subjects, while in 1938 the Social Security Act made unemployment and sickness benefits available to them, also free medicine.

During World War II, restrictions against aliens were relaxed sufficiently to allow them to bring their wives and children into New Zealand. For Chinese this permission was limited to a two year period, and a £200 bond was required, to make sure that wives would take all children home again, including those born during the two year period. A significant change appeared in New Zealand attitudes - "Instead of being described as the 'Mongolian filth', the 'yellow agony' and so on, the New Zealand-Chinese as ally-images became praised as our 'gallant allies'. In this new atmosphere the New Zealand-Chinese, especially the children, began their acculturation and assimilation, favourably influencing, and being influenced by, the greater New Zealand society."

Eventually the Public Questions Committee of the

18 Personal communication to the author from a New Zealand-Chinese.
Dunedin Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church took up the matter of permits for the Chinese with the then Prime Minister, Mr. Peter Fraser. Finally, as a result of the Committee's deputation to, and negotiations with, the Government, in July 1947, for the first time since 1926, Chinese were given the chance to obtain permits for permanent residence in New Zealand. Later, the same Committee made further representations to the Government, with the result that in the years between 1947 and 1955 20, 560 wives and 677 children were granted permits to enter New Zealand. These were temporarily suspended in 1950, after the change of Government, but were resumed later.

Present Day Policy.

According to the Immigration Division of the Department of Labour, it has been the established policy of successive Governments to follow a system of controlled immigration, including the nationalities of the European, African and Asian races. Reasons for this control are based on (a) New Zealand's limited capacity to absorb immigrants, and (b) the Government's concern to ensure that the racial proportions within the population are not unduly disturbed. 21

20 Fong, op. cit. p. 33.
21 Letter to the writer from the Immigration Division of the Department of Labour, 1963.
important to avoid creating strong racial minorities with their attendant problems, and in this respect we have a special responsibility towards our Maori people."

Concerning Chinese migration, policy has been to limit entry to 22"the wives and lawful natural minor children of persons domiciled in New Zealand, and whose marriages took place before March 1951. The wives, fiancés and husbands of New Zealand citizens are also considered. This policy is not administered so rigidly that it cannot be varied. For example, where conditions of a high degree of hardship are proved, entry to New Zealand has been approved on compassionate grounds". Unfortunately, if policy is that extremity of hardship is the criterion of admittance, New Zealanders are deprived of that enrichment of culture which a more educated migrant might bring.

Thus in theory no hard and fast law appears to govern Chinese migration to New Zealand. In practice, except for close relatives as out-lined above, entry for Chinese into New Zealand is difficult on a permanent basis, as those who have tried to gain entry will testify.

New Zealand has enjoyed an excellent reputation overseas for the fact that two races live together here in harmony, and with racial equality, though this reputation suffered a severe

22 Letter to the writer from the Immigration Division of the Department of Labour, 1963.
blow in the years immediately leading up to, and after, the last South African "All Black" Tour. However, an examination of the actual happenings which have taken place through the years leaves no room for complacency. Is it possible that the entry into New Zealand families of 50 Chinese orphans may help to teach us something of the intrinsic value of other races and cultures? Perhaps even a liking and respect for the "otherness" we so readily despise, or fear?

In her book Fong recounts few incidents of individual acts of discrimination - as far as it is possible for a European to judge it appears to be an objective account, a record of the various rules and Acts which governed policy in New Zealand towards the Chinese as a people. It is impossible to escape the conviction, however, that many private acts of discrimination must have taken place, with the social and political climate as unfavourable as it undoubtedly was for a large part of the last hundred years. Governmental policy usually reflects the wishes of most of the people governed, and although records are few and sketchy, many middle-aged and elderly Chinese must have some bitter memories. As has been written about another race in New Zealand, 23 "It is only too true that many white people still discard their better principles when dealing with a dark race."

Summary.

The events catalogued in this chapter have been gathered from a number of sources. It seemed of value to review them in some detail in order to seek an understanding of the stage reached in Chinese-European relations in New Zealand by 1963. For this reason the early history of the first arrivals in New Zealand has been recounted, together with the attitudes of the white people who were themselves settlers from other lands. Many of the Immigration Restriction Acts, which seem to have been directed largely against the Chinese, have also been mentioned, though in a work of this kind it is impossible to present a full and detailed account of all events. Perhaps Frances Fyfe's comment sums up the situation - "... by 1902 New Zealand had erected an impressive and almost prohibitive barrier to meet a purely hypothetical danger. New Zealand's legislation on this question shows perhaps that the wisdom of the democratic politician cannot be higher than the folly of the mob."

CHAPTER IV  DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The Orphan Children.

Owing to the fact that the Hong Kong Orphans were too young to provide any information concerning (a) their past lives, or (b) their feelings on finding themselves suddenly placed in New Zealand-European families, the first part of this enquiry had, of necessity, to depend on early reports of social workers, and on accounts of adoptive parents.

Accordingly letters were sent to the Child Welfare Division, to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and to the National Council of Churches, asking permission to write to the adopting parents, seeking their participation and co-operation in the enquiry. Permission being secured, a letter was sent to all adoptive parents. It was hoped that the information obtained would answer the following questions:

I  a. What effect did the journey have on the behaviour of the Hong Kong Orphans during their first few weeks in New Zealand?
   b. What was the reaction of the children to New Zealand food?
   c. How did the health and general development of the children from Hong Kong compare with that of New Zealand children?
d. How did the orphans adjust to life in a small family after being accustomed to living in an institution?

e. Did the children from Hong Kong have great difficulty in learning to speak English?

f. What effect did the arrival, or discovery, of a new baby have on the adjustment of the adopted child?

II a. Do New Zealand parents experience parental satisfaction in adopting a Chinese child?

b. Would New Zealand parents resent the publicity occasioned by their adoption of a Chinese child?

c. Would parents be able to provide the kind of home which would support the Chinese child, should she meet rejection later on?

III How would brothers and sisters in an already established family feel about a child of another race than European coming into their home? And how would a Chinese child feel towards siblings of another colour?

IV How would New Zealand European grandparents and other relatives react to a Chinese child?

V Would neighbours allow their children to play with a Chinese child, or would their attitudes be such that they could seriously affect the success of the adoption?
The schools:

VI Will the Chinese children from Hong Kong be accepted by their New Zealand-European classmates and teachers?

On the answers to these questions depend other choices in the less immediate future.

VII What kinds of careers will be open to these children later?

And perhaps most crucial of all,

VIII What chances of marriage will these girls have later?

Are they likely to marry into Chinese families, or into New Zealand-European families?

From the nature of these questions it is clear that they cannot all be considered in relation to the orphans during the six month period of study suggested by the Child Welfare Division. In considering later possible difficulties at school, it was of course not possible to study an identical group of children, i.e., Chinese children reared in New Zealand-European families, but it was thought that some of the problems of all Chinese children in New Zealand Primary schools might be similar to those which might be encountered by the sample group, in a few years time. Thus the children in classes which had Chinese children on their rolls in five schools, (four city schools and one rural school) were included in this survey.
The problems encountered by Chinese choosing careers in a Europeanized society, as well as the kind of problems attendant on finding a marriage partner, were considered. Through informal interviews and in conversations with older Chinese who had been resident in New Zealand for many years, or who had been born here, aspects of these choice situations were discussed, though it was recognized that these people would have somewhat different problems from those faced by Chinese girls reared in New Zealand-European homes. The difficulties of enquiry in this area, for a European, are manifestly great; some of these will be considered in a later chapter.

Summary.

This section of the thesis has attempted to outline the areas in the lives of the children in which problems could arise, and to indicate some of the difficulties faced by parents. It has also suggested areas of possible difficulty in the less immediate future of the Hong Kong children.
THE SCHOOLS

The second part of the study, that dealing with the social relations likely to develop between Chinese and New Zealand children in Primary Schools, was studied in twenty classes in five schools, four in a city and one in a rural area. In addition, where there were Chinese children on the rolls in the Primer Department of those same schools, these were observed during their regular morning lessons. While recognizing that Chinese children already in schools have different problems of adjustment from those likely to occur for Hong Kong children brought up in New Zealand homes, it was thought probable that some of the information gained might be transferable, especially that relating to social acceptance or rejection by their class-mates.

Accordingly three short questionnaires were developed; these were worded so that their real purpose was concealed from the children. Because of the limited population available, it was considered unwise to initiate a pilot scheme with these, owing to the disadvantages inherent in using the material twice with the same children. In addition to the three questionnaires, class teachers supplied information concerning the following:-

(a) The academic standing of the Chinese children in their classes.
(b) Their opinion concerning the child's social adjustment and general behaviour in groups, sports activities, etc.

Information was obtained from the Senior Inspector of Primary Schools in Canterbury as to which schools in Christchurch had Chinese children on their rolls; his permission to enter the schools was also secured. Three schools were suggested, one of which, it was eventually discovered, had Indian children on its roll, but no Chinese. It was considered, however, that because of skin colour, culture, and general differences, Indian children would have some of the same problems of adjustment as would the Chinese children, so these were included in the survey. The Indian children had one distinct advantage - their families appeared to be English-speaking, so that the children had no more language difficulties than would the children of white New Zealanders.

Almost by chance in conversation with teachers, the names of two other schools were suggested. One was a rural school, (not in Canterbury, so special permission had to be obtained in order to visit it) the other a private school, the Director of which also gave permission for the questionnaires to be used in the school, during regular school hours. This school had a number of Chinese children, both boys and girls, on its roll. The rural school was not a large one, but half of its children was Chinese. Each of these schools was unique in its own way, but they were a fruitful source of information.
Questions concerning (a) the Hong Kong children's future careers and (b) their future marriage partners, were considered to depend largely on their acceptance, or rejection, by the European race in New Zealand, and/or their own acceptance, or rejection, of their own people and their birth culture. Therefore information on these points was sought by means of interviews with older Chinese people.

Difficulties Inherent in the Study.

It very soon became evident that in the areas under consideration there were many difficulties, both of method and of tools, as well as personal difficulties of communication between people. (Some of these have been discussed later, in Appendix A.)

A limiting factor also was the request of the Child Welfare Division that the study of the orphans should not continue for an indefinite period. Whilst it did not forbid a follow-up of contacts made during the six-month period it suggested, (provided that the adopting parents made no objections) its opinion was that too much probing into family relations - too great an emphasis on, or analysis of, difficulties and tensions which might arise, could, by focusing attention on these, cause added tensions and difficulties, thus creating major problems out of minor "normal" frictions.

In view of this, it was decided to limit this whole
study to the first six months following the children's arrival in New Zealand; six months is approximately the time taken to finalise adoption arrangements. One child included in the study has been here since the end of 1961, as indicated earlier.
CHAPTER V SOURCES AND VALIDITY OF DATA

Since the first arrivals from Hong Kong were under three years old, and at that time spoke no English, as indicated in the previous chapter, all data concerning them had to be gathered from adopting parents and social workers.

Letters from parents often took the form of day to day diaries, and extended over a period of six months. Sometimes there was a gap of some days, even among the most regular entries, during which time, according to the writer of the diary, nothing occurred of any significance. It was not practicable to include these diaries in a report of this kind, since some of them extend to forty typed foolscap pages; however, extracts from these have been included throughout the thesis, and further extracts, together with photographs of some of the children, have been included in Appendix C.

In addition to the diary-letters there were other letters from parents, perhaps recounting some particular incident, or containing comments which were felt to be of interest. Interviews were held with parents whenever possible, but because of the difficulty of visiting homes as far apart as Auckland and Southland, Taranaki and Hawkes Bay, all the homes were not visited. However, homes in Invercargill, Kaitangata, Fairlie, Wellington and suburbs, Upper Hutt and Lower Hutt were visited.
at least once, while those in Christchurch were visited several times. After the first visit to some homes, it was noticeable that diary entries became more detailed and specific.

These diaries are evidence of the goodwill of the parents toward the survey, and they speak eloquently of their desire to make available to others the details of their own experiences, and even of their mistakes.

Some of the children arrived with a Case History containing the probable birth date of the child, and as much about her previous story as was known. These were also available to the writer, when they were in the possession of parents. Unfortunately such information was not available in all cases.

In any adoption the Officers of the Child Welfare Division make a Home Study of the homes in which children are to be placed, and this was done in the case of the Hong Kong Orphans; in addition to the initial studies, undertaken before the arrival of the children, further reports on the homes were made, after placement of the child in the family; these were made available for purposes of this study, under certain conditions, one of which was that strict anonymity should be observed at all times, and that apart from the study, all information should be regarded as strictly confidential.
Chinese Children in New Zealand Primary Schools.

The older group of Chinese children in the schools posed an entirely different problem. Because the writer is a European it was considered unwise to approach the children through the media of interviews, or by any form of direct question which might, by drawing attention to differences and perhaps difficulties, even precipitate maladjustment, or augment minor disturbances. Therefore questionnaires were used among the classes in which there were Chinese (and in one case, Indian) children, and conversations were conducted with teachers and the headmasters of the schools. In the case of children junior to Standard I, classes were visited and observed during the course of morning lessons. Opportunities for observation of activities in the playground during lunch hours and morning play-times were strictly limited, owing to the fact that the survey was conducted during one of the wettest winters on record - the children were not often able to play outside on the days when it was possible to visit them. However, when possible, interaction in the playground was observed.

Class teachers were given a uniform but informal list of questions, answers to which indicated the child's educational status in class, age, behaviour in groups, etc., with space for personal comments by the teacher concerning each child. These were filled in by the teachers, and collected later.
It appeared wise not to extend the visitation of the schools beyond the end of July. Teachers were at all times most helpful and co-operative, but they were of the opinion that visitors to the school could have rather a disrupting effect on the work of the classes, especially in the third term. So although preliminary enquiries and interviews with Headmasters were conducted in the first school term, all the actual visitation of the schools took place during the second term.

**Questionnaires.**

The first of these consisted of eight short statements, some of which attempted to discover the child's feelings concerning his acceptance or rejection by the other children. Other questions were innocuous. The child was required to cross out "Yes" or "No", according to whether he considered the statement to be false or true. This questionnaire was considered simple enough and short enough for any child to cope with, provided he or she could read. Duplicated on a half sheet of pale green quarto paper, this questionnaire was always given first. There was space for the child's name at the bottom of the page. (See Appendix D.)

The next questions were duplicated on quarto-size pale yellow paper. Seven kinds of activity were suggested and
children were required to fill in the names of three friends from that class, with whom they most enjoyed taking part in these activities. There was one further choice, that of "best friend", also from the class. A name space was provided at the top of the page. For those who had difficulty in spelling, a list of all the children's names was written on the blackboard. On the ability of the majority to read and understand these choice-statements, depended whether or not the third and more complicated questionnaire was administered to that class.

The final questionnaire was given only to children in Standard III and upwards - it gave every child in the class an opportunity to judge twenty-one of the children of that class. Twenty-one names fitted across the longer edge of a quarto-sized sheet of paper, and fourteen "characteristics" were listed down the short edge. Lines drawn down and also across the page formed a slightly oblong space for the response, in this case a tick or a cross, according to whether the child judged did, or did not, possess the characteristic in question. Children were requested to write their names on the top left hand corner of the page, and to work across the page from left to right. This enabled the children to keep one quality in mind, as they evaluated each child listed.

While using only twenty-one names from each class had some disadvantages, it was considered that to use the whole class (consisting of 45 or more in some classes) would have made the questionnaire too long and cumbersome. Also, to
include 45 names would have necessitated the joining of two foolscap pages together, and the awkwardness of handling this, for the children, made it seem undesirable. In practice, where classes numbered perhaps 24 or 25, extra names were joined on, to avoid seeming rejection of a small group, but for ease of processing the results, only twenty-one names were included in the final counting. This had one unfortunate result. Inadvertently, the name of one Chinese child was left off the list; this girl has a name which is used as a boy's name in our society, and in collecting the names off the roll, looking for a girl's name, this one was missed and therefore not assessed by the class. According to the teacher's opinion, and to the other "choice questionnaire", she was a very popular child.
GENERAL VALIDITY OF THE DATA

The division of the study into the problems of three different periods - that of the present time, the primary school period, and the career and marriage anticipation - provided three different kinds of information. It is necessary therefore to consider the validity of the results of each section separately.

Case Study Material from International Social Service.

The information from International Social Service, Hong Kong, contained the details of the child's life, for as long as she had been under their care. The record contained the name by which the child was known, sex, age, (as far as this could be guessed) race, nationality, city of birth, (another guess sometimes, unless the baby was newly born at the time of abandonment) and the sources of information concerning these details. Under the heading "Background Information" was reported all that was known of the finding of the baby girl; (as indicated earlier, male babies are very seldom abandoned, unless they have some kind of handicap) together with an account of efforts to trace the baby's parents or relatives. (See Chapter on Inter-Country Adoption.)

* See page 8.
A description of the Home in which the baby had spent her life followed, with details concerning numbers of children in each room, etc., also some information about the staff and general routine of the Home. The remainder of the Case Study was devoted to details about sleeping and eating habits, physical appearance, motor and speech development, and relationship with adults. A short medical history was given, together with information about the vaccination and immunization which the child had received. Usually the case worker made some comments about the nature of the subject of the case study, personality and general characteristics, etc.

Validity. Case Study Reports are seldom entirely free from the bias of the social worker who compiles them, but by their very nature, these reports are likely to be objective assessments. Also, training helps to make workers aware of the need for objectivity; it is probable therefore that the element of subjectivity is relatively small, and that validity is high.

Home Study Reports of the Child Welfare Division.

These reports contain intimate personal details about the adopting parents; there is reference to age, physical appearance, manner, and general personality traits; details concerning the husband’s profession, income, religious affiliation (sometimes), and a description of the kind of home in which they live are also given. Information concerning the sex and
ages of children already born into the family, or adopted into it, are included, and the Officer's assessment of the suitability of the home for placement of an adopted child.

Validity. Most of the statements concerning the validity of the Report of International Social Service would apply to the Home Study Reports of the Child Welfare Division, though here there is more room for the Officer's own likes and dislikes to influence the way he "sees" the home and its occupants.

On the other hand, these also are trained workers, skilled in the arts of investigation and observation. It is likely that in these reports also, validity would, in general, be as high as is possible in any such reports, though differences in the length and kind of training officers have received results in more, or less, reliable reporting.

Diaries and Letters of Parents.

When parents were approached about their taking part in this survey, almost all of them signified their willingness, almost eagerness, to participate. As one mother wrote, "What mother does not enjoy the opportunity of talking about a wonderful baby?"

In all but three of the cases, correspondence was maintained with the mother of the adopted baby. For parents, motivation was probably increased by the hope that the results
of the study would encourage the Government to grant entry permits for more than the original fifty orphans - this hope was expressed more than once.

Validity. It is possible that the very motives which prompted such a keen and painstaking interest in reporting details of the developmental progress of their new Chinese daughters might also cause the writers of diary-letters to gloss over the difficulties of the first few months, at the cost of validity. One cannot lose sight of the fact that parents, especially mothers, were emotionally involved, and therefore they would tend to "see" the brighter side of the situation, perhaps especially in relation to the attitudes of other children in the family. Care was exercised to safeguard validity of response to questions, by stressing the fact that it would be most natural if older, or younger, children in an already established family showed signs of jealousy, or resentment of a newcomer, and this did bring admissions that there had been some behaviour which could conceivably have been due to jealousy. However, because of this very human tendency to cover up one's own faults, or the faults of one's children, results of the study must be interpreted with that caution which one reserves for all anecdotal evidence.

One further caution must be added. Although in nine of the fifteen families studied at least one parent (often both parents) is a university trained person, this does not mean that any are highly skilled in the art of introspection.
Psychologists are agreed that it is possible to introspect sensations\(^1\), but that to introspect our emotions and motives is a different matter. Even the "paler emotions" cannot be scrutinized while we are having them - if we are in the grip of strong emotions, such as rage, we are in no state to examine or record our experiences. Further, if anything as private as an emotional experience can be studied, the verbal reports of individuals differ widely in describing such an experience.\(^2\) "Everyone mistrusts verbal responses which describe private events." Even the same individual, confronted with the same objective situation at a different time, would not report that situation in the same way twice.

The above factors account in some measure for the differences in parents' accounts of family happenings.

**The Questionnaires.**

The children of the twenty classes who filled in the questionnaires appeared to be highly motivated from the beginning, if for no other reason than that the writer's visit caused a break in the regular school routine.

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\(^1\) "A Modern Introduction to Psychology", Rex and Margaret Knight, University Tutorial Press Ltd., London, p. 3f.


Precautions had been taken to maintain and increase interest (and presumably, motivation) by duplicating material on coloured paper, a different colour for each set of questions. It was hoped that validity of results would be increased by stressing that there was no "right or wrong" answers to any of the questions, but that the opinions of the children were of interest. Material was introduced in as friendly and informal a manner as possible, (see Appendix D) though it was stressed that talking, and comparison of results, or copying what somebody else had written, would lessen the usefulness of the answers. As far as the writer could detect, the children appeared eager and willing to participate, and they vied with each other in gathering up completed material, and in helping to distribute the next questionnaire.

There were, however, two exceptions to the above statement. With one class, the end of the school day intervened between the administration of the first two and the third (the longest) questionnaire. Regret concerning this was expressed by the children, even to the extent of wishing to stay after school to complete the form. This offer was refused, however, in view of the fact that some children had buses to catch, music lessons, etc., and the class was easily consoled by the thought of continuing next day. Unfortunately a total loss of voice on the part of the writer prevented this; a message was sent explaining, and asking that apologies be presented to both teacher and class. Through some mischance this message
was not delivered, neither to the class teacher, nor to the children. The weekend caused further delay, while a request from the Head-teacher not to visit the school on Monday made a really long, and unexplained, interval between visits. This long gap, and the fact that no explanation had been made to the class, had produced a very different atmosphere among the children, which was obvious to the writer on first re-entering the classroom. Unaware until much later that no apology had reached either teacher or class, it took some considerable time and effort to lessen the feeling of resentment which was abroad in the classroom, and to re-establish rapport. The conviction that some of the children did not recover their interest in the questionnaire was very marked.

The second break in interest was an individual case, and concerns the difficulties of communication. In all initial interviews with those in charge of schools, the author was most careful to stress that the real nature of the enquiry – to discover whether Chinese children were accepted or rejected by teachers and children in New Zealand Primary Schools – should be concealed. (Reasons for this are explained on page 140.) It was with real dismay therefore, when in spite of this warning, at the close of the first interview in one school, a passing Chinese child was called in and introduced to the interviewer, who was described as "somebody who is interested in Chinese families". The contact was brief and friendly, lasting only a matter of minutes, but two months later when
the questionnaires were administered to that child's class, the writer received a very cold and un-cooperative stare from that Chinese child. It looked for a moment as if he were about to refuse to take part, but discretion appeared to prevail. However, because of his disbelief of the explanation given for the author's presence in the schoolroom, it is probable that this incident did not increase motivation, to say the least.

Communication difficulties have all kinds of re-percussions in a study of this kind. Even though instructions seem to be simple, when procedures are demonstrated slowly, and the whole process repeated, many of the questions asked by the children at the beginning of, and during, the administration of the questionnaires, indicated that as far as they personally were concerned, nothing of what had been said had been noted. One is forced to the conclusion that children, as well as adults, hear selectively. "... Selectivity and distortion are not independent of one another. A high degree of selectivity may produce stimulus distortion."

Validity. In view of the factors discussed, it is not easy to determine the validity of the results of this

section of the study with any degree of certainty. Some opinions only are offered.

a. The children, with very few exceptions, showed keen interest in the questions asked.

b. The questions concerned themselves and their own pursuits and opinions - this helped to maintain co-operation.

c. The non-academic nature of all questions provided a change from school routine, so that even those children in the lower academic streams of the class were made to feel that their contribution was of value.

d. Questionnaires were administered in order of difficulty, the easiest one first, so that for those classes who filled in all three, (the older group) and even for those who worked on only two, curiosity was a factor in maintaining motivation.

The questions and statements used in the Questionnaires are largely those used by Ng Bickleen Feng in "Chinese Immigration in New Zealand."
CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF QUESTIONNAIRES

Questionnaire No. 1. This first short questionnaire did not seem to fulfil its purpose, which was to discover how the world-of-the-school appeared to the child. Especially with the youngest children was this the case, probably for the following reasons:

a. It seemed to be too short; this had appeared an advantage when questionnaires were compiled, but results did not support this.

b. The questions lacked the specific quality necessary for the clear understanding of the younger children, yet they failed to excite the imagination of those in the upper classes.

c. It appeared too easy for children to give answers which would be socially approved.

d. The nature of the "YES/NO" answers seemed to cause confusion.

The first statement "It is a good thing that children should have to attend school" was done all together, as a practice example, and it was understood that the "No" should be crossed out and the "Yes" left as the answer, after the children had been asked to suggest which was the "right" answer, in their opinion. In some of the papers there was evidence of children deciding that "Yes" was the answer, and drawing a line through "Yes". The confusion in the child's
mind at this point led to efforts to see which words had been
crossed out on the papers of those sitting near. There seemed
to be a good deal of copying in this questionnaire. Results
are therefore probably unreliable, and have not been included
in the study.

Questionnaire No. 2. Of the three questionnaires, this one
appeared to show most clearly the preferences of the children, so that the popularity of some was
plainly evident. For reasons already given, (page 40) there
was no reference to the Chinese (or Indian) children as such;
they were chosen, or not chosen, on the basis of their accept-
ability as companions in certain activities. The activities
themselves were all those which would interest children, and
this appeared to keep motivation at a high level. The whole
operation was sufficiently short to ensure that it was
completed before interest had flagged. The fact that some of
the younger children could not spell the names of their friends
made this questionnaire slower for those classes, but this was
overcome by having all names written in a prominent place on
the blackboard, and the children's attention drawn to this.
This obviated the necessity for asking friends how their
names were spelled, and giving them the idea that reciprocal
choice might be a good idea. It also had the advantage of
preventing the whole operation from taking on the character of
a spelling lesson in the eyes of the children.
Questionnaire No. 3. This questionnaire was not given to any class below Standard III, except in one school. Children appeared interested and rather intrigued by the idea that they were to judge twenty-one members of their class on fourteen characteristics, but even so, results should be interpreted with some caution, for the following reasons:-

a. In compiling the questionnaire there was insufficient recognition of the fact that any school class is composed of small groups, or cliques, the members of which inter-act closely with one another, but only in a general and spasmodic way with the rest of the class. Therefore many of the class simply did not have the information required, about the children whose names were listed along the top edge of the page. Some children gave the matter serious thought, and appeared to try to assess their classmates according to the characteristics listed. Others gave positive responses for everybody, while some children gave all negative ones, presumably according to whether or not they were on friendly terms with the child named.

b. Twenty-one names were judged, on fourteen characteristics, making a total of 294 responses. Although the length of a questionnaire often increases validity, in that it brings to light more information
concerning the individual assessed, there is always the possibility, (though no clear evidence of this was found) that fatigue entered here, possibly even boredom concerning the names at the end of the line of twenty-one.

It may be interesting to decide whether ten or a dozen of one's classmates "are helpful to those who need help", but beyond that number it appears likely that interest tends to fade in that particular trait, in favour of discovering the next trait to be judged.

c. The desire to avoid making a critical judgement of their classmates seemed to be very marked in some cases.

Children were required to signify their opinion by placing either a tick (✓) for a favourable opinion, or a cross (✗) for an unfavourable judgement, in the squares provided. Some children placed a tick in every square, 294 of them. In perhaps two or three cases children placed a cross in every square, but this was rare.

d. Some words were not understood by the children; e.g., in every class somebody asked the meaning of "encourages". Alternative words appeared equally incomprehensible, so examples were given.

These difficulties forcibly reminded the interviewer of the many pitfalls attendant on communication between people,
especially between children and adults. One speaks or writes
clearly, simply – only to find that, to the listener, or
reader, the communication takes on some shades of meaning
quite other than those intended, or else the message remains
a complete mystery.

Teachers' Opinions.

An analysis of the results of questionnaires filled in by
teachers appeared to indicate a certain reluctance on the part
of staff to recognize that there might be difficulties
attendant on educating a minority group in a class made up
largely of children of a different colour.

The uniformity and monosyllabic nature of the answers to
some of the questions was striking. This matter will be
discussed further in the chapter dealing with the Schools.
CHAPTER VI
INTER - COUNTRY ADOPTION FROM HONG KONG

Where the population is expanding at as rapid a rate as it is in Hong Kong, and especially where many children are being abandoned because their parents cannot afford to keep them, one might be excused for thinking that an inter-country adoption could be arranged at short notice. This, however, is very far from the truth. The laws governing Inter-country Adoption are subject to strict governmental regulations, and Hong Kong presents a situation of highly developed control of the institutions and placement agencies working in this field.

It seems worthwhile to examine the processes through which abandoned children, almost always girls, must pass before they can be adopted into another country. Steps for placement include the following:

1. Referral of the child, by the institution to which it has been taken, to Hong Kong Social Welfare Department.
2. Advertisement of the child in leading newspapers, to see if she will be claimed by a relative; advertisement also, with a picture of the child, posted in a public place in front of police stations.

3. Three months wait for child's parents or relatives to claim him, or her.

4. Six months additional wait before International Social Service is notified; used by the institution to build up the child physically.

5. Legal procedures to make the child a ward of the director of the Social Welfare Department, who refers the child to International Social Service for placement and secures permission for him to leave the Colony.


7. Establishment of orphan status for the child.

8. Foster-home placement for a time in another type of environment. The optimum period of placement is three months in an American or European home to prepare the child. This helps to build up the child physically, and to prepare him emotionally, for overseas placement.

   Foster homes are voluntary, mostly British. International Social Service pays for clothing and medical care. (In practice this foster-home placement is not always possible.)

9. Immigration Service and State Department processing.

10. Matching of the child and the family. Sometimes this is done in both Hong Kong and also in the adopting country. (In the case of the New Zealand orphans the matching was done by International Social Service in Hong Kong, to whom the Home Studies, approved by the Child Welfare Division and the National Council of Churches, were sent.)

12. Transportation of the children, in groups of five, to their destination, with an International Social Service, or Catholic Welfare escort.

13. Progress reports on placement sent to Hong Kong Director of Social Welfare.

Two groups of children are available for adoption:

a. "Known" orphans, who live with a relative or Guardian in Hong Kong, and are known to relatives in some other country.

b. Children who have been abandoned; these are picked up by the police and taken to institutions. Some children up to the age of eight are found on the streets. At the end of July, 1960, there were 2,543 children in institutions; from July 1st to December 31st, only 60 children were declared eligible for adoption."

Under what conditions should a child, too young to have her wishes considered, be taken from the country of her birth to live with strange people, in a culture foreign to her own, even speaking a different language? Surely the only justification for a step of such tremendous significance in the life

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of a child must be the non-availability of a willing, qualified adoptive family in her own country. In Hong Kong, like Britain, the United States of America, and New Zealand, governments enforce regulations to ensure that children are not exploited in the homes in which they are placed. In addition, the Hong Kong Government insists that its adoption programme is handled by two agencies only, and it insists on professional practice. These agencies are:-

a. International Social Service, which has operated through an independent Hong Kong office since 1957. It has handled cases in Hong Kong since World War II.

b. Catholic Relief Service Adoption Programme, technically operating since 1957, with a really operating programme since August 1958.

International Social Service operates and arranges adoptions with both "known" and "Institution" orphans, and deals with the following institutions:-

* a. Fanling Babies Home, sponsored by the Christian Children's Fund - capacity 100. Children from this Home must be placed in Protestant homes, preferably Chinese homes. (This Home is in a thickly populated area, and is surrounded by a high wall. Plans were in hand in 1963 for a new Home.)

* b. St. Christopher's Home (Anglican), capacity 200. No restrictions on placement, except that children
are usually placed in Christian homes. (This Home is built in a rural area, on top of a hill which commands a magnificent view of hills and the sea. Children walk down the hill to a village school. Here also extensive building alterations are in hand.)

c. Po Leung Kuk (non-sectarian), sponsored by the local Chinese people, and by Chinese overseas, capacity 454. Children referred to International Social Service through Hong Kong Social Welfare Department - no restriction on homes selected.

d. Precious Blood Home, (Roman Catholic), capacity 110. Children may be placed in Roman Catholic homes only.

e. Eric Bruce Hammond Memorial Home, supported by the Voice of China, and the China Peniel Missionary Society, capacity in 1960, 50. Permits only two children a year to be studied and placed by International Social Service.

f. The Shattin Heights Home for many years did not permit its children to be adopted, but this policy has recently been changed and children are being studied for adoption. Because of this policy of non-placement, police who picked up children have tended to place them in other Homes rather than this one, which means that there are now mostly older children in this Home.
The Catholic Relief Services work with their own Homes; these are:-

* a. The Ling Yut Sin Home. (In February 1963 there were 12 babies in this Home, 18 children under 2 years, 25 between 7 and 8 years, and a number of children between the ages of 2 and 7 years.)

* b. St. Paul's Creche - this Home housed 80 older children and 30 younger ones.

The great need of these children for homes of their own makes one wish that the whole process of Inter-country Adoption could be speeded up. "In Hong Kong babies are still being abandoned at the rate of one in every two days." With the first four steps (see pp. 58-59) taking nine months, then the long process of study by International Social Service, it means that a child must remain in an institution for a lengthy period before placement. This has resulted, in New Zealand at least, in long delays in arrivals of children who have been expected in their new homes for more than a year. Only fifteen children arrived in New Zealand under the Government scheme in January, and one older child, a boy, came about six months later. One little girl came earlier, on the initiative of her father, who literally forced quick action on the part of the authorities in 1961. After the arrival of the children in

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* The writer had the privilege of visiting these Homes in February, 1963. The women of many nationalities whose devotion provides the day by day care for these "orphan" children deserve the highest tribute.
January, except for the small boy, no more children came from Hong Kong until nine months later. In spite of regret that this should be so, one feels sympathy for the social workers in crowded Hong Kong; they are trying to maintain professional standards of placement, and to prepare adequate studies of children whose parents and background are almost always entirely unknown.

Though psychologists are unanimous in claiming that a lengthy period of institutional life has a retarding effect on all aspects of child development, especially if the child concerned is very young, the fact that approximately 93 per cent of these first parents have commented on what they consider to be clear examples of the high intellectual development of their Chinese daughters is a tribute to those who have cared for them prior to their arrival in New Zealand.
CHAPTER VII
PARENTAL DIARIES AND CHILD WELFARE DIVISION REPORTS

What was the effect of the journey on the behaviour of the Hong Kong Orphans during their first few weeks in New Zealand?

The Hong Kong Orphans all arrived in New Zealand after an all night flight in a jet plane, several hours in the Sydney airport, and a four hour flight across the Tasman to one of the main centres. Some continued their journey by smaller plane, others drove many miles by car, before reaching their final destination.

Even for an adult, who undertakes such a journey for his own purposes, flights of such magnitude involve strain. There is all the bustle, and sometimes confusion, of getting installed in the plane, the roar of the engines and the vibration which accompanies this, then the take-off, frequently associated with severe ear discomfort. Even if the flight is completely calm, the tourist section of the plane is usually full, making sleep almost impossible. If the trip is a rough one the effect can be quite terrifying.

While it is recognized that young children are spared some of the imaginations and fears of adulthood, it was no slight ordeal for the small Hong Kong Orphans, (the eldest of whom was three years old) to undergo such a journey with an
adult whom they knew only slightly. The paucity of their experience of any kind of travel ill-fitted them for a journey of such dimensions.

The Embarkation lounge in any air-terminal is highly charged with emotion, as is the lounge at the point of arrival; while their lack of understanding of the scene around them would protect them to some extent, this same inexperience of the orphans would tend to add to their confusion and general sense of insecurity. Sitting up all night is never a restful experience, even in familiar surroundings - in a noisy, vibrating aircraft, filled with strangers, (many of whom stared curiously at the little group) it must have been very disquieting. Add to this the effect of strange food, unfamiliar utensils, a different climate in Sydney, another in Christchurch or Wellington, and always more strangers, more crowds of staring people, reporters, news cameras flashing - it takes little imagination to understand that even the journey itself must have been something of a traumatic experience for these small children who had spent their lives almost entirely within the walls of the orphanages from which they came.

Although irrelevant from the point of view of this thesis, an illustration of the amount and degree of their confusion comes from one of the later groups of children, some of whom were four, others six years old. These children had travelled with a highly trained Chinese Social Worker, who had been
extremely careful to explain exactly what was happening to them, at every stage of the journey. They knew they were coming to New Zealand, to meet their new mothers and fathers, and the whole idea had been built up in their minds as something which would happen when they arrived at the end of their journey. As the first views of the city of Auckland appeared, the social worker asked her charges to guess where they were. She was really shocked when in chorus they all guessed "KOWLOON!", a place which is about five minutes journey by ferry from Hong Kong, in the New Territories. The social worker spent the next few days wondering what else she could have said which would have made the situation clear.

No wonder that on arrival the first small group of tiny children looked somewhat dazed. Those who came under the auspices of the St. Vincent de Paul Society came first, and partly because of this, their arrival was much publicised by radio and press. When the children under the auspices of the National Council of Churches came, a few days later, reporters had been told that they must not take pictures, nor ask questions, without first obtaining consent from the adoptive parents.

There was much interest in many parts of New Zealand in the arrival of these Hong Kong children. Tired as they were, there was something very appealing in the sight of these tiny children, all neatly dressed in their little red Chinese jackets, coming to start a new life in a strange country. The
writer's husband, who carried one of the little girls in the plane between Christchurch and Wellington to meet her new parents, received two offers of adoption from strangers, who just happened to be on that plane! The then Leader of the Opposition, the Honourable Mr. Walter Nash, was also a passenger on that plane, and as the writer walked with two pairs of excited parents, (one pair Chinese, one pair European,) out to the aircraft to greet the children, Mr. Nash congratulated both mothers as they received their babies, and wished them well. It was a most moving experience for all the adults who participated in it, or who witnessed it; one can only guess at its effect on the children who were the central actors in that little scene. Handed into yet another strange pair of arms, being separated from the other Chinese children, and going alone, by car or another plane, into a strange new world, where sights and sounds, even speech were unfamiliar - what feelings of insecurity and confusion they must have experienced!

For the writer, the scene of the actual handing over of orphans to their parents has since been repeated several times, but repetition does not seem to dull the impact on the emotions; the conviction remains that that is a highly significant moment for the children.

That the children were indeed very disturbed and upset by the experiences of their journey, and arrival in New Zealand, has been clearly confirmed by the diaries of parents.
Thirteen of the fifteen, more than three-quarters, mention the difficulties of that first night; one of the thirteen babies seemed quite happy by the next day, and "seemed to need no period of adjustment to our family", but all of the others report various disturbances, continuing for some time. Of the two diaries which make no mention of the first night of arrival, one was the child adopted in 1961, so that memories may have been a little dimmed by the time of writing in 1963; the other diary dealt only with the specific aspects of behaviour asked for, adding nothing of a more detailed nature. The following are illustrative extracts from some of the diaries:-

"She was sleepy on the way home, cried and cried when put to bed. Was finally rocked to sleep, after two hours crying, by her new father."

"Crying and bewildered - clung to father when told by Chinese escort who he was. Had been sick on journey. Cried before sleeping, till realising that father was going to stay with her - slept with eyes partly open. Next day she insisted on being carried everywhere and seemed quite lost in her surroundings."

"Crying loudly in the car, bewildered. After a meal of rice began to cry and cry, very tired and exhausted. Began to scream when put to bed, father nursed her to sleep, then moved her, but she woke, crying again - father lay on bed with her till she slept. Woke again at 4.30 a.m., mother went to her,
louder crying. Father lay on the bed again with her till she slept. Poor little soul, she is so terrified that she sleeps with her eyes partly open."

"Screamed when put to bed, mother stayed with her till she slept - a very wakeful night, and once a barking dog frightened her badly."

"Stiffened and screamed when put into cot, mother stayed with her till she slept, with eyes half open. Woke after twenty minutes, was given Dispirin, woke every half hour till 2 a.m., then taken into parents' bed, where she lay, stiff and perspiring, till 4.30 a.m.; then slept till 6.30 a.m."

"Collected by father, crying bitterly and plainly terrified. Made friends with father, but terrified again when placed in cot - tried bed, no use; mattress on floor, still no good; finally taken to bed with parents, transferred later."

"Shocked and quite sick when she arrived ... very subdued for two days; did not cry or eat, stayed exactly where she was put. It was not until the third day that she uttered any sound."

"During the first fortnight, showed a remarkably powerful reaction to being put to bed - cried vigorously and protractedly."

"Very clinging at first - mother did everything while holding her in her arms for the first three days."
"For the first fortnight mother had to stay with her when put to bed, occasionally stroking her head - settled quite quickly, but used to give a little whimpering cry three or four times a night for the first few weeks." (This was the little child who "needed no period of adjustment" - she slept twelve hours that first night.)

"During first two days very tired and bewildered. Slept lightly, with eyes partly open."

"She commenced to cry as her new father put her into bed; when she realised that he was going to stay with her she stopped crying, and slept about 20 minutes later. It was difficult to tell when she was finally asleep, because her eyelids did not close completely." (This child also slept all night.)

"She had bronchitis when collected, and a temperature with this. Her initial dependence was probably more marked because of this."

Summary. Although the amount of detail supplied varies, thirteen of the fifteen diaries indicate that these small Chinese girls were more than just a little disturbed during their first weeks in New Zealand, while one-third of the families (5) note that their new daughter "slept with her eyes partly open." All diaries record that "clinging behaviour" in one form or another was very marked at first.
b. What was the reaction of the Chinese children to New Zealand food?

Contrary to reported expectations of several parents, none of the Hong Kong children showed any real dislike of New Zealand foods. With perhaps two exceptions, all mothers report that they included some rice in the diet during the first few days, but from the beginning many introduced new foods, e.g., cereals and fruit, jelly and fruit, cheese, meat, and these were eaten without hesitation. Six parents reported an initial preference for soft foods, e.g., porridge, mashed vegetables, etc., but all diaries without exception report "excellent appetite", "voracious appetite", "eats every scrap of food given", "never refuses food, even when not hungry", and other similar comments.

Reports on two of the children indicate some digestive upsets, probably caused by the changeover to our rich New Zealand food. One child had a serious attack of hives, accompanied by severe constipation which lasted for a long time, in spite of close medical care. The experience of this family probably saved some of the others from a similar lengthy period of adjustment, as this mother was the one whose child was brought from Hong Kong at the end of 1961, almost fourteen months before the other children came during the first few days of 1963. One other child developed a slight attack of hives, but the removal of cheese, creamy milk, etc., from her diet for a short while, followed by a gradual increase
in these high protein foods soon effected a return to good health.

All diaries reported a decrease in appetite towards the end of the six-month period under review. A father writes "She is now eating normally, and not 'putting away' the great quantities of food she used to eat", while two little girls were reported to be "getting a little choosy" about food.

One father wrote that he felt sure that his little girl was getting some psychological satisfaction from eating large meals, and that if this was so, her rapidly increasing sense of security and independence should soon help this phase to pass. A mother also considers that to her little daughter food has some significance other than that of meeting bodily needs. She wrote "She is still worrying that she will not get her own share at the meal table. This is a very deep-rooted feeling with her, and if for any reason there is any delay in the arrival of the meal, she becomes most upset. She still "wolfs it down", as though she feels she mustn't waste a scrap." That was written after the child had been three months in New Zealand. In August, after another four months (this was one of the diaries extended slightly beyond the six-month period) the entry was different: "... is perfectly happy as long as she is included in the family, and this also is most important to ..., almost as important as food and drink. No doubt she is needing a sense of security, but she is not nearly as easily upset as when she first arrived - she has
also become used to family rough and tumble".

**Summary.** Evidence suggests that the adjustment to New Zealand food has been made without too much difficulty, and that after the first need for extra nourishment had been satisfied, appetites tapered off. However, reports also suggest that some of the large meals consumed may have been a sign of insecurity on the part of the Hong Kong children.

c. **How did the health and general development of the Hong Kong children compare with that of New Zealand children?**

One-third of all parents comment that their little Chinese daughters were small compared with New Zealand Plunket standards, while one-fifth report rapid increase in weight and height during the first few months. e.g., "In the first four months following the latest Hong Kong record (December 1962) she increased 4 lbs 10 ounces and grew $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches". Another mother writes, "She weighed 21 pounds and was 29 inches in height - grew 2 inches in four months, and put on several pounds". Again, "In December weighed 22 pounds 10 ounces; at that time was 27$\frac{1}{2}$ inches. By May she had gained 6 pounds in weight, and measured 31$\frac{1}{2}$ inches". These mothers have had children of their own, and are accustomed to watching weight and height increase according to Plunket standards.
One month after arrival one of the children was reported as being the general size and weight of a six months old New Zealand baby (again according to the Plunket Nurse); this child was by then almost twelve months old. She had a "geographic tongue", mentioned in the medical report from Hong Kong. In the first fortnight this small girl gained 1 pound 4 ounces, and three months later was still reported by Child Welfare as well as by the mother, as gaining weight at twice the normal rate. The "geographic tongue", which the doctor here suggests is caused by Vitamin B deficiency, has at times disappeared, but has returned at intervals. This child had measles, and one other little girl had chicken-pox when the other children in that family also had it, but apart from those two there have been no reported cases of sickness, except for an odd cold during the winter, which has sometimes been attributed to the cutting of a tooth.

Reports of Child Welfare Officers indicate that they are pleased with the general physical development of the children also. Progress in learning to walk has been marked (for the smallest ones). One father writes "Now that we see the muscles developing in her legs we are aware of the lack of this in the first few months," while a mother comments "Her limbs, which were soft and almost flabby, are now quite firm". Regarding health and general physique parents have tended to make remarks like "Is very well, except that a new tooth has just come through", or some such comment, while one
father writes "Physical development 100\%".

Summary. Though the Hong Kong children seemed small on arrival, according to New Zealand standards for children the same age, diaries report rapid increase in height and weight, and marked improvement in muscular development and general physique.

4. How did the Hong Kong children adjust to life in a small family after being accustomed to living in an institution?

Of the fifteen children studied, only two were placed in homes where there were no other children - one of these was a Chinese home, so here at least speech was familiar. In all the other homes there were siblings, though in some cases these were already attending schools.

Reactions to the family situation appear to have varied to some extent, but as indicated (on page 69) all the children clamoured for the presence of an adult at bedtime on the first night, and for several nights afterwards. Later, when the children were reported as "playing happily" during the day, several parents have written that crying at night still continued, until their adopted daughter was placed in a room with other children, when crying ceased. One family reported that every night the small stranger would creep out of bed and lie close against the door - which led to the living room -
and there, within sound of their voices, she would fall asleep. Another family, who received one of the older children, wrote that they were sure that on the second night after arrival, the Chinese child wished to return to the orphanage. Crying bitterly, she kept pointing to the doors in each room; her adoptive father carried her through each of the doors in turn, but every sight of the room on the other side of the door brought a fresh outburst of weeping.

Against this must be set an experience of a different kind. In one family the parents decided to take the children out—three boys and the little Chinese sister, who is the second youngest child. Just by chance the little girl was dressed first, and her overcoat put on, whereupon she began to sob and cry unrestrainedly. Outing forgotten, parents and boys sought to discover the cause of such an unexpected outburst, trying everything they could think of, for some considerable time. Finally, in desperation, and thinking that a change of scene might distract her, the parents hurriedly dressed the youngest child and the others hastily scrambled into coats. Immediately on her observing everybody in outdoor clothes, crying ceased as if by magic, and the little girl began to smile at once. This incident took place during the very early days after placement, before language communication had been established at all. The sudden dramatic change to joy, after such deep and prolonged distress was so marked that the parents could only surmise that in some strange way the little
girl had received an impression that she alone was being sent away. Her anxious desire to be with them all was very obvious, even in those early days, especially if a stranger happened to pay them a visit. Many of the diaries contain entries such as "Is friendly with strangers, provided one of the family is near by", or "Will accept strangers now, if they do not "rush" her, as long as one of our family is in the room".

Surprisingly, reactions to Roman Catholic Sisters have varied also. Nine of the children studied came from Roman Catholic Orphanages, and some mothers have taken their new daughters to visit the Sisters who teach their older children. Two reported pleasure on first seeing the Sisters, three others reported avoidance and withdrawal, acceptance only after some time had elapsed.

In spite of the fact that the only male contacts the orphans had had previously must have been very occasional ones, with priest or doctor, 40 per cent of the diaries (six) reported an immediate liking on the part of the Chinese children for their new fathers; even from the very beginning, fathers seemed to be able to quieten fears. All diaries report excitement and pleasure when the father returns home from work.

Parents reported that just at first there seemed no evidence of being accustomed to demonstrations of affection, but that quite soon after their arrival the Chinese children were
returning the kisses of parents and siblings, and were making tentative little caresses themselves.

Several parents have expressed surprise at the lack of possessiveness of the children – this may be because in an orphanage toys and possessions are for the use of all the occupants of the Home. However, three mothers have noted extreme possessiveness:–

"Is very possessive; likes to have arms full of toys, if hands are too full, will carry small objects in the mouth, or between toes".

"Showed clothes in her small suitcase to mother, but quickly gathered them all to her when the other children showed interest".

"Is very possessive with her belongings, perhaps because of confusion about ownership".

In the two families where the Chinese child is the only one, this trait would probably not show itself, and in the four families where she is the youngest by several years the need to assert ownership would be lessened.

Two mothers report that the Hong Kong child showed inability to cope with assertiveness of a small brother, and that they were trying to encourage the girls to stand up for themselves.

Reports from Child Welfare Officers include the following comments:–
"... has settled into the family group very happily. When first placed she formed a strong attachment to her father. However, she is also very fond of the mother and the other children. Seems already to have a sense of belonging to the family group".

"The appreciation and welcome given ... by her new parents and brothers are beyond any doubt, and it is obvious that she has already considerably added to their happiness. She and the youngest boy are very firm friends and partners in mischief".

"This little girl is now a well settled member of the family, winsome, with a friendly manner, though she likes to know that one of the family is close at hand."

"This child had no trouble in settling in to her new environment. ... It is no exaggeration to say that these parents and their children are delighted with ... Her happy nature has endeared her to them". And later, "She seems to be developing exactly like their own children did."

"The affection between ... and her older brother is a pleasure to see; the brothers away at school make a great fuss when the family visits the school. A delightful child, obviously thriving and happy in her new home."

"She found adjustment difficult at first, but now appears extremely happy and well adjusted."

"This little girl has settled particularly well with the family. She was most affectionate towards the mother when I
visited, repeatedly wrapping her arms around her neck. "At first felt insecure, and was inclined to cling to the mother, crying and making a fuss every time she left the room. However, the child is now well settled and appears happy and contented in her new home. Parents especially mentioned that . . . appears to have had good care in Hong Kong, and to have received plenty of attention and affection".

"... seems to be a normal child who will take full advantage of her opportunities. Her present adaptation to family life is a tribute to the care she received prior to placement".

The following comments, also from a Child Welfare Officer, indicate some of the difficulties to be overcome. "At first the mother found that . . . was not as forward as her son, almost eighteen months younger... She did not play with the other children, and if brother touched her would stand and scream". And later, "She now realises that when people leave the house they will probably return. Ignores brother's attacks, and even pushes him aside... The older children have accepted . . . and the parents seem to enjoy having her in the home".

**Summary.** All in all the changeover from institution life to that of life in a small family seems to have been accomplished happily by most of the children. There have been some difficulties, but most of the initial ones seem to have been overcome; though in one case it is suspected that perhaps
the transition has been a little less happy than it might have been, there is little evidence that this was due to preference for institution life, rather than for life in a family.

e. Did the children from Hong Kong have great difficulty in learning to speak English?

Only those who have experienced a similar situation can understand the feelings which must have assailed the Hong Kong Orphans when they found themselves among people whose speech seemed just a babble of incomprehensible, rather harsh sound. For those who could speak Chinese those first days must have been very bewildering, and rather frightening, and even those who could not speak were familiar with the Chinese language, and must have understood simple words of comfort in that tongue. As one writer has said 1 "Except where it has been strained beyond the breaking point, human nature in the child is very plastic and responsive to love and opportunity". This has been demonstrated by the way in which the Hong Kong children have reacted to their opportunities to start a new life, and language, in New Zealand.

With two exceptions, all diaries of parents report that their small Chinese daughters have been very quick in learning to speak English. One mother wrote that at first she noted almost no vocalization, that it was as if the child had to forget what had once been familiar before she would try something new. Parents of the older ones among the children wrote that the child would often repeat a word when asked to do so, but although the sound was quite clear, its meaning was obviously lost on the speaker. Several parents have reported that their child seemed keen to learn English. Children may well have been stimulated by the generally approving nature of most parents' comments to them, without understanding their meaning.

One of the mothers who reported slowness in learning to speak lives in a rural area, and the child therefore has fewer outside contacts. There are many visitors, and on Sundays, plenty of church contacts, but not the almost daily "trip to the shops" which is routine to others of the children. In the second family in which some retardation of speech is reported, it is suspected that perhaps the situation has not been handled as sympathetically as it might have been.

The eight families in which there are other young children report that they can "talk" to the new little sister quite well, and with no apparent difficulties of communication such as exist between parents and the adopted child. It is of
interest to note that this "understanding" has taken place in the families of some of the older, more recent arrivals also. One little girl, aged six, who had arrived, weary and exhausted from Hong Kong late one night, was put into the bath with her new New Zealand sister next morning. The newcomer spoke no English, and had been very upset the night before. Leaving the two little girls in the bath, the mother went out of the bathroom, and waited outside the door, which was open. Within seconds both children were talking happily, with no apparent difficulty; the mother reported "They just went on from there."

Two diaries report, of older children in the first group, that more than once, in moments of great pleasure, e.g., on returning home after a week's holiday to the now familiar house, or on the occasion of being given a birthday cake ablaze with lighted candles, the child concerned "broke into what sounded like excited Chinese chatter".

Child Welfare Officers' Progress Reports, usually written after three months, include such remarks as the following:—

"Has quite good command of English, and understands it fully". "Her English vocabulary is increasing rapidly, and she sings the songs the other children sing".
"Health good, making normal progress; has acquired quite an extensive vocabulary".
"... is apparently of at least average intelligence. She is talking quite well, and mother thinks her vocabulary compares favourably with that of brother". The brother is approximately eleven months younger."

"She now understands all that is said to her in English, but her vocabulary is not large".

Of one of the youngest members of the group it is said: "She chatters quite well and can make herself understood".

All diary-reports of the six month period of adjustment under discussion note that speech development was proceeding much more rapidly towards the end of July. As one father put it, "Along with an increased capacity for making noise has come a steady improvement in vocabulary. Starting off with simple words, she has now learned to string several together, and her development in this regard appears to be that of a child some six to twelve months younger than her actual age, but the whole process is being telescoped into a very much shorter time than such a child would take".

This appears to express the experience of most of the adoptive parents concerning language development; it seems likely that within a year of their arrival, the Hong Kong children will be speaking as well as New Zealand-born children of the same age. An exception to this is the child placed in the Chinese family, whose desire it is to have their daughter speak Chinese as her first language. They feel that unless
Chinese is learned first, their little daughter will be unable to communicate with Chinese elders, which would be a serious loss. They intend to see that the child is fluent in English by the time she reaches school age, so that she will have no academic handicap among English-speaking children - but the Chinese language must be spoken first. This will mean that the little girl will automatically have less chance of talking to neighbours' children. It is of interest to compare her speech development with that of the children placed in European homes; on arrival the little girl was approximately twelve months old, and was reported as "Not talking yet, but sings to herself now and again", after being here one month. After three months, diary entry reports "Not talking, moderate amount of noise, both when by herself and with others". One month later the diary entry reads "'Talks' a lot, but not in words." The writer visited the home at that time, and a more delightful, "talkative" child would be hard to find - she was very alert, showed great interest in the visitors, and brought toys and treasures to be approved, chattering away to her mother all the time. The final entry in the diary regarding speech records that she "speaks a few words", while the report of the Child Welfare Officer supports the contention that children seem to understand each other.

"The child concerned in this adoption is making excellent progress, and although still shy of strangers is becoming more friendly, particularly with other children. While she cannot
yet understand English as spoken to her by adults, she seems to understand what other children are saying, and plays happily with them." (underlining not in original report)

f. What effect did the arrival, or discovery, of a new baby have on the adjustment of the adopted child?

The arrival of a new baby in any home is one of the circumstances which is recognized by psychologists as a frequent cause of tension and disturbance among older children in a family. 2 "The situation in which sibling rivalry is manifested most strongly is in the coming of a second child who dethrones the first one," and 3 "One of the most frequent causes of jealousy is the arrival of a new baby."

Three of the Hong Kong children were placed in homes where a baby was expected, while two others went into homes in which there was already a very young baby; in one of these, the mother reports her certainty that the little Hong Kong daughter was completely unaware of the existence of the small baby, at first, and for two weeks after her arrival. When she first "discovered" the baby "she showed quite strong, but normal jealousy. This continued until after two days of my

making sure that she was happily occupied at baby's bath-time, and giving her a few minutes undivided attention just beforehand, this phase just passed." Though still under two years of age at the time of the writer's visit, this small girl, regularly and without prompting, produced the "baby's basket" from a cupboard each morning as soon as breakfast dishes were washed. She showed marked signs of real interest in and affection for, the tiny baby, whom she was permitted to "hold" for a few minutes during the visit.

In the second of the homes in which there was a very young baby at the time of arrival in New Zealand, the situation seems perhaps less happy. "She ignored baby, * (two weeks old and unsettled at first) then poked at his eyes and hit at him, as if he were a toy. Now she kisses him very often, and is very possessive with his toys; she screams if anyone else picks them up." According to the diary, the older child — a year older than the adopted daughter — "is not very fond of her, nor she of him, though they seem pleased to see each other in the mornings." It seems likely that the eldest child is disturbed also, by the simultaneous invasion of two strangers into what had been his little world.

Adjustment to the actual arrival of a new baby after the Hong Kong child was already established seems, in the two

* Was she, in fact, aware of the baby?
cases where this has occurred, to have proceeded very well. One diary reports "There have been no manifestations of either aggression or hostility. The new baby has been completely accepted. She displays a normal amount of affection to it, but not an inordinate amount."

The second report is more detailed and gives an account of how the small adopted daughter was prepared for the mother's absence from the home; she was taken with her sister, (who is about a year older) to spend first a day, (including two meal times), then for a weekend, later still a few days, with a grandmother. While the mother was in hospital the children spent sixteen days with the grandmother in the, by then, familiar surroundings. On arriving home again she demanded a good deal of attention for perhaps half an hour, clinging round her mother's skirts, etc., but this soon passed. "We didn't show off the baby too much, and haven't made a tremendous fuss of him in front of the children; as a small baby sleeps so much, his introduction to the family can be gradual. The girls love to watch him being bathed, and they help to get his clothes ready; . . . is the neatest. So far she hasn't shown any jealousy of the baby, no relapse in toilet training, no tantrums - she loves to help me around the house in the mornings."

In the third family in which a new baby was expected the pregnancy came to an abrupt end because of a miscarriage which
occurred soon after the arrival of the Chinese child. This factor was unknown to the writer at the time of her visit, but hearing of it later, it appeared to explain some of the more obvious signs of disturbance and unhappiness which were apparent, not in the Chinese child, but in the mother. There was a faint irritability, alternated with quick demonstrations of affection for the children, which appeared to indicate a certain dis-ease in the situation which was rather disturbing. However, all of the children seemed quite unconcerned as they played their games round the living room, it being too wet for them to play out of doors. It is possible that in some sub-conscious way, the new arrival was regarded as partly responsible for the loss of the other baby, but this, of course, is purely conjecture. Later reports from both the diary and the Welfare Officer's report indicate that this little girl has settled very happily, and that both parents have an understanding of her needs.

Summary. In the two cases where the arrival of a new baby has been reported, there seem to have been no difficulties whatsoever. In the two other cases where a very young baby appeared to be "discovered" quite soon after the arrival of the Hong Kong child, both of the adopted children showed resentment and what appeared to be jealous behaviour. In one of these the situation was handled very wisely, and the behaviour soon disappeared in favour of a "Helping" attitude;
in the other it is suspected that the behaviour was not treated as sympathetically as it might have been, with the result that the possessive, troublesome manifestations continued for a much longer period.
II a. Do New Zealand parents experience parental satisfaction in adopting a Chinese child?

Before this question can be considered it is perhaps necessary to examine some of the factors which influence adoptive parents. \textsuperscript{4}"The intense emotional experience of a parent who adopts a baby is often overlooked." As indicated earlier in this thesis, even to witness the actual handing over of an adopted child is an emotional experience not soon to be forgotten.

Bowlby points out that a baby's mental health will depend on the emotional relationships he will have the opportunity to develop, and that the ability to predict these relationships requires knowledge of the psychology of personality, and skill in interviewing; he also claims that \textsuperscript{5}"The most important thing is to estimate the real motives behind the mother's desire to adopt a baby, (it being almost always the mother rather than the father who is the architect of the plan.) These motives are not often what they appear to be, and their true nature may be largely concealed from the woman herself."

But who can estimate the "real motives" of another person? It is seldom possible to be completely sure of

\textsuperscript{4} "Child Care and the Growth of Love", John Bowlby. Based on the report "Maternal Care and Mental Health", by permission of World Health Organization, abridged and edited by Margaret Fry. p. 126.

\textsuperscript{5} Ibid, p. 124.
another's motives, seldom possible to be completely sure of one's own motives. If Bowlby's statements apply to adoption in general, how much more must they apply to inter-country adoption, and to inter-racial adoption?

By enquiry into the reasons for their first wishing to adopt a child, by learning more about them as people, and especially about their capacity to make easy and loving relationships - these are some of the ways which Bowlby suggests the social worker may use to assess the suitability of parents to receive an adopted child. For estimating this he considers that the three following aspects of behaviour are very revealing: - (a) the way they speak about other people, especially their relatives, (b) the way they treat each other, and (c) the way they treat the social worker.

In the preparation for the Hong Kong Orphans much detailed work and enquiry was afoot for long months before their arrival. As is the case with all adoptions in New Zealand, every family applying to adopt a child was carefully screened by the Child Welfare Division. Even before this, some applicants had been eliminated, according to certain principles laid down by a special Committee of the National Council of Churches. It is highly probable that the Roman Catholic society handling their adoptions followed a similar procedure. Child Welfare Officers made a "home study" of the families submitted to them, eliminating families according to their standards of suitability.
When these home studies were complete, they were forwarded to Hong Kong, and the actual matching of child with family was done there, by International Social Service, or by Catholic Relief Adoption Programme.

Even with all these precautions, mistakes do occur at times, one of which will now be discussed. One of the children was assigned to a family, and during the interim period before the expected arrival, the father was transferred to a place outside New Zealand – this was the first difficulty; because New Zealand courts have no jurisdiction outside New Zealand, adoptive parents must both be resident in New Zealand until the adoption arrangements are finalised. However, the adoptive mother and the other children remained behind, hoping to overcome this obstacle, and the little Hong Kong child was duly delivered. From the beginning there seemed to be what might almost be called a psychological incompatibility, and the mother found herself quite unable to accept the child; there was great distress in the family and the father hurried home. In the meantime the adoptive mother had placed the child with some friends. When the husband arrived he liked the little girl at once, so she was taken back to the home again. However, the wife seemed to resent her husband's interest in the little Chinese child, and she became very angry. The situation quickly became impossible, and once more the little girl was removed, this time permanently. She was settled at once with another family, and except for the first weeks, the
diary reports indicate uninterrupted progress, although it took "about three months for her to realise that she was a permanent part of the family unit. Our children (three) were made to understand our good fortune in being given . . . ."

It is not possible to establish any reason for the rejection of this child. Presumably the mother must have indicated that she accepted the idea of the adoption of a Chinese child, or the Child Welfare Department would never have "passed" the home originally. Yet when the event actually took place and the Hong Kong child was installed in the home, the mother found herself quite unable to control her reactions against the stranger. This was a most disturbing experience for the adoptive parents, as well as for the unhappy child.

As mentioned in an earlier section, in the home where the mother had the miscarriage soon after the arrival of the Chinese child, there was some kind of a revulsion of feeling against the stranger. Apparently, and perhaps because of the mother's illness, the little girl attached herself firmly to her new father. Her affection was warmly reciprocated, so

* Although irrelevant from the point of view of this thesis, it is worthy of note that another case similar to this occurred, in the later group of older children who arrived, except that at the point where the child was about to be removed, parents and other children protested so vigorously that the rejection was of a temporary nature, (due to other family worries) that the officers in charge of the case decided to leave the child in the home. However, after a further trial period of one month the child was removed permanently.
that the mother became more resentful, and was jealous of this relationship. However, her recognition of this reaction, and a talk with the Child Welfare Officer, helped the adjustment process, and all now seems to be well. The parents seem proud of their Chinese daughter, and are making plans for her future.

Another of the families in which parental satisfaction in caring for a Chinese child appeared slightly less evident was that in which, at the time of the placement, there was a very new baby. Inevitably all the attentions and emotions of the mother were centred on (a) the new baby, and (b) her older child from whom she had been separated for some time, who also had the right to expect extra attention at that time. That this situation demanded more of the adoptive mother than she was actually able to give seems evident in the diary, though here the possibility is full recognized that this writer may, in fact, be more accurately introspecting than were some of the adoptive parents on whose diaries much of this thesis is based. It is easy for a research student to see objectively why certain situations ought to have been handled more sympathetically; it is not so easy for a mother, coping with the crises which arise in any young family, and caring for a "rather unsettled" new baby as well, to be patient with an insecure, bewildered, uncomprehending, and often terrified little stranger. In this family also a close relationship has been formed with the adoptive father of the family, and this
should help the situation. The Report of the Child Welfare Officer indicates that "... is receiving good care and except for occasional outbursts of temper, appears happy and contented in her new family."

Summary. With the possible exceptions discussed, the others of the fifteen pairs of parents studied seem to be deriving tremendous satisfaction from their small Chinese daughters, and two of the families have indicated their intention to adopt another Chinese child, should one become available. This surely is an indication that New Zealand-European parents are able to find parental satisfaction in adopting a Chinese child. It must be admitted here that the eleven children visited by the writer are, without exception, extremely attractive little girls. Because the six-months duration of this study is only the beginning of the lives of these parents with their adopted children, it is impossible to answer questions concerning the permanence of this satisfaction.

"The question is not whether we can match their need surely in a child's infancy... The question is what they would do with disappointment; and whether they could still function as loving parents, satisfied in their parenthood. There is no such thing, unfortunately, as a 'guaranteed adoption'; no children an agency can mark as 'Certified'. It is vital, therefore, that parents be able to accept a child, whether or not he

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6 "In Quest of Foster-Parents" D. Hutchinson, New York 1943. Quoted in "Child Care and the Growth of Love" John Bowlby 1953.
can measure up to their hopes and wishes for him." While some personality traits show a degree of constancy over a period of years, (and this would support the theory that those families which appear to find satisfaction already, will continue to do so) there is nevertheless some flexibility in human nature, so that it is possible that even those who have recounted incidents which appear to indicate some dissatisfaction may yet become parents 'satisfied in their parenthood.'

b. Would New Zealand parents resent the publicity occasioned by their adoption of a Chinese child?

Conversations with parents, as well as diary entries, reveal that though there was some slight embarrassment over the publicity which accompanied the arrival and delivery of "the Hong Kong Orphans" there was some satisfaction also. Several parents have expressed the opinion since, that the occasion was too highly charged with emotion for it to have been a good idea to publicise it, but they also realise in retrospect that the publicity probably saved them from at least some embarrassing questions from curious, and often rather rude and insensitive strangers.

One parent writes feelingly about this. "The initial publicity must surely have reduced the number of people who just stopped in their tracks, and stood and gaped when we
walked down the street. It must also have reduced the number of people who would say 'I'm not sure you are doing the right thing'... This does not need to happen often to cause more than mild irritation." At least three other families had experiences similar to this one; these are dealt with more fully under "Attitudes of Neighbours".

The publicity also had the effect of arousing much interest in the children and their progress. At least one-third of the families reported that they had received most generous gifts of clothing and toys for their Chinese daughters, from neighbours and friends, and from complete strangers also.

The mother of the little girl who was adopted in 1961 writes that she does not quite know what to think about the children who "rush" her small daughter at church and school functions. The child "does not react well to crowds goggling at her, but quickly adjusts to any group if left alone. I hope that soon she will not be treated as a novel exhibit, as folk get more used to her being here." On the other hand this same mother obviously derives tremendous satisfaction from taking the child about with her when she goes out. "To-morrow we have been invited to the school to talk about China in Standard II Social Studies; surely it must help to break down prejudice! I can't imagine anybody who knows her disliking the Chinese." This last comment indicates the emotional involvement of the mother.
There is some evidence to suggest that members of the Chinese community have become interested in the arrival of the orphans from Hong Kong. During the first days after arrival, when the children were upset, some of the parents of older children sought the aid of the nearest Chinese man or woman, in order to try to discover the needs of the unhappy child. Without exception, so far as is known, these contacts have resulted in a continuing relationship, even when the dialect spoken was not understood by the little child.

**Summary.** Thus it appears that the publicity which accompanied the first arrivals, while perhaps not in the best interests of the children at that time, did have the effect of creating a warm and friendly neighbourhood for most of the children, and perhaps of lessening the number of those whose curiosity was greater than their tact. It also, apparently, had the effect of stimulating friendly relations between New Zealanders and Chinese already living in New Zealand.
c. Will parents be able to provide the kind of home which will support the Chinese child should she meet rejection later on?

The team of people commissioned by Church World Service to survey the general background and conditions of orphans in Hong Kong and Korea made several recommendations regarding the work among destitute children. In making these recommendations they had certain principles in mind as to the kind of homes which would most adequately meet the needs of children, in their immediate future and also during the remainder of their lives. Some of these will be listed.

7"The whole child should be served in his mental and physical health, sex development, family life, neighbourhood associations, general education, vocational training, personality growth and spiritual development.....

Love shown him in family relations is a first essential, love expressed in child development, rather than in parental self-satisfying fashion.

Security is the second essential throughout childhood, economic, personality, capacity-evoking security.

Crises must be regarded as probable experiences, and ability to meet crises without panic or loss of fundamental faith and values (must be) inculcated.

Particular competence to experience family life to the full, and to accept substitutes for family figures when necessary, are features of good child rearing in an age of uncertainty.

Individual development requires: a fostering home, a neighbourhood in which discipline and acceptance both meet the child's outgoing inclinations, and a community that offers rewards for effort and virtue.

Changes in family neighbourhood and community for the child are fraught with danger of personality frustration that can only be averted or lessened by an understanding, on the part of authority figures before the change is made, of the specific features in home, neighbourhood, or community which will elicit response from him, and those which will present threats or bewildering experiences to him. A generally favourable profile is usually the best that can be provided.

In attempting to discover whether European families are able to support and succour a Chinese child if she meets rejection, it must be stated that it is possible to offer an opinion only, as to the "generally favourable profile" of the families concerned.

It would seem that if the New Zealand families appear to fulfil most of the principles, however, that they would be able to support their Chinese daughters under conditions of rejection and loneliness. It is far too soon to be able to assess the future social climate in these families, just as it would be impossible to foresee relationships in any family where there are at present, small children. With the passing years children develop personalities of their own, and sometimes characteristics of children come into conflict with parents' ideas of acceptable standards of conduct; parents change also - such changes are inevitable.

Yet studies have been made which indicate that some personality traits remain constant, even after a lapse of years. A study of twenty-five infants was made by Shirley, followed up sixteen years later by Neilson, who studied the
same children. Without consulting Shirley's data, Miss Neilson made thumbnail sketches of these children, and later compared them with the originals. After a lapse of sixteen years they showed a large amount of constancy in their personality traits."

If there is "a large amount of constancy" in traits evidenced by infants, after fifteen years, it seems highly probable that parents and their families will also exhibit many traits in the future which they appear to show now.

On the other hand, the possibility that the parents themselves may later reject their Chinese daughter cannot be entirely overlooked. "Human nature" is notoriously unpredictable, and in some countries where inter-race adoption has been in practice over a period of years there is apparently some evidence of rejection by "white" parents of the non-European children whom they adopted when the charm of babyhood was at its maximum. "Mrs. Elaine Strutt, an active worker in the Church of England Children's Society, and a recent visitor to Christchurch, claimed that parents often wanted to adopt children for the wrong reasons, e.g., to strengthen a shaky marriage, or because a baby looked "cute". When the children

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outgrew their baby charm they were not wanted. Mrs. Strutt is reported to have said that this happened particularly with coloured babies. Evidently rejection has occurred with sufficient frequency to alter the policy of the Church of England Children's Society, so that now they do not give coloured babies to white adoptive parents, Mrs. Strutt is reported to have said.

In considering the families on whom has been laid the responsibility for the care of these small Chinese girls, there are certain factors which appear to stand out. First of all it would seem that, in itself, the decision to adopt a Hong Kong orphan indicated a liking for, and acceptance of, Chinese in general. These parents saw only photographs of the children before placement, so that the influence of "charm" was at a minimum. Do the diaries give any information on attitudes to Chinese in general?

Of the fifteen pairs of adoptive parents who have kept the diaries of the children's progress, eight have indicated that they had Chinese friends; one family has met Chinese since the arrival of the Hong Kong child (and received them as visitors when the Chinese mother called, with her children, to bring Easter eggs for the whole family) and another of the families has already made application for a second of the Hong Kong orphans. Of the five remaining families, one of these is Chinese, so that only four of the fifteen families
studied have not specifically mentioned having Chinese friends. It is likely that this contact with other Chinese families will be strengthened by having an adopted Chinese daughter, thus helping to create "a neighbourhood in which discipline and acceptance meet the child's outgoing inclinations." (These contacts with other Chinese in the community could be significant, from the point of view of marriage partners for these children in later years.)

Summary. All the diaries, with one possible exception, are written in a style which appears to express so much goodwill that the impression created on the reader is that these adoptive parents have written of the absorbing day by day happenings in the lives of children whose progress is of vital interest and concern. As far as it is possible for a third person to discern, these little children are very much loved, and they in their turn seem to have become very closely attached to their new parents and brothers and sisters. Repeatedly diaries contain entries such as "Is becoming more friendly to strangers, as long as one of the family is near", or "Will accept visitors as long as one of us is in the room."

Feelings of security are built up through years of having somebody to help in time of need; an adequate self-picture is built up by the supporting, accepting love of family, or substitute family; the child, therefore, who has been "built up" over the years of childhood and adolescence is likely to
be able to withstand the effects of rejection by a section of the community. Those children who have been supported by the love of family, (or substitute family) have, as it were, a sense of their own worth as a person, and a bank of confidence on which they can draw in the face of rebuffs.

While it is not evident, in every case, that the fourteen families whom this query concerns have thought as far ahead as future problems of rejection or discrimination against their Chinese daughter, some diaries do raise this issue. One parent writes "She may meet prejudice in the future, but that is a long way ahead, and in the meantime ... has a home and parents of her own." Of another family the Child Welfare Officer reports "These adoptive parents seem to have an understanding of the child's needs ... Because she is near in age to their other children, she will go through school quite happily with them, and when she gets older she will have two brothers to take care of her should there be any difficulties."

It is probably true that the chances of rejection for this group of children are less than would have been the case at any other period in the history of New Zealand; then too, the term "rejection" is a relative one - most individuals suffer some rejection during their life-time, if not on racial grounds, then because of some personality factor which makes them unacceptable to others of their fellows. The families in which the children were placed were carefully chosen, and were
highly respected in the communities in which they live; the children will all have an opportunity of obtaining a good education, together with manner and "style of life" which would make them acceptable in most New Zealand groups; in all but race they will be New Zealanders.

In addition, New Zealand's increasing awareness of the importance of Asia in her future scheme of things has tended to induce a more tolerant attitude in the community; her need to find new markets has led to an increasing number of contacts with the peoples of Asian countries at all levels. In some cases this has resulted in a substantial diminution of prejudice, and a more neighbourly social climate towards the peoples of Asia than has previously been evident.
III. How would brothers and sisters in an already established family feel about a child of another race coming into their home? and How would a Chinese child feel towards siblings of another colour?

In two of the fifteen families under discussion, the Chinese child is at present the only child. Of the five families in which she is the youngest, three have children who are considerably older as well as some who have just started school; in the other seven families the Chinese child is the second youngest.

Parents seem to have been extremely keen about the prospective arrival of their adopted daughter, and they appear to have built up in the minds of their children a sense of excitement and pleasure concerning this big event in their lives. While the effect of this would be insufficient to ensure a feeling of continual goodwill toward the newcomer, there is evidence in the diaries that it did, in fact, carry over into the first rather difficult days of adjustment, when the small strangers were bewildered and tired after their journey, and thus needed extra attention from adopting parents. Such interest and goodwill on the part of older siblings is described by such entries as the following:—

"2nd Day. Was very bewildered, but our four older children had a line of ever ready knees and arms waiting to cuddle her."

Another family records, after four months:— "We had anti-
icipated a period of some months during which adjustment to this overwhelming change might have induced uncertainty and reserve. We are delighted to say that ... has accepted the new environment as if she had been used to it from birth. Many new things... and the attentions of big brothers... she welcomes with obvious enthusiasm... She has accepted, and been accepted by her new two year old brother as a playmate, and they do most things in common... and of course have occasional disputes over the possession of odd toys and treasures... they clearly enjoy each other's company. Her older brothers have shown enthusiasm and affection towards their new sister, while she and the youngest boy are almost inseparable."

One parent records that there is some evidence of jealousy, but not from the children already in the family. 
"... is still a little jealous if any of the youngsters is picked up and not her. She will wriggle in and try to oust whoever it is that is receiving attention - this is no matter by whom, when or where, one of the youngsters is picked up. She is gradually losing this trait, but we feel that it will be some time yet."

Another parent writes of a similar experience:—
"Our own little girl does not show much jealousy towards her - no more than between any two sisters, but ... seemed the more jealous of the two. However, she seems more settled now, and doesn't mind when her sister gets attention. I felt I had
to keep the matter straight from the beginning, and we do our best to keep things on a level basis between them."

The following series of entries from the one family is probably typical of happenings in some of the eight families to which this question especially applies, but all families have not written in such detail:

"June. For no apparent reason . . . has developed a hostility or jealousy towards Maria (an older child, aged six years, who will be referred to as 'Maria' for the sake of clarity, though this, of course, is a fictitious name) . . . insists on sitting or standing where Maria is sitting or standing, all the time using a cross voice and a scowling face, and pushing and pulling at her clothes to shift her. Most noticeable when Maria is talking to me, or playing with the baby.

June 12th. Still hostile. Maria taking it very well, but said to-day 'I'm tired of this, but suppose I have to put up with it.' We told her that if we were all patient she would stop it. I hope so, but my method of discouraging it does not seem to be bearing fruit - will keep trying and wait a little longer.

June 15th. Nothing new, the same towards Maria.

June 19th. Feelings improving - can't put my finger on the reason why she should be like this.

June 23rd. Definite improvement. Has had brithday party, looked in absolute awe from the candles to us, then with a big
smile, blew them out.
June 30th. Three cheers! . . . and Maria are on good terms again."

The diary entries of yet another family support the idea that the siblings in the families in which the Hong Kong children were placed have been enthusiastic about their new little sisters.

"May. Decided to speak severely to . . . today, to try to make her lie still while I changed her nappies. (This was one of the youngest children, aged approximately eleven months at the time of arrival.) There was almost a mutiny in the family! Her two brothers were in tears, and the eldest one was almost! They were all most upset that I should growl at their beloved sister. How I shall be able to discipline her at all when they are about, I do not know."

In conversation with the mother about four months afterwards the following conversation was reported. Mother, to one of the boys "How do you think our family managed to get the very nicest baby in all Hong Kong?" Brother, "Not in Hong Kong, in the world you mean Mum, in the world."

In a family where there is more than one adopted child, the mother writes of the long period of frustration which the Chinese child experienced immediately following her arrival; this the mother attributes to her inability to make herself understood. When the other children in this family tried to
speak to the stranger, or to befriend her in any way, they were met with a hostile stare. When after four months she had accepted the other children, the Chinese child showed resentment when they were all out visiting, because her brothers played with the children of their host, and she did not recover until they were all on their way home again, in spite of efforts on the part of the girls in the family to get her to play with them. Although the diary of this family is one of the most detailed, there is no mention at any time of the siblings being anything other than delighted with the newcomer, in spite of her frequent early tantrums. The following incident is typical of many reported; all names are fictitious:

"May 14th. Again Pamela has demanded, and received a lot of attention from John and Michael, crying loudly if things did not go her way. Michael, who is always willing to keep the peace, pushed Pamela up and down the drive in the perambulator for almost an hour; every time he stopped pushing, Pamela would scream, demanding to be pushed once more. I was busy washing and as Michael assured me that he was quite happy, I did not interfere. After a while things were getting beyond a joke, and I lifted Pamela, kicking and screaming, from the pram, put the pram away and gave her a smack on her bottom. She sobbed for about five minutes, then wandered off with the girls, playing happily for the rest of the day. I wish I had smacked her sooner! "
It was not until June, five months after her arrival in New Zealand, that this small girl would even acknowledge the greetings of two friendly Chinese girls whom she met every two or three days at the shops, and who had tried very hard to win her confidence. The mother reported that on the same day the child had greeted, though without smiles, one of John's teachers, a Sister, and had shown her an imaginary sore finger.

One of the most valuable contributions that a family makes to the lives of individuals who grow up in one is that of teaching children to give, as well as take - to share the affection and attention of parents, even the discipline when this is needed. While recognizing that adoptive parents and siblings will not always act in the best interests of the individual child - natural parents are by no means infallible, and even between "real" brothers and sisters there is sometimes deep and lasting animosity - it appears that there is a warm and accepting atmosphere in the homes of most of these Chinese children, which is created in part by the welcome given them by brothers and sisters already established in the family.

Evidence concerning the way a Chinese child will feel about siblings of another colour is not readily available in an investigation covering so short a period of time. So far, according to almost all of the diaries, (except the two in which there is only the Chinese child) the distinction of
being different has brought only favourable attention. One
diary reports "People are all very interested in her and when
we have visitors she is made much of, and thought rather cute... so much so, that we feel that she thinks our visitors come to see her, and she expects to be noticed."

Another parent writes that, very early, they had to explain to the other children in the family what "adopted" meant, because people in the street would stop and exclaim "So this is your little adopted daughter." The report continues "The only result of this, however, was that . . . was peeved for a few hours, because he hadn't come from Hong Kong!"

In one case only is there an incident recorded which indicates some realisation, on the part of the Chinese child, that a difference exists between herself and the siblings of her new family.

"March 24th. Is becoming aware that her skin is a different colour from that of others in the family; when being bathed with one of her small brothers who happens to have very fair hair and skin, . . . put up her foot to mother and said 'Clean please Mummy'. She was told that her foot, which had just been washed, was clean, and that what she saw was the colour of her skin."
Summary. If, as these little girls grow up, they experience discrimination and rejection because of skin colour, it is probable that they will resent being the odd one in their families. However, if they are made aware from the days of their earliest understanding that they are "chosen" children, if they know themselves to be supported and loved by their families, it appears that their chances of growing into self-respecting, confident adults are high.

As indicated earlier, a high proportion of these children will have contact with Chinese adults who are friends of their families; these contacts, and continuing relationships with others of the "orphans" who have come to New Zealand under this scheme, (eight of whom have already met with at least one of the other families) should provide sufficient support for these little girls who were brought here without their wishes being consulted, and who will grow up knowing New Zealand as their only home.

IV. How would New Zealand-European grandparents, and other relatives, react to a Chinese child?

Relationships with adults other than parents are always important to a child, in particular those with grandparents, and perhaps to a lesser extent, those with uncles and aunts. Sociologists and psychologists alike have noted that a child in
a "nuclear" family, living quite apart from either of his parents' relations, becomes dependent on the goodwill and support of only two adults; if this relationship with parents should be of a somewhat unstable kind - spasmodic in affection, rejecting or accepting according to the whim of the moment - the child is forced back on his own resources and he is likely to suffer from feelings of insecurity. The role of grandparents is therefore an important supporting one in the life of most children.

Eight of the fifteen families who have kept diaries have written of grandparents, or have spoken of them in conversation with the writer. Only one indicates that the maternal family "was not too happy about the idea, (of adopting a Chinese child) in case our other children encountered prejudice on her account. For themselves they were quite prepared to accept her, and indeed have done so. She is a great favourite with her paternal grandfather, partly because she is his only granddaughter, and she made the most of the attention he gave her." In this family also, of an aunt (sister of the mother) who came to visit, it is reported that the Chinese child "took a dislike" to her. Could this be mutual?

In one other instance a maternal grandmother is reported in conversation as being "not too happy" about the adoption, "though whether it is because she is Chinese, or because it is another child", is not known. In the diary of this same family
there is the entry: "Gets on well with paternal grandparents... who are usually visited every Friday night after tea. Quite at home with maternal grandmother, who came for a week's holiday. Not shy with a great-aunt, and kissed her great-grandmother without prompting."

Although the conversation was reported in May, the doubt about the adoption had been expressed before the arrival of the Chinese child, while the entry in the diary had been made in March, after the maternal grandmother had actually met the little girl, so that it is possible that the doubt in her mind did concern the wisdom of adopting another child, irrespective of race.

As recorded earlier, in one of the families where a baby was born during the year the little Chinese granddaughter, together with her sister, went to stay at the house of a grandmother while the mother of the family was in the hospital. Evidently this visit of sixteen days, preceded as it was by two shorter ones, was a very happy time for all concerned.

The writer visited one home during the time in which grandparents were staying there, from another town, and so had the opportunity of observing their interest. It is hard to imagine their showing more interest had the new granddaughter been born into their son's home. The maternal sister of the mother in this home is reported to be much loved by the Chinese child, in contrast to the above account, where the
Chinese child "took a dislike" to the maternal aunt.

An adopting mother whose parents live in England wrote to her family to say that they were thinking of adopting a Chinese refugee child from Hong Kong. Her mother replied that such a child was "truly worthy of love"; this family plans to take their children to visit the grandparents in a few years time.

There is less mention of uncles and aunts in diaries than of grandparents, though one mother writes "We made a visit to my husband's uncle and aunt, and later we received a letter and a gift for . . . , saying how pleased they were about it all."

Conversation with a Chinese social worker from Hong Kong who had come to New Zealand as escort with a later group of children revealed the inexperience of the orphan children in family relationships. She spoke of older children, aged four and six years, but her remarks apply to any of these children. In the orphanages the children tend to call any friendly adult "uncle" or "aunt", sometimes without regard to sex; this had been the writer's experience in Hong Kong also. On hearing that the children whom she had brought to New Zealand just two nights before "had met their grandparents", this highly competent and well-trained social worker was disturbed because she had failed to explain this new relationship to her young charges, which therefore they had encountered before they
understood it.

Summary. As far as it has been possible to discover, grandparents have accepted the idea of a grandchild of another race with considerable interest and pleasure. Ultimately the continuing interest of grandparents which would grow into real affection and acceptance will probably depend on the adjustment and continuing acceptance of the parents themselves. If for any reason the developing relationship between parents and child suffers a reverse, it might influence adversely the attitudes of grandparents.

V. Would neighbours allow their children to play with a Chinese child, or would their attitudes be such that they could seriously affect the success of the adoption?

Reports from parents and from Child Welfare Officers contain no mention of unfavourable incidents which would imply resentment among neighbours, concerning the arrival of the Chinese children in their various homes and neighbourhoods.

Diaries expressed surprise at the warmth of the interest shown in their adopted Chinese daughters, and while enthusiasm may wear off after a time, the fact that first reactions were so friendly and welcoming would appear to indicate that there was no opposition to the idea of a Chinese child becoming part of a New Zealand family. The following two extracts come from
the same family - the first was written by the adoptive father after the child had been with the family for four weeks, while the second was written by the adoptive mother, after seven months.*

"In material possessions, clothes and toys, . . . has been more than adequately provided for, largely through the generosity of relatives, friends and neighbours, who have, without exception, taken a keen and sympathetic interest in her... Her clothes range from smart sun-suits and swimsuits to winter coats and woollen jerseys and cardigans. She has received a number of pretty little dresses and underwear sets."

"The reactions of other people when they have met . . . have varied considerably, but on the whole they have been very favourable. Most people have been interested and friendly, a few tending to regard her as a cute curiosity. Older people have shown more surprise when they realised we were adopting her permanently. There have been one or two families who have been rather reticent, which probably expresses disapproval, but others have shown their approval by generous gifts of clothing and toys. Several families have expressed a desire to have an orphan also." (In the wider kinship group of this family there was an early adoption of a Maori child already.)

* Although the period of study was supposed to be six months, as indicated earlier, sometimes parents' reports were delayed, owing to family circumstances.
The next extract from a diary supports the one above; it was written after the adopted child had been in New Zealand for eight months:-

"I have never found other people to have anything except favourable reactions to . . . All the neighbours are quite proud of her, even neighbours I have never spoken to before. People I meet in the local store are always interested in her, and enquire after her progress... On our rare trips to town I am sometimes embarassed by well-meaning shop assistants, or shoppers, who gather round and tend to overwhelm her... Everyone is interested in . . . and all seem delighted with her. No one has ever made an unfavourable remark in my hearing. The boys all adore her, in fact I wish they wouldn't fuss over her quite so much, but it is hard to stop them - she loves their company, but gets most excited when Dad appears. All in all she has brought the greatest joy and happiness to all of us." The Child Welfare Officer reports "There have been no adverse reactions from the people with whom the family associates, and there is no doubt about her acceptance by other members of the community."

From a smaller city the writer of the following comments also indicates a reasonably favourable atmosphere:-

"You ask of the general attitude of people and children towards . . .: this appears to be very good... I am told by my mother that some of her non-church-going friends have
doubted the wisdom of our taking a Chinese child into the family, and they have predicted that one of the boys will probably marry her when they grow up. My reply to this is that all of the children will receive as good an education as they are capable of, (absorbing) that the colour of the person does not count, that the type of person does, and if we do succeed in bringing her up to be a nice respectable person, then the boys could probably do a lot worse... For the present ... has a home and parents, and that is all that counts."

A father writes "In general we have come across no colour prejudice at all. Maori friends have expressed in their inimitable way, warm-hearted delight. The small local Chinese community were equally delighted, including one childless couple who were, at that time, initiating steps to adopt a child of their own... Our prior adoption, when we have children of our own... did not cause the least displeasure. While a few people may have had misgivings, we have had no direct evidence of racial prejudice. A fairly common European reaction was, to our surprise, one of guilt, that they had not done something earlier." This family lives in one of the smaller centres.

From a busy town which is surrounded by a large farming community a mother writes:-

"We don't think there is any antagonism to the idea of a
Chinese child in our family - if there is it is well hidden; she has been accepted just like a child born into a family by our relatives. Friends and neighbours seem to accept her for herself too. One couple we know thinks we are "mad", they told us so, not because . . . is Chinese, but because in their opinion we have added "another burden" to our family. Talk about muddled values!"

In conversation with the writer, this mother gleefully told a story of how, within three months after arrival little . . . was rocking rather wildly on the rocking horse. A visiting neighbour, watching her, remarked that her skill on the horse was only to be expected, because "all your children have been good rockers, haven't they?" The mother felt that the neighbour's overlooking, even temporarily, the fact that the little girl had not, in fact, been born into the family, was evidence that she was really accepted by neighbours as if she had indeed been a "natural" daughter of the family.

Of the child placed in the Chinese family there is no report which would indicate disapproval, but this is not surprising, as resentment, if any, in neighbours or community would in this case be directed against the family as a whole. For a European, asking questions in this area of human relationships raises difficulties.

Though not perhaps explicitly, eight of the diary letters indicate that their Chinese child has been accepted into the
community; e.g., there is always a neighbour ready to mind the child if the mother has to go shopping, or visit the dentist, etc., while remarks similar to the following indicate acceptance: "Ours is a suburban neighbourhood, and she moves freely from house to house with a group of children (about five in number) of her age who live about here. She is accepted by all around, as far as I can tell."

The observations of one other family are perhaps noteworthy, and relevant, and they are recorded in some detail. This family lives in a small township, surrounded by a large rural area. When considering their application for one of the "Hong Kong Orphans" the parents consulted their older children, warning them of what others might say; however, the mother continues:

"We needn't have worried. There may have been things said about . . . , but we haven't heard them. Everybody just seems to have accepted her as ' . . . 's baby'. There are several Chinese people living within an area of from four to six miles, and they are just part of the community... The neighbours have been wonderful... Two elderly ladies, one 70 and one 80, gave me material to make her a dressing gown... I feel that . . . is really loved for herself, she is a lovely child, and is so natural and friendly... it would be a hard heart that wouldn't respond. As one elderly lady said to me, 'I'm sure you got the nicest and prettiest baby'... I doubt if
many of the people round here worry much about what the other fellow does, so long as it doesn't affect them. Some of them give me the impression that they feel quite proud that (place name) was considered suitable to be given one of these children."

And after seven months "For myself, I find the hardest part is to believe that she isn't my own baby by birth."

The latter comment is irrelevant from the point of view of community acceptance, but it indicates great satisfaction on the part of the parents, and if the community attitude had been one of marked animosity, it is unlikely that such satisfaction would have been evident. Taken with another comment from the last report from this family it is perhaps significant. It reads:-

"You ask how we feel after having . . . for seven months. Perhaps our feelings are best described by telling you that we are trying very hard to get another of these children... I have not noticed any less attention to . . . but there is now a different approach - folk are interested in her as our baby, not so much as a little foreigner. Perhaps we are lucky in the local approach to this kind of thing. A middle-aged white couple recently adopted two part-Maori children, a friend of my husband's has a coloured child, a Dutch couple also have a coloured child, and so on. They just seem to be accepted."
Summary. In spite of the generally favourable social climate indicated in these reports, it is inevitable that this group of Chinese children will receive some slights as they grow and develop - and that some of them will receive more of the rough edge of community attitudes than will others, because of personality difficulties and general adjustment problems, etc., just as some European children (and adults too) seem to invite more persecution and ridicule than others do. However, there is little evidence that community attitudes are such that they will adversely affect the success of the adoption of these children into New Zealand homes.

But what are the standards by which one can assess a "successful" adoption? As Bowlby points out, no adequate study seems to have been made. One investigation into the circumstances of 50 children in New York, after the children had reached the age of four years, disclosed only six cases of parents whose attitudes were unfavourable. 9 "But these figures are not enough upon which to make a final judgement. If we are really to understand them we must take into account such matters as the age at which children were adopted, and the standards of success of investigators. They should be compared with a similar study of children cared for by their

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own parents. Judged by the latter standard... the proportions of successful to unsuccessful adoptions does not seem unsatisfactory. This agrees with the experience of child guidance clinics, who do not have an undue proportion of adopted children brought to them. From these meagre facts it may be supposed that in skilled hands adoption can give a child nearly as good a chance of a happy home life as that of the child brought up in his own home." As far as can be ascertained after six months of study, it would seem that in the "skilled hands" of the adoption agencies in Hong Kong and New Zealand, these children have been placed in homes where their adjustment problems will be given careful and loving consideration, and where they will have a good chance of a happy home life.
VI. Will the Chinese children from Hong Kong be accepted by their New Zealand-European classmates and teachers?

In the section of the study which took place in five schools there were three distinct and separate aspects.

(i) Observation. This took place in the Primer departments of the schools in the sample which had Chinese (or in one case, Indian) children on their rolls.

(ii) Teachers' Views. These were expressed in answers to an informal but uniform list of ten questions; space was provided for name of child, age, etc., for comments concerning social adjustment, educational status, and also for general remarks. (See Appendix D)

(iii) Questionnaires. Designed to test the attitudes of European children to the Chinese minority in their classes, these were arranged so that it was unlikely that the children would detect this. The fact that twenty-one names were "judged", and that names of Chinese children were scattered at random among these, further helped to obscure the main aims of the study.
(i) Observation

(a) Conditions. In the Primer department of four of the five schools under consideration there were younger children belonging to the same racial group as those studied in the older classes, i.e., Indian children in one, and Chinese children in three of the other schools. As discussed earlier, children in Primer departments were observed during the hours of morning school, as owing to winter conditions, playground observation was not possible. The one exception to this was that of the rural school; here the writer had opportunity of speaking with many of the children, and afterwards of observing them at play from a classroom, the windows of which were raised some six feet above the level of the playground; this factor prevented many of the children from being aware of observation.

(b) Results. In Primer Departments of all schools visited, the children of the group under consideration appeared to be well integrated. As in the older classes, Chinese (and Indian) children were a small minority in the classes of the city and suburban schools.

The Chinese and Indian children were, without exception, neatly and warmly clad; it was noticeable in some cases that their dresses (in the case of girls) were worn at a slightly longer length than were the dresses of their European classmates. The children appeared to be absorbed in their work, and all teachers commented that these children were keen to learn,
and that they posed no disciplinary problems. In common with the European children, they appeared to accept the presence of the writer with indifference, supposing her to be perhaps an assistant teacher; two small Chinese boys asked help with their drawings. This, when given, was criticised as lacking in some essentials "for that kind of plane"!

View of teachers at this level were sought in informal conversations - these revealed opinions on certain points.

(a) Below the age of Standard I teachers feel that children appear to have very little awareness of differences in skin colour - this made for the ready acceptance of all children in the class.

(b) One factor mitigating against acceptance was that of language. If Chinese children came from homes in which English was not spoken, they started school with a severe handicap. They could neither communicate their needs, nor understand the expressed desires of the majority of the class, including also the directions of the teacher. One teacher considered the language factor to be responsible for one Chinese child's frequent failure to get to the toilet "in time to prevent an accident."

(c) Difficulties of language sometimes led to withdrawal from friendly contacts with the rest of the class; in some cases this attitude was carried over into the upper schools, by which time there was an increasing awareness of differences in appearance, skin colour, etc.
One teacher had observed an interesting facet of behaviour, over a period of some years; she had six Chinese children in her current class (of approximately 25), all of whom she described as hardworking, intelligent, (one Chinese child was well ahead of all other children in that class) obedient and likeable. She had noticed no signs of cleavage in her classroom, but further observation in the playground had led her to the conviction that if no adult appeared to be present, (she had been able to watch the children without their being aware of her observation) in the event of the slightest altercation, the Chinese children immediately formed into a group. In reply to a question, the teacher said she "had not noticed" whether the European children had acted in like manner. This observation would be regarded as rather typical behaviour in any minority group of older subjects, but it is of interest that it was observable at such an early age, when awareness of differences appears to be lacking.

Teachers all commented on the good behaviour of their Chinese and Indian pupils; there was no criticism of their attitudes to any school activities.

The Rural School.

There were only 78 children on the entire roll of this rural school, 35 of whom were Chinese; fourteen of these were in the Primer Department.
Although irrelevant from the point of view of the survey, it was noticeable that all the children in this school were considerably better dressed than were many in the city schools visited; Chinese and European children alike were warmly clad, and jerseys, cardigans, etc., appeared to be in a better state of repair than had been the clothes of many of the children in the city schools. Opportunity occurred for the writer to note the contents of many lunch boxes, and these appeared very adequate, containing packets of sandwiches, something sweet (cake or biscuit) and usually fruit. The absence of a local fish and chip shop may have accounted for this in some measure.

The small numbers in the entire school, plus the fact that almost half of the school population was Chinese, may have accounted in some measure for the integration which appeared to have taken place in the playground. During the time occupied by the eating of lunch, children tended to sit more in racial groups, but as a teacher pointed out, there were families of children in this school, and older brothers and sisters appeared to be responsible, in some cases at least, for handing out packets of lunch to their younger siblings. As soon as lunch was over, however, every "team" kicking or throwing a ball was made up of children of both races; every piece of climbing equipment in the playground was being used by both Chinese and European children, and everywhere there were mixed groups chasing and being chased.
(ii) Teachers' Views.

The questions presented to teachers gave them opportunity to express their opinions in three different areas:

i. The Chinese child's academic ability, as compared with that of the rest of the class.

ii. Their view on how the Chinese children were regarded by the rest of the class - acceptance or rejection.

iii. Their own comments on each Chinese child, under the headings, General Adjustment, Educational Status, Conduct, and General Remarks.

(a) Academic Ability. Of the 48 Chinese children in the entire sample, 16, or one third, are reported under the heading "Ability" as "average", and two as "Very good in Arithmetic, a little weak in English". One of the children listed as "average" under "Educational Status" is stated to be "lazier than his sister" under "Ability".

Half of the 48 Chinese children (24) are stated by their teachers to be "In the top bracket" of "Very good", or "Very neat worker" under the heading "Ability", while six children, or one-eighth, are rated as "6th out of 8 in class", or "in bottom group of a good group of eleven", or "in bottom three of eleven". Of this group of six children, five are from the rural school, (where teachers spoke of the difficulties experienced by many of the children, owing to the fact that English was not the language used in the home.) The
sixth child is in Standard I in a city school, who knew very little English also. Of him, under "General Remarks" the teacher wrote "In need of, and benefits from, special help, particularly in reading. Could not speak much English on entrance to school and still has difficulty in expressing himself. An affectionate child."

Summary.

Although these results appear to indicate a favourable situation as regards the academic ability of this sample group of 48 children, they must be interpreted with some caution, for the following reasons:—

i. Twenty-one of the 48 Chinese children (43.75 per cent) were in a rural school where total numbers in classes were small; presumably academic competition would be less keen than in larger classes in city areas.

ii. Although all children in all classes in the rural school were rated by the headmaster—who certainly knew every child by name, as well as something of the family circumstances—other ratings were made by 13 different class teachers. Standards from school to school are known to differ widely, as are those from teacher to teacher in the same school, so it is unlikely that a firm conclusion can be drawn from the comments of fourteen different teachers.

iii. In assessing the results of teachers' questionnaires, the assumption is made that all teachers are equally well-
informed about their pupils. It is also assumed that they approve the questions, and desire to answer them truthfully, without "covering up" their real opinions in order to make them socially acceptable.

(b) Teachers' Views on the acceptance or Rejection of Chinese children, by their classmates. Among other questions, the following four were asked of teachers, concerning the Chinese children, or child, in the class:

i. Do other children accept him as one of themselves?
ii. Choose him as a companion?
iii. Do other children tell tales on him?
iv. Do other children "pick on" a Chinese child?

In reply to question (i) regarding acceptance, one teacher admits "Only out of habit", and another "Yes, as regards colour"; concerning the other 46 children (i.e. 95.32 per cent) the word "Yes" is written. One teacher qualifies her statement by adding "Only a few", of the acceptance of the small, shy, almost entirely Chinese-speaking child mentioned previously.

In answer to question (ii) concerning choice as companion, one teacher wrote "Would if she would enter into games", another "Occasionally" and "Not very often", while one wrote "No", concerning the small boy already discussed. Of a fifth child the answer given was "Sometimes; usually plays with all the boys in the class". Concerning all the other children,
43 in number, (89.58 per cent of the class) the word "Yes" answers the query.

In 44 cases, (just under 92 per cent of all answers) teachers have simply written "Yes" "Yes" "No" "No" to the four questions listed, in that order; in two cases the words "Not usually" and "Very rarely" have been added to the questions concerning tale-bearing, (iii). One teacher admits "Sometimes", while another wrote "Seldom; they tend to protect her", replying to that same question.

No teacher countenances the idea that other children "pick on" the Chinese child, though two of the thirteen teachers in city schools commented "Not in upper classes" and "Not in this case", respectively.

Summary. In the large preponderance of "Yes, yes, no, no", answers to these four queries there would appear to be a strong element of social convention. These answers may be correct factual statements, but although the sample of 48 children is not a large one, it would seem likely that some of these would have personality defects which might cause some retaliatory actions. The answers to these questions, therefore, do not seem to be very informative.

(c) Teachers' Views as expressed concerning:-

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Social Adjustment:

In "Social Adjustment" there are spaces for comment on behaviour in playground, after school, in classroom, and other school activities. Here again, in 42 cases, Chinese children appear to have no problems, while some of the remarks concerning them indicate that, in the teacher's view, these children are making a real contribution to the life of the schools they attend. Of the six remaining children, four are judged to be "Very reserved", with little active participation as yet; one is described as having "Limited adjustment, because of very poor eyesight", and one child is described as "Noisy and pushing" in the playground, and as "Helpful, willing and cheerful" in the classroom.

Educational Status:

Answers concerning Educational Status correlate highly with the above comments under "Ability", though in two cases there is no comment on "Educational Status". One teacher writes "Quite capable, but very slow", while another adds "Retarded slightly".

Conduct:

In no case is there any complaint under "Conduct"; twenty-two of the children are rated "Excellent", while almost all the rest are "Good", "Very good", or some comment such as "A very well-behaved child". The lowest rating, "Fair to good", was given to one child only. In general it would
appear that these 48 children present very few behaviour problems, and that their conduct is rather more than usually acceptable to their teachers.

**General Remarks:**

Of nine children in 48 (almost 19 per cent) no comments are made under this heading. Seven of these are among the younger children in the rural school - two in Standard I, (where the children's English was very limited) three in Standard II, and two in Standard III. The other two of the nine both attend a city school, and are in the same class; one of these children received the rating "Good average ability" and "Upper middle group", while the other received "In top three" and "Top group".

One boy is described as "A day-dreamer" and of another child it is stated that she has language difficulties, and chooses to stand alone rather than to join in, unless pressed by others; of another girl her teacher has written "Has a good sense of humour, but is not dependable where work and concentration are necessary; eldest of five children".

Of two children, both in the same class, are made what appear to be somewhat biased and unnecessary comments; these do not, in fact, answer the questions asked. Of all the other children, 34 in number, teachers have written very favourable comments; e.g., "A most co-operative girl", "A very industrious worker" and "Comes from a family with a very good edu-
cational record - doctors, teachers, etc."

Summary. In spite of the differences in standards of judgement among teachers, it would seem that the Chinese children in these schools appear to have at least average ability, (though perhaps needing some language help) and that any initial weakness in particular subjects is likely to be overcome by their capacity for industry and hard work.

(iii) Questionnaires

As indicated earlier (See Critical Appraisal of Questionnaires) results of the first questionnaire were not included in the survey. Its shortness, and the ease with which it was possible to give a socially approved answer, the observed evidence of confusion in dealing with the Yes/No type of answer required - all of these factors combined made the results of this questionnaire too unreliable to be of value. (See Appendix D)

(a) Choices. Of the two questionnaires the results of which have been used, this one appeared to be the more popular with the children. This was attributed to the fact that the activities for which the children were asked to choose companions were those common to the experience of most children. Even here, however, some surprise answers appeared; e.g., one European girl, (in Form I in a city school) had written, in the
the space provided for her to write the name of her best friend, "I treat everybody alike". This child's work was neatly and precisely written, as well as being quickly finished - there was no obvious explanation of why she did not understand what she was required to do, or why, if she understood, she did not wish to write down the name of her best friend. This child was chosen as "best friend" by two other girls in a mixed class of 25 children, and it just may have been that she did not know which of these two girls to choose as "best friend".

Confronted with the task of choosing three companions for seven different pastimes, some children in every class asked if they could choose the same three children for every activity. When it was suggested that they would not necessarily wish to have an outing at the pictures with the same friends with whom they would enjoy a picnic, some children took this as an indication that they were expected to include the whole class in their choices. These factors perhaps mitigated against the chances of obtaining an accurate estimate of the choices of individual children, but it did not seem likely that it would materially affect the picture presented of the acceptance or rejection of the Chinese children, who, after all, were such a small proportion of the population in the city schools. Taking the city schools separately from the rural school, there were 23 Chinese and 3 Indian children, making a total of 26; (or 6.91 per cent of the total sample for the purposes of the
study) in the rural school there were 18 Chinese children, (Standard II to Form II) in the five classes which took part in the questionnaires, and these made up 43.90 per cent of the population. Results from the rural school will therefore be considered separately.

**GENERAL TREATMENT OF THE DATA**

(a) **Choices.** The total number of times each child was chosen, in response to any situation by any member of the class, was determined; this formed his **choice score.** All children were then ranked, according to decreasing size of score in each class.

To determine if the number of choices of Chinese children by their classmates differed significantly from the number of times European children were chosen, the chi-square technique was used.

A null hypothesis was postulated for the scores of each of the two questionnaires, i.e., (a) **Choices** and (b) **Judgements.** These were tested at the five per cent level.

The actual categorizing of ranks (see paragraph above) for application of a chi-square for frequency distribution presented problems, since categories must represent fairly stable groupings of ranks; i.e., small changes in scores should not cause large numbers of children to move into different categories.
For application of $\chi^2$ test to the present problem, ranks were grouped into three categories: Top quartile (0+ to 24 percentile rank), Middle half, (25+ to 74 percentile rank), and Bottom quartile, (75+ to 100 percentile).

This choice was influenced by the fact that observations showed that scores of children in the middle ranges clustered in the 45 to 55 percentile region, and that only small changes in their scores would have changed them from second to third quartiles, and vice versa. This instability did not occur at the 25 percentile and 75 percentile cut-off points. In fact a test of chi-square on a table in which the children were grouped into the four quartiles for the Choice score produced the following frequency range:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top quartile 1+ to 24 percentile rank</th>
<th>2nd quartile 25+ to 49 percentile rank</th>
<th>3rd quartile 50+ to 74 percentile rank</th>
<th>Bottom quartile 75 percentile rank to 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Po</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fe</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This gives a highly significant value of $\chi^2$ (beyond the one per cent level) of $\chi^2$ (with df = 3) of 13.692.

It is difficult to find any real meaning for the sort of divergence from the expected range shown in such a table. Moreover other groupings, such as into tertiles, all produced non-significant values of Chi-square. For the above reasons
then, it was deemed wisest to avoid any cut-off point in the crowded area of the range, hence the ultimate choice of three categories, with divisions into Top quartile, Middle half, and Bottom quartile, was selected as the most meaningful.

(b) **Judgements.** The limitations of this questionnaire concerning its length, resulting in possible fatigue on the part of the children, were discussed in an earlier chapter. Further, just as children in the same class were at different levels of mental age, there was evident a wide range of ability to think in the perhaps rather abstract terms required for the judgements of characteristics in classmates.

**TREATMENT OF "JUDGEMENTS" DATA**

Unfavourable judgements (indicated by a X) were subtracted from favourable judgements, (indicated by a ) made on each child assessed, forming a **judgement score.** (See Appendix D) Children were then ranked in order of decreasing size, (i.e., top child could be considered as the most favourable child). The Chinese children were then classified in the three categories described above, (as for Choice questionnaire) in which their rank on the judgement scale fell.

Chi-square value was then calculated to determine whether any deviations in distribution of the ranks were significant, or could be attributed to chance. This constitutes the test of
the Null hypothesis.

**CHOICE QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS**

**The Null Hypothesis.** That there is no difference in the distribution of ranking of Chinese and European children, on scores obtained in the Choice Questionnaires.

**Level of rejection postulated.** The Null hypothesis will be rejected at beyond the five per cent level of confidence.

**Choice Results:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top quartile 0 to 24 percentile rank</th>
<th>Middle half 25 to 74 percentile rank</th>
<th>Bottom quartile 75 to 100 percentile rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Po</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fe</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                                  | 7                                   | 6.5                                      |
|                                  | 26                                  | 26                                       |

\[
x^2 = \frac{(Po - Fe)^2}{Fe}
\]

\[
x^2 = 2.6153
\]

With 2 d.f. this is at approximately the 30 per cent level of confidence, that is, not significant at the 5 per cent level therefore rejected.

**Conclusion.** Any difference in the number of choices of Chinese children and European children could readily have occurred by chance, and the Null hypothesis cannot be rejected. It is concluded therefore that no difference is apparent.
Judgement Questionnaire Results:

The null hypothesis. That there is no difference in the distribution of ranking of Chinese and European children, on scores obtained in the Judgement Questionnaires.

Level of rejection postulated. The Null hypothesis will be rejected beyond the five per cent level of confidence.

Judgement Results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top quartile 0 to 24 percentile rank</th>
<th>Middle half 25 percentile rank to 74 percentile rank</th>
<th>Bottom quartile 75 to 100 percentile rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fo</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fe</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2$ with 2 d.f. = 1.2667

This value is well below the five per cent level of confidence, in fact at approximately the 50 per cent level, therefore not significant.

Conclusion. Any difference between judgements on Chinese children and the class in general could readily have occurred by chance, and the Null hypothesis cannot be rejected. It is thus concluded that no difference is apparent.
As indicated earlier, numbers in this school were too small for the results of questionnaires to be treated by statistical method. With a total roll of 78, 35 of whom were Chinese children, this school presents an entirely different picture from the city schools studied, with their large classes and small minority groups.

For purposes of this part of the survey, results from only 41 children were included, 16 of whom are Chinese, (43.9 per cent). The other 27 children were divided between the Primer Department and Standard I, or else were absent from school on the day of the test. Chinese children in Standard I were rated in the Teachers' Questionnaires but they were obviously quite unable to deal with even the simplest of the three questionnaires given to the children, owing to reading and comprehension difficulties.

The technique described for the city schools, therefore, could not be applied to results from this school, for either the "Choice" or the "Judgement" questionnaires, for the following reasons:-

i. The total number was too small to get a regular spread of frequency.

ii. Classes were so small that children had great difficulty in making, from their own class, the twenty-one choices requested; and related to this.
iii. Children in the older age groups tried to choose from their own class, but the younger children made most of their choices from outside their own classes; because of these factors results could not be compared with those from other schools.

iv. With the Chinese children representing half of most classes, choices could have remained in ethnic groupings and produced widespread selective rankings right across the scale. Therefore analysis of the scores has been by logical reasoning, after consideration of the answers to the questionnaires.

**Choices.** The five classes to which this questionnaire was administered yielded some interesting information.

Choice of European by Chinese child as "best friend" was rare, and choice of Chinese by European child as "best friend" was even less frequent.

In one class three Chinese children had chosen European children as "best friend", but choice was not mutual; in another class a Chinese boy had chosen a European girl as "best friend"; again choice was not mutual.

Two girls in a third class, one Chinese, one European, chose each other as "best friend", but they were the only two female members of that class.
Further, there was a tendency throughout all choices for the highest scores, i.e., the children chosen as companions for most activities, to be according to ethnic group. It is interesting to compare these results with those of the city schools, even though numbers are too small to be of statistical significance; of the 26 Chinese children scattered among the 376 children in the city school survey, 18 (69.23 per cent) chose a European child as "best friend"; these were not mutual choices. Of the 376 children, 13 European (or 3.23 per cent) chose Chinese children as "best friend", again not mutual choices. In addition, there were seven pairs of children, (3.72 per cent) (one Chinese and one European in each pair) whose choice of each other as "best friend" was mutual.

With one exception, in the rural school Chinese boys chose boys for all activities, even when it meant naming a boy from a much lower class, when classes were too small to allow the choice of a boy from his own class. There was a tendency for a few European boys to follow this pattern also, more than did the girls in the same classes.

Summary. In the rural school under consideration, where 43.9 per cent of the children are Chinese, it would seem that there is a tendency for children to choose as "best friend" a child from his own ethnic group. The high priority given to members of their own group is also evident in the frequency with which choices of companions for various activities are
chosen from the same group. This pattern of choice is supported by the choices in city schools also.

**J judgements.** In this questionnaire children were required to record their favourable or unfavourable judgements of each child in the class, (since classes were so small) on fourteen characteristics, by placing a tick ( ) or a cross (X) in the space provided. (See Appendix D) While overall results again have no statistical significance, some factors will be considered.

On the whole children appeared to judge rather generously on most characteristics; in some cases, however, a particular trait, irrespective of race, seemed to cause a negative reaction, so that a line of crosses appeared for everybody on that trait, across a page on which there had hitherto been mostly ticks. The tale-bearing characteristic assessed is an example of one of these; the one about "sticking up for friends" brought a line of crosses from other children, while on some questionnaires only those to do with being "a good leader" brought crosses.

There appeared also to be a certain amount of antagonism between boys and girls. In judging boys, boys tended often to give 14 ticks, the maximum number, while their judgements of girls were much less generous. This was noticeable to some extent in girls' judgements of boys, but not to such an extent.

In general, the differences in scores (calculated by
subtracting the number of crosses from the number of ticks) between Chinese children and European children was not significant. Some European children gained high scores, but on the other hand some of them gained very low scores; six of the Chinese children's scores were below the average for their classes, but in the same classes an equal number of European children were also below the class average.

In this school there is a large group of Chinese-speaking children; because of early language difficulty on first entering school, these children could form exclusive groups without there being an maladjustment to the European group. However, if this Chinese-speaking group persisted through the Primary school, it could be a significant factor in the future life of the school, and in the future lives of the children; it might even cause some maladjustment.

Summary. On the basis of the evidence produced by the questionnaires, as well as that founded on Observation and on Teachers' Opinions, it appears unlikely that Chinese children in New Zealand Primary Schools are receiving unfavourable or discriminatory treatment.

By the time that the "Hong Kong Orphans" reach school age, they will all be confident in the use of the English language, and while it is a matter for some regret that they will by that time, (except for the child in the Chinese family) probably have forgotten what they knew of the Chinese language,
this factor in itself will have the effect of breaking down barriers which tend to exist between individuals speaking different languages; though this same factor may perhaps raise barriers between the group of children and any Chinese-speaking people they meet, it will make easier their entry into the second phase of their life in New Zealand.

Further, their upbringing in European homes should help them to feel at ease in the homes of their New Zealand - European friends; this factor may also assist them to develop good social relations with all races.
VII. What kinds of careers will be open to these children later?

Careers

Is it likely that the "Hong Kong Orphans" will fill the same roles in the field of employment in New Zealand as have other Chinese girls who have been born here, into Chinese families? It is manifestly impossible to forejudge this issue, but some opinions may be offered. These opinions are based on conversations and correspondence with those who have given this matter some thought, and who are familiar, to some extent, with the choice of careers made by New Zealand Chinese girls; teachers, Vocational Guidance officers, a Chinese doctor, two Chinese mothers, and a young Chinese student are among those interviewed, while letters have been exchanged with a Chinese minister of religion who is in charge of a Mission.

As far as it has been possible to ascertain, most occupations appear to be open to Chinese in New Zealand, at least in theory, though one vocational guidance officer contended that, though this would not be admitted, it would be a very exceptional Chinese indeed who would be accepted for training in a Bank. Both of the vocational officers interviewed
maintained that Chinese children seldom come to them for help in deciding on which career to follow.

Teachers, vocational guidance officers and the Chinese minister of religion claim that quite a high proportion of New Zealand Chinese girls start work in businesses owned by their family or by relations, but no figures are available to support this.

Interviews with two mothers, sisters both of whom have sons, indicate that both trades and professions are open to those who desire to enter them; before marriage they had themselves worked in offices. The two sons of one of these mothers had become, one, a carpenter, (apprenticed and fully qualified) and the other an A Grade mechanic who was just starting in his own business. Both of these boys were reported to be doing well; e.g., buying their own homes and cars, etc. The son of the other sister (cousin of the two boys) had become a highly qualified secondary school teacher; he is reported to receive many commendatory letters of thanks from parents, both European and Chinese, and appears to hold a position of some prestige in the community.

Another interview took place with a Chinese doctor, who most patiently and politely answered a long series of questions. He expressed the view that the position of Chinese in New Zealand had improved markedly over the last ten or fifteen years, because of a changed social climate. He said
that he knew several Chinese doctors, all of whom had more patients, both European and Chinese, than they could easily manage.

On the other hand, an interview which took place between a Chinese man and one of the adopting mothers, (and was reported by her) who was a friend of long standing, presents a different picture. He had taken a keen interest in the little daughter from Hong Kong, and one day the mother asked him why he had not applied for one of the children. He replied that he felt that a Chinese child would have a better chance in a European home in New Zealand than she would have in a Chinese one - he had been in the country himself since he was a very young child, "but after forty years I am still a foreigner." It is not known if this man had been to university, but he had completed a course at a well known High School. One wonders if the reticence shown by those interviewed by the writer had perhaps broken down, in the case of this man, because he spoke with a long-known and trusted friend.

The Chinese minister of religion claims that "most" New Zealand Chinese girls of to-day go to work in offices; this statement was supported by the student interviewed, who qualified his reply to a question about the kind of work the majority of Chinese girls do, by saying that the bright ones mostly go into offices, after studying a Commercial course in secondary school, while those who were "not so bright" did a
Homecraft course, after which they worked at dressmaking or tailoring, soon starting their own business. Chinese prefer to own their own business than to be employed by somebody else.

A further statement of the minister, also in reply to a (written) question, is that there are very few Chinese girls who train as either nurses or teachers, and that "a few" work in factories. The doctor said that in one city there are two factories in which all employees are Chinese.

Teachers, interviewed concerning Chinese pupils in Primary schools, indicated that many of the Chinese children do extremely well at arithmetic at that level, but that their English is weak, and that this limits, to some extent, their choice of career. The children from Hong Kong, brought up in European homes, would not be expected to have a language handicap by the time they reach school age, and even the child in the Chinese home has parents who speak English fluently; if any of these girls are also "good at arithmetic" it might be possible for them to study the more scientific subjects, and perhaps teach these at secondary school level.

Certain it is, that at least in some of the adopting families, the only outward limits placed on the Hong Kong children's receiving any kind of training they choose will be either those of their own ability, or perhaps, their inclinations, and capacity for hard work. Although the financial
ability to provide training is not equal in all families, parents have indicated in various ways their intention of making available the best education their Chinese daughter is capable of accepting. And of course, to some extent, the kind and length of academic training these Hong Kong children receive will depend on environmental pressures. ¹ "Many a boy or girl drops out of school at the first opportunity, not for lack of academic ability, or for failure to meet the school's requirements, but for failure to gain acceptance into the peer group." European children have an influence here, as have the teachers, who teach both Chinese and European children, and help to mould the attitudes of all. ² "Since prejudice is learned, it can be modified, or such learning can be prevented." The role of the teacher and of the school in helping to ease inter-racial tensions cannot be too strongly emphasised, since most of the attitudes which create these are formed during the school years. It is beyond all reasonable doubt that the careers chosen by the Chinese who will have grown up in New Zealand homes will be greatly influenced by the attitudes of their peers and of the teachers in the schools they attend.

However, in New Zealand, perhaps more than in any country in the "western" world, choices of careers are mostly determined by the wishes of the individual. With our system of free education to university entrance, followed by an allowance for those who gain a Higher School Certificate, (which pays for at least some books as well as all fees) as well as liberal scholarships which pay for training in certain professions, there are opportunities for all. Although there is a relationship between ability, social class and education, New Zealand's customary state of full employment makes it possible for students in training to find lucrative work during the long vacations, so that even those whose parents cannot afford to help them financially are not debarred from training for the profession of their choice. In addition, when training is completed, almost any position is open to the individual who has the qualifications required. In spite of this, Fong claims that there are Chinese graduates in New Zealand who are unable to find skilled employment, and who, therefore, are compelled to work in the family business, sometimes as fruiterers.

While it appears that the Chinese, in common with other racial minorities, are not so numerous in our universities as

3 R.J. Havighurst and B.L. Neugarten, op.cit. p. 126.
4 "Chinese Immigration in New Zealand", Ng Bickleen Fong, Hong Kong University Press, 1959, Oxford University Press, p. 47.
they should be in proportion to their actual numbers in the population, the reasons which discourage the majority of these groups should not apply in the case of this first group of "Hong Kong children". If discrimination or prejudice has forced Chinese graduates to work as market gardeners, and prevented them from making the contribution to our society of which they are capable, we can only hope that by the time the small Hong Kong girls reach the age when they will choose a career that we shall have gained an ability to visualize... in ideology and verbalization, but even more in policy and activity, a plural society in which the "otherness" of a different cultural group is accepted as a matter of course."

Summary. Ultimately the kind of careers which will be chosen by the girls who have come from Hong Kong into New Zealand-European homes will probably depend, more than on any other single factor, on the education and training they receive, and this, in turn, will depend very largely on the support and encouragement they receive in the adopting homes.

5 "Race Relations in New Zealand: A Review of the Literature", R.H.T. Thompson, 1963. Quoted from pre-publication manuscript.
VIII. What chances of marriage will these girls have later? Are they likely to marry into Chinese families, or into New Zealand-European families?

What will be the possibilities of marriage for this group of Chinese girls when they reach marriageable age? Fourteen of the fifteen children studied will almost inevitably have become Europeanized in their habits and outlook, and will have developed characteristics which would not have been theirs had they remained in Hong Kong. 6 "Differences in opportunity are reflected in personality traits, and personality traits condition opportunity. The effects are cumulative. In the long run, differences in character and training, due to differential opportunity, may be so important and persistent as to seem due to differences in biological heredity."

The circumstances of the child placed in the Chinese family differ greatly from those of the other fourteen children. She will have grown up in a family of her own race, supported by the wider kinship group of both parents. In a Europeanized society she will be a member of a Chinese community, and her contacts with other young Chinese will probably be similar to those of any New Zealand-born Chinese. She will be Chinese-speaking, as well as fluent in the English language; her place in her family will be like that of a daughter in any

Chinese-New Zealand family. Her marriage, if and when it takes place, will probably be more influenced by parental advice than is common in the case of European families, where the emphasis is on freedom of choice and romantic love.

For the other fourteen girls the problem of a marriage partnership is likely to be a more complicated one. Eight of the families who have contributed to the diaries have indicated that they have some Chinese friends or acquaintances, and three of these have already specifically stated that they intend to have their daughters taught the Chinese language, so that they will be able to understand more about Chinese culture. The contacts they already have, together with those they will surely make through the years of childhood and adolescence, should enable the girls from Hong Kong to meet sufficient young people of their own race so that they will have at least some opportunities of marriage with a member of their own racial group. With the current Chinese population in New Zealand of approximately 7,000, the proposed entry of the whole 50 Hong Kong girls should not markedly affect the balance of males and females overall.

One of the issues which will probably exercise the minds of all parents of the Hong Kong children is whether their daughters will marry into Chinese or European families; this, for the girls depends to some extent on opportunity, for in this area of human relationships choice still lies with the
male member of the partnership. By living in a particular district, by the schools they attend, the churches in which they worship, (if any) by the encouragement of one family, the rejection of another, parents control, to some extent, the interactions of their families with the community; these factors influence strongly, even in a society where freedom of choice in marriage is widely advocated and largely adhered to, the selection of marriage partners. However, in spite of these influences, one writer claims that in a free society, 7 "the (marriage) outcome is determined by the accidents affecting contacts, and by personal preference. . . . . where people are free, their personal preferences frequently lead to marriage across race lines". (Underlining not in the original.)

Whether the European habits and culture absorbed by these girls will make them appear desirable as wives in the eyes of European males is a matter of conjecture only. Whether the same influences will make them appear un-desirable in the eyes of Chinese men and their families is also unknown. As children these little girls are so attractive in appearance that they give promise of being beautiful young women - this also will have its influence.

For these Hong Kong girls, marriage into either Chinese or European families will have some difficulties - but few

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mariages are **completely** free of problems. If they marry into Chinese families the difficulties they face will more likely be in the area of cultural differences; e.g., different evaluation and attitudes to females in general, different relationships between members of the wider family group, and different attitudes of husband to wife, and vice versa. Also, personality traits, which are largely the result of living in a certain kind of home with a particular family, often cause conflict between husband and wife, even when both are of the same race and general background - this factor could be a significant one where race is the same, but where cultural background is widely dis-similar. Evidence in support of this is available on every side. Although written of Hawaii, the following applies almost equally well to the children from Hong Kong who now live in European homes in New Zealand:

> "Participating intimately in the social life of two peoples, they are, to use Dr. Park's term, 'marginal men'. They are marginal not only with respect to their position in relation to two peoples and two cultures, but also in respect of their personality traits. Owing loyalty to two peoples and two more or less conflicting organizations of custom and standard, the marginal man does not yield full allegiance to either."

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If they marry into European families the problems of these girls will be of another order. Culturally there should be very little more difficulty than would be the case between any two people reared in the same country, but the problems attendant on inter-racial marriages in New Zealand are still great, though less than would be the case in at least some other countries. Conversation with a Chinese doctor, and also with a Chinese, as well as a Ceylonese, student confirms the fact that other races are no more desirous of obtaining a "white" son-in-law or daughter-in-law than are European parents of gaining a dark-skinned in-law. This factor is often overlooked, but it means that any young couple in a mixed marriage has an uphill fight to win approval from both families, with little psychological support from either. They are thus thrown back on their own resources at a stage when they need to feel part of a family. If neither of the parents accept the marriage, the loneliness of the situation in which the young couple find themselves can cause all kinds of difficulties, especially when a child is born. With regard to the children under discussion, it is probable that the adopting families would be more likely to support their Chinese daughters in a racially mixed marriage, than would European parents of a European daughter — but this again is a subjective opinion.

If the children who have been the subject of this thesis had remained in Hong Kong, what would have been their chances
of marriage there? Since their chances of adoption there have been shown to be very slight indeed, it can be assumed that they would have been moved from orphanage to orphanage, according to their age group, until they reached the limit of the time during which they could remain in the care of the homes. In this case eighteen years is the limit, after which they would have been offered a job, usually in an institution, so that there is no accommodation problem. Social workers and matrons of the homes do their best to keep in touch with children who have been in their care, but this is not easy under the circumstances. Experience of social workers in various parts of the world has been that girls who have been in institutions all their lives are so starved for affection and warm human relationships that they become an easy victim for the first unscrupulous man with whom they come into contact - pregnancy follows, and the whole vicious circle of abandonment and institutional care starts again for yet another child.

Summary. The children from Hong Kong will probably have many problems of adjustment to meet in New Zealand. Even parents with the best and most loving intentions will fail to meet their needs adequately in every respect, while the love and support of siblings will fluctuate also. Community attitudes may not always be kind, and the "colour bar" is still operative at various levels throughout this land. Yet even
with these disadvantages, the Hong Kong children will surely have a better chance of a stable marriage here than would have been their lot had they not been permitted to come here, and to live in New Zealand-European homes.

Among the advantages will be the following factors:

a. They will have been reared in a family, by a mother and father, (instead of in an institution) and will have received many of the psychological benefits which come from this.

b. Their physical environment will have been improved in every aspect — food, clothing, shelter, possessions, health prospects, all are better here.

c. All will have had as good an education as they show evidence of being able to accept — in some of the families the highest opportunities in this field will be open to them.

d. Background culture and general training will be such as would be likely to build up an adequate self-picture, so that with confidence they will be able to enter any New Zealand family.
The specific problems which are part of the period of first adjustment of the Hong Kong children to their new homes are complex, and have been dealt with in some detail in Chapter VII.

The general objectives of the study, to discover how far orphan children, of a race other than European, would, if adopted into New Zealand European homes, be likely to adjust to and benefit from, a permanent life in New Zealand, may now be considered briefly in relation to answers received to questions raised in the thesis.

I a. What was the effect of the journey on the behaviour of the Hong Kong Orphans during their first few weeks in New Zealand?

An overwhelming majority of parents report that their adopted daughters were very disturbed by the journey from Hong Kong, and the arrival in New Zealand. Clinging behaviour was very marked, and five of the parents note that their little girl "slept with her eyes partly open."

b. What was the reaction of the Chinese children to New Zealand food?

The children all seemed to enjoy New Zealand food from the beginning, though some preferences were shown for soft foods, this probably depending to some extent on the age of
the child. There was some evidence to suggest that the children were experiencing some psychological satisfaction from eating large meals.

c. How did the health and general development of the Hong Kong children compare with that of New Zealand children?

The general health of the children appeared to be very good, but they were smaller than average New Zealand children of the same age, according to Plunket standards. Their arrival in New Zealand was followed by a rapid increase in weight and height.

d. How did the Hong Kong children adjust to life in a small family, after being accustomed to living in an institution?

Apart from some initial upsets, the majority of the children seem to have made the changeover from institution life to the life in a small family with a minimum of unhappiness; though there have been some difficulties, there is little to support the theory that these were due to a preference on the part of the child for life in an institution.

e. Did the Chinese children have great difficulty in learning to speak English?

The lack of ability to speak English, or to understand it was a major handicap to the older members of this group of children, and this seemed to cause some frustration and
misunderstanding. Nevertheless there seemed to be no difficulty in communicating with other children, even from the beginning. Although slightly retarded in speech development at first, compared with New Zealand children of the same age, (probably owing to confusion between the two languages) it seems likely that all the children within a year, and some of them in much less time, will speak in such a manner that there will be no discernible difference between Hong Kong and New Zealand-born children.

f. What effect did the arrival, or "discovery" of a new baby have on the adjustment of the adopted child?

Of the two cases in which the arrival of a baby is reported a few months after the adoption of the Hong Kong child, both diaries report complete acceptance of, and pleasure in, the new baby; two other children both appeared to "discover" the baby very soon after arrival. The diary of one family reports "quite strong, but normal jealousy", which with wise handling, was happily transformed into a "helping" attitude. The other child is described as being very possessive with the baby's toys and generally acting as if resentful.

II a. Do New Zealand parents find parental satisfaction in adopting a Chinese child?

With the exceptions noted in Chapter VII New Zealand parents do seem to find satisfaction in their adoption of a Chinese child. Two families have indicated their desire to
adopt another child from Hong Kong should one become available.

b. Did parents resent the publicity occasioned by their adoption of a Chinese child?

In general, although the initial publicity given to the arrival of the orphans was a little embarrassing, and in retrospect was seen as a disadvantage to adoptive families and arriving Hong Kong children, it helped to make the situation clear from the beginning in the eyes of friends and neighbours. It had the further considerable advantage of arousing the interest of the Chinese community in New Zealand, and in several cases has been the means of breaking down barriers between the adopting families and local Chinese families. (This pattern has been repeated in connection with the later, older, group of children also.)

c. Would adopting parents be able to provide the kind of homes which would support and succour the Chinese children should they meet rejection later on?

Future assessment concerning any family can be only a tentative one, but the fact that the adopting parents seem to be providing a loving and secure home for the orphans now is the surest indication of their interest in the future welfare, emotional as well as physical, of their Chinese daughters. No parents, "natural" or substitute, can provide complete protection from all hurt for their children. The most a family can do is to build up in them a sense of their own worth as a
person, while striving to inculcate those fundamental values which will help them to make an acceptable contribution to any community in which they may live, thus making the chances of rejection less likely; and if rejection comes, to provide a place to which they can turn in time of need, knowing themselves acceptable to, and loved by, an affectionate family.

III. How would brothers and sisters feel about a child of another race coming into their home? And how would a Chinese child feel towards siblings of a different colour?

In two of the homes there were no other children than the Chinese child, and in four of the others, siblings were all at school, therefore some years older than the new arrival, and probably less likely to resent the newcomer, in that she did not so much trespass on their world. In eight homes, diaries record the information that there has been little or no resentment of the Chinese child among the already established families, but that the newcomer to the home has shown signs of what appeared to be jealousy, e.g., hostility, resentment, against one or other of the siblings. In one home only it is recorded that a brother does not seem over-fond of the Chinese child, nor she of him, but there were unusual circumstances here, as recorded in Chapter VII.

In general, siblings appear to have enjoyed the arrival and continued presence, of the Chinese children in their
families, and there is evidence, in some families at least, that parents have stressed their own good fortune, and that of their children, in being given one of these "Hong Kong Orphans".

IV. How would New Zealand-European grandparents and other relatives react to a Chinese child?

Grandparents seem to have accepted the idea of a Chinese grandchild with considerable pleasure; there is less evidence in diaries concerning the reactions of other relatives, e.g., aunts, but where these are mentioned, in all but one case they are reported to have accepted the child with affection. It is probable that attitudes and adjustments of wider kinship groups do, at present, and will in future, reflect, to some extent, attitudes which become apparent in the developing relationship between the adopted Chinese child and the immediate adopting family.

V. Would neighbours allow their children to associate with the Chinese child, or would their attitudes be such that they could seriously affect the success of the adoption?

A generally favourable climate among neighbours and in the community seems to be evident from diaries and Child Welfare Division reports. It is likely, however, that this will depend to some extent on personality factors in the individuals concerned, as well as on the continuing attitudes of the
families in which the children have been placed. If these families continue to feel, and show, affection and pride in the development of their Hong Kong daughters, their friends and neighbours are likely to reflect their attitudes, at least to some extent. This should provide "a neighbourhood in which discipline and acceptance meet the child's outgoing inclinations."

The Schools.

VI. Will the Chinese children from Hong Kong be accepted by their New Zealand-European classmates and teachers?

As revealed by interviews, observation and questionnaires, there is little evidence that Chinese children at present in our Primary schools are rejected by either classmates or teachers, or that they are receiving discriminatory treatment, to any significant degree. However, remarks of teachers concerning individual children, (both in conversation and in written answers to questions) appear to suggest that, in a very small number of cases, the Chinese child is not regarded as objectively as he would be if he were a European, though it is recognized that this could be because of individual personality difficulties of the children and teachers concerned.

It would seem that these Chinese children, who will have been reared in European homes will have an even greater chance
of receiving favourable treatment, in that they will not have the disadvantages of poor language ability which is common to some of the Chinese children at present in our schools. Also, they will be familiar with European customs and will understand the kind of behaviour expected of them; this should make their acceptance even more assured.

Careers.

VII. What kinds of careers will be open to these children later?

More than on any other single factor, it seems that the careers chosen by the girls from Hong Kong will depend on the influences which surround them, and the encouragement they receive in their homes, together with the education and training they have the ability to take. There is little evidence to support the theory that they will be debarred from entering any profession of their choosing, though reports of some Chinese adults indicate some unhappy experiences in this regard.

Marriage Partners.

VIII. What will be the chances of marriage for the girls from Hong Kong? Are they likely to marry into Chinese families, or into New Zealand-European families?

It appears that the chances of making a stable marriage are somewhat better for the girls from Hong Kong in New
Zealand than would have been the case had they not come here. Life in an institution is not always the best preparation for marriage and home-making, in addition to which opportunities for meeting young men under the guidance of a family are usually greater than those available to those unsupported by families. No adequate opinion can be offered as to whether these particular girls will marry across racial lines, if they should marry into New Zealand-European families, or across cultural lines, should they marry into Chinese families. In any case it would appear that their chances of adjustment to either situation have been greatly enhanced by their coming to New Zealand. While this has been accompanied by some disadvantages from many points of view, their life here will provide the children with greater opportunities in every area of human development and relationship than would have been their lot had they remained in Hong Kong. This suggests that their adoption into the homes of New Zealand-Europeans will have been decidedly in their favour, but a word of warning must be added here.

These opinions must be, of necessity, of a somewhat subjective nature, and in addition they apply to a very small and special group of children, after they will have spent many years in European homes. These children were all very young at the time of their adoption – the families in which they were placed were very carefully chosen, and the children came
into the country when the social climate was more favourable than it has been at any other time for almost one hundred years. If for any reason community attitudes should change, the circumstances of these children might be very different, though those who have known them personally are unlikely to be affected by changes. It is possible, however, that by their very presence in fifty New Zealand-European homes, they may themselves help to shape community attitudes, and bring the racial equality, of which we so proudly boast, nearer to reality.

SUMMARY OF OBJECTIVES

The main aims of this thesis were to discover (a) whether the orphan children from Hong Kong would have a chance, in New Zealand-European homes, to experience the love and security which is the need of every child, and (b) how they would be received later, when that first winsomeness of all small children had passed, into the wider areas of community life in this country.

To discover the answer to the first of these two main enquiries, certain questions were asked. These concerned (a) the children's problems of adjustment, emotional and physical, attendant on their arrival in New Zealand and their entry into New Zealand-European homes, and (b) the difficulties
of parents and siblings during the same period. (c) In an
effort to answer the question as to the later acceptance of
the children in the community, an enquiry was conducted among
school children and their teachers, in schools which had
Chinese children already on their rolls.

CONCLUSIONS.

(1) According to the diary letters (which were the main
source of information concerning the first two parts of the
investigation) and to the Reports of Child Welfare Officers,
there was every indication that the first welcome accorded
the children from Hong Kong would develop into family
affection of a permanent nature. Problem areas were recog-
nized, for parents and children, but as one father wrote
"There will be problems in the future with her, as there will
be with our own children ... for this is life." This seemed
to be the attitude of almost all parents, even if not
explicitly expressed. Quotations from diaries and from Child
Welfare Officers' Reports support this, and are dealt with in
Chapter VII.

(2) The question concerning acceptance in the wider
community, as typified by the Primary school, was investi-
gated by means of questionnaires administered to approximately
475 children and their teachers, by interviews with teachers,
and by observation in Primer Departments of schools.

On the basis of evidence from questionnaires, interviews, and observations, Chinese children at present in New Zealand Primary Schools did not appear to be rejected, nor to be experiencing discriminatory treatment.

Concerning the first part of the conclusions it must be remembered that this group of children is only 30 per cent of the 50 children expected to come to New Zealand under this particular scheme. They were a much publicised and popular group of children, very appealing in the loneliness of their circumstances. In addition, the eldest child was only three years old, while the majority of the others were under two years old; these factors should help them to adjust to life in New Zealand, without some of the problems which might be present in adoptions of older children. Then too, adopting parents of this particular group of children received that credit which is accorded to those who pioneer a cause recognized as worthy throughout New Zealand.

In short, this first group of fifteen Hong Kong Orphans was unique in so many ways that any conclusions reached regarding them could scarcely apply to any other group.
RECOMMENDATIONS

There are three kinds of recommendation which arise from this study: (1) on possible extension of this kind of research, and (2) on methods of easing the transition period in adoptions, and (3) on methods of easing inter-racial relations. While the last may appear to have little to do with the "Hong Kong Orphans", far-seeing people are aware of the need for some positive thinking and action in New Zealand if we are to avoid, in the next few decades, some of the inter-racial strife and anguish which is causing so much havoc in so many parts of the world.

Research

(1) One of the factors which has become clear throughout this investigation is that the length of time of the study was too short from the point of view of reaching any definite conclusions. It would therefore seem desirable (a) that a further study should be undertaken, after the children have been in New Zealand for five years, and (b) that any further work undertaken, on either these children or on any of the remaining thirty-five of the fifty orphans whose families would cooperate, should extend over a period of at least one year. (As indicated in Chapter IV it was recommended by the Child Welfare Division that this study should not continue longer than six months approximately, the usual time required to
finalise an adoption.)

Adoption Procedures

(2) a. That all adoptive parents should be given some kind of briefing on the kind and amount of disturbed behaviour which is likely to show itself as a result of the upheaval which is involved, for a child, in such a complete change of environment as that which the Hong Kong children experienced on coming to New Zealand-European homes. Although the adoptive parents of these children are too scattered to permit classes (such as those reported in a recent issue of the "Press" as being held by the Canadian Children's Aid Society in London, Ontario, for both parents,) it would have been of great benefit had adoptive parents of the Hong Kong group received some intimation, by letter, or in interview with Child Welfare Division Officers, of what might be expected from the children during the first few weeks of insecurity.*

* One of the older more recently arriving children was taken with her adoptive family and siblings to the home of friends, four days after her arrival. Except for a few tears on the first night, she had appeared happy, in spite of the fact that she spoke no English. She seemed to enjoy the visit, but when they all returned to the now familiar house, the Chinese child rushed inside first, and ran with much excitement through all the rooms, exclaiming happily all the time. Her excitement was so marked and her delight so prolonged that the parents could only conclude that their little Chinese daughter hadn't really expected to come back - she had not known what was happening when she was taken on a visit, or where she would eventually find herself. This kind of confusion results in a...
(2) b. It would be extremely advantageous if all older orphans chosen for Inter-Country adoption could be taught at least a few words of the language of the adoptive parents, before they leave the country of origin. If children knew the basic words which could communicate their more urgent needs for food, drink, toilet, or sleep, these would provide the older ones with a feeling that they could handle the situations which would arise before they had had time to learn to speak adequately. This would prevent much discomfort, and help to break down the feelings of extreme isolation which must assail the orphans during the first weeks after arrival in a strange country.

(2) c. Evidence from diaries suggests that in the best interests of adoptive parents and their natural children, as well as being strongly in favour of the adopted child, that there should not be a very young baby in the home at the time of arrival of the adopted child; further, that an orphan

sense of insecurity at its maximum; it is not surprising if, in younger children, this produced behaviour which parents found troublesome.

Another family was upset by seemingly inexplicable behaviour on the part of the adopted child, again one of the older children. She demanded all of the adopting father's attention, so much so that the other two children in the family simply could not go near him. Finally this behaviour had to be checked very firmly, which made the mother feel very guilty and rather unhappy. Had they known that this has been a very common pattern of behaviour among the orphans it would have saved them much worry and concern.
should not be placed in a home where a new baby is expected within three months.

**Inter-racial Relations**

(3) a. That History and Social Studies syllabi in all New Zealand schools be revised to the point where such outmoded references as "The Indian Mutiny" and "The Boxer Rebellion" be dropped, in favour of a more accurate and realistic approach to these historic occurrences, from the point of view of the countries concerned. Such references as these, (and the fact that even New Zealand History is not taught from the point of view of the indigenous people) imply blame on the part of the countries studied, and convey attitudes of enmity and contempt for the non-white children in our classrooms.

Writers such as Michael Banton (in "White and Coloured") and E.R. Braithwaite (in his Christchurch lectures) referring to problems of non-white children and adults in Britain, alike stress the place that the education system ought to take in this regard. Banton, in support of his views, referring to a study by the Political and Economic Planning Association, quotes ¹"The level of ignorance described in this inquiry

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remains as a standing reproach to the British educational system."

(3) b. That in Teachers' Colleges emphasis should be placed on the importance of the teacher's role in creating respect for, and understanding of, the cultures and civilizations from which non-white children come. Although written about the Maori-pakeha relationship, the following applies equally to all other races. 2"(In New Zealand) It simply appears difficult for people to live together and take differences of colour and culture for granted. Such differences are a constant source of anxiety... The reluctance to accept the distinctive heritage of others living in New Zealand as having a positive value may complicate any role that the Dominion may hope to play in Asia and the Pacific."

(3) c. That where school rolls are made up of mixed races teachers recognize the need at all levels for extra curricula activities which give a positive lead in easing race relations. For too long our notorious New Zealand indifference has encouraged a policy of laissez-faire in regard to race relations. Writers everywhere are recognizing the need for a more positive approach to the problems of a multi-racial society. For example, Buchanan writes, "Experience

elsewhere in the world shows that it is in the cities that the problems of race relations appear in their sharpest form. Such problems arise chiefly from ignorance and neglect of the social situation, from failure to plan intelligently for the needs of a diversity of ethnic or cultural groups. We in New Zealand can avoid these problems by recognizing them in an early stage, and by sensitive planning which takes account of, even cherishes, the human diversity of our cities. Given an awareness of the issues involved, we can avoid the Notting Hill or Little Rock type of situation, and demonstrate, even more effectively than we perhaps do at present, how peoples of many cultures may live together, not merely without tension, but with mutual enrichment of our everyday life."
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APPENDIX A

A STATEMENT OF SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES OF METHOD IN THE PARTICULAR AREAS ASSESSED BY THE STUDY

Study of Orphans and their Families. In this study of very young children in their adoptive homes, some of the difficulties encountered are inherent in the nature of the enquiry. The methods of gathering information were limited also; those used were:- (i) diary-letters of parents, and answers to questions, (ii) reports of officers of the Child Welfare Division, (iii) where possible, visits by, and interviews with the writer.

The Diaries. Only in the first replies did one-third of the writers of diaries attempt to answer the questions as listed on the cyclostyled circular sent out to all fifteen adoptive parents, (see Appendix B) while one-fifth of adopting mothers stated definitely that they had no time to keep up such a detailed study as that requested. The other seven parents wrote ordinary day by day accounts of the progress of their new Chinese daughters, and towards the end of their "story" some included a few headings, e.g., "Sleep", "Toilet training". That particular form of questioning sheet was used in the hope that it might produce uniformity of material. However, owing to the diversity and wide variation of the parents' experience in writing reports, together with the difficulties.
of parental introspection, there could scarcely have been less similarity in the accounts received. In fact, in presentation, length of report, amount of detail supplied, objectivity, these diaries were so different that the task of collating and analysing the material presented difficulties of no mean order.

In addition, the fact that the writers of the diaries were emotionally involved was very evident, (especially when mothers had kept the records) and it was inevitable that there should be some glossing over of difficulties. On the other hand, many parents admitted incidents which they probably wished had not occurred - evidence of their willingness to be as objective as they knew how to be, even at the cost of some "loss of face". The difficulties, for the writer, of dealing with intimate details of family life, of treating confidential information objectively, were enormous, and the responsibility of preserving anonymity in recording data from the diaries has been a heavy one.

Reports of the Child Welfare Division. Valuable as these Reports have been throughout this study, in common with every other report they are based on somebody's "definition of the situation". Officers themselves are aware of this weakness. Also, unless requested otherwise, their visits to homes are made at regular intervals, almost always by appointment. Therefore at the time of their visit, to some extent the stage is set, and parents, in common with most other individuals,
like to create the best impression possible on the mind of an observer. The value of the visit, therefore, depends on the skill and training of the interviewer, enabling her to see below the apparently smooth surface to possible trouble spots beneath. The difficulties here can scarcely be overestimated. On the basis of answers to her questions regarding the welfare of an adopted child, and on her general impressions, she makes her report, returning again perhaps a month later, sometimes three months later, to make a further report.

All of the above applies equally to the writer's visits to homes. In studies of this kind there can never be scientifically "controlled situations" where variables can be manipulated at will, and hypotheses tested.

**Limited Period of the Study.** Ideally a study of this nature should be a continuing one, or else perhaps, be repeated at five year intervals until the children have reached the age of twenty; by that time any maladjustment should be clearly visible. Only thus could more adequate information be provided concerning the years of adolescence, choice of career, and general acceptance as a person in the community. The expressed recommendation of the Child Welfare Division that the study of the children be limited to a period of approximately six months, together with an obligation on the part of the writer to complete a thesis within a limited time, have made further research impossible at this stage.
This small group of orphan children, with their adopting parents, were a very special, much publicised and popularised band of people. There was a great deal of real interest shown by the public, as well as some curiosity - this had certainly not abated entirely at the end of six months, or even of eight months, which was the time after which many of the diaries were completed. Inevitably this would have an effect on the type of diary produced by parents; just as inevitably it had its effect on the adopted children also. Comments such as "Loves to be the centre of attention," and "She has received a lot of attention, and now thinks that visitors have come to see her," are sprinkled liberally through letters from parents. In time this kind of thing may cause jealousy among siblings, and resentment on the part of parents, but this scarcely had time to become evident in the six months under review.

Size of Sample. Because of the small number of children in the sample, no statistical assessments have been possible - even percentages of fifteen become faintly unrealistic, though these have been used sometimes. Nevertheless a great deal of interest has been shown, by different kinds of people, in the sort of information it has been possible to gather; also, at the time of the study, it was the entire population of those children who had come into New Zealand under this particular Government scheme.
Method in the Schools.

Observation, used in Primer Departments of Primary schools. This might have produced more tangible results had it been possible to observe each class over a lengthy period of time. The difficulties attendant on "sitting in" on classes during school hours are many; even here, to some extent, the stage is set because of the presence of an outsider, and behaviour of children and teacher is influenced by this. If situations can be structured, direct observation is valid, for that situation, but evidence of validity in real life is often difficult to assess. As indicated earlier, because of weather conditions little inter-action in the playground was observed. Added to this was the fact reported by teachers, that after school hours, Chinese children tend to return home, instead of playing in the school grounds.

The possibility of home visiting was considered as a method of getting information about the problems faced by Chinese children in Primary school, but because of possible resentment on the part of Chinese parents, this policy was not pursued. Difficulties for a European in this area are obvious; the very nature of the enquiry, largely to discover whether Chinese children had problems caused by rejection in the school community, could, unless handled with great delicacy and skill, do a great deal of harm. Added to this there were the difficulties of inter-personal communication, accompanied in many cases by English-language limitations on the part of
parents, and total ignorance of the Chinese language on the part of the interviewer.

The use of Projective Type tests was also considered, but here again the problems appeared insurmountable. Results of these are most valid when they are used as individual tests, and this takes a very large number of hours; also problems of venue and time loomed large, since they would have had to be administered after school hours, as taking Chinese children out of classrooms would immediately have drawn attention to the fact that the enquiry concerned them, while to give the tests to all of the children in a class would have been out of the question. Most important of all, the makers of Projective Type Tests, such as the Rorschach and Murray's Thematic Apperception Test, insist that the administration of these needs a specially trained person, and that the analysis and interpretation of results, as well as being very lengthy, is even more the work of a highly trained expert. 1"One to two years of study were considered necessary to learn the test", and 2"Before a tester can score Rorschach responses he must have studied the test and practised analysis of records under supervision". The investigator had no such training.

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2 Ibid, p. 437.
Also, in spite of precautions which may be taken, to some extent the experimenter tends to do with the subject's story what the subject does with the stimulus picture, i.e., project his own views. Even the most highly trained experts cannot be entirely free of this.

Questionnaires. As indicated in the section under "Critical Appraisal of Questionnaires", there were many pitfalls in this part of the enquiry which did not show themselves until the questionnaires were in process of administration. Ideally a pilot test of questions should have been made, but as already pointed out, the Chinese population available was limited, and the disadvantages of giving the questions twice to the same group of children would probably have outweighed the advantages gained by improving the tool.

In addition, questionnaires tend to shed light on the immediate situation, to express how the child feels at that moment, rather than to show any long-term stability of attitude. It is assumed also that the subject is willing to give truthful answers, and also that he has, in fact, the ability and knowledge to make the required judgements. That this is not the true situation is clearly evident from comparison of results of children of approximately the same age, in the same class.

Rating and Attitude Scales were considered as methods of gauging the social climate towards Chinese children in New Zealand schools, but the area of race relations is such a
tricky one in so many parts of the world to-day that this was considered unwise. Further, the social convention in New Zealand on this subject is so clearly laid down that attitude scales would probably have yielded little valid information. This was plainly illustrated in the responses of teachers to direct questions, even when, in theory, they were assessing the children's attitudes towards Chinese. It is worthy of note also, that when Head-masters were approached initially for permission to administer the questionnaires, and were shown copies of the proposed sets of questions, they all made comments to the effect that they would not mind those questions being used, but that if the questions had been more directly and obviously concerned with the Chinese children, they said they would have objected, on the grounds that the questionnaires, by pointing up difficulties, might create the very difficulties they were designed to assess.

Conversations with Adult Chinese. Chinese social workers, on brief visits to New Zealand, discussing this study expressed regret that the writer had not experienced more numerous, and deeper, contacts with Chinese adults living here. While this would have been decidedly advantageous, the difficulties of arranging to meet people to serve one's own ulterior purposes are patently obvious - even the most insensitive could be excused for resentment - and under those circumstances it is doubtful if information
gathered would have been reliable or valid.

The advantages of a Chinese doing an investigation of this kind would be many, more particularly in the sections on Career-choice and Marriage. However, it is also probable that a European investigator had advantages in the enquiry into the adjustment and development of the Chinese infants in New Zealand homes, (except in the case of the child in the Chinese family) so perhaps these factors would balance in the long run. By the time it is possible to investigate the actual problems of these fifteen children, in contrast with the theoretical ones discussed in this study, it is possible that there may be a Chinese student who is desirous of doing research in this field, in which case racial affinity should provide the "Open Sesame" for gathering all kinds of valuable information.

For a European, the difficulties of enquiring closely into whether or not particular Chinese have met prejudice and discrimination, at the hands of other Europeans, in their choice of a career are numerous. Those interviewed were so unfailingly polite. The information given may have presented the true picture - one certainly hopes so.

It is possible that with a European friend of longer standing the Chinese people interviewed might have spoken with less reticence, and in that case they may have been more critical of the whole situation.
Summary. Consideration of the methods and tools employed in this enquiry reveal that the diary letters could not have been other than subjective - but they were the only source of information available. An objective view of the questionnaires reveals various weaknesses also - of non-specificity, of providing information concerning only fleeting attitudes, of lack of a pilot scheme. Some of these weaknesses were inherent in the very nature of the problem - that of a European trying to gather information concerning a minority group, with only a limited population available on which to work, and in a culture where any form of racial discrimination is indignantly refuted.
APPENDIX B

CIRCULAR LETTERS TO PARENTS

I

"9th February, 1963

I am writing to ask your help and co-operation in securing as accurate a record as possible of the progress made by the babies from Hong Kong. Such a record, it is hoped, would help those who, in the future, have to make arrangements for other such babies.

I have been asked to prepare this record (as part of a thesis for an M.A. degree) by Professor H.E. Field, Professor of Education at Canterbury University. Mr. J.R. Gaynor of the Migration Committee of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the National Council of Churches, and the Child Welfare Department, have approved of this study. I have given an undertaking in writing to the Child Welfare Department that I will treat as confidential all information of a private nature given to me.

On February 10th I am making a short trip overseas, during the course of which I shall visit Hong Kong, and see the general environment, as well as the Homes, from which these children have been brought to New Zealand. Unfortunately, because of the short time available between the decision to undertake this study and my departure for Hong Kong, it has not been possible to prepare a detailed plan of the investigation. Nevertheless, because time is such a crucial factor I feel that it is important to ask you at this stage if you would be prepared to share information about your new baby with me. If so, could you please begin to keep a written record of the development of your child, beginning from today (on the understanding that your confidence will be fully respected, and that no information about any child will be traceable to any particular family).
It may be possible for me to visit some of you during the year, but as I have a home and family of my own, this will depend to some extent on accessibility and circumstances. A mother sees more of a child's development than anybody else, so that I would be most grateful for your assistance in this study. The more detailed and comprehensive the record, the more use it will, of course, be. I realise that it is very difficult to observe and note the many facets of child behaviour which are relevant, therefore I am attaching a rough guide as to how you might keep a diary of the child's progress, and the things you might look for. Perhaps in the diary of progress you might include an account of the baby's development since she arrived in New Zealand - this would be most valuable.

Enclosed is a stamped addressed envelope for your initial reply. I will write to you again early in March, when I return from Hong Kong.

With all best wishes,"

II

"FORM OF THE DIARY"

It is easiest to use a manilla folder with loose sheets. Leave a space on the left margin to note date and time. Some observations may be quite specific, e.g., 'cried for 2 minutes when put to bed (6 pm)'; other observations may be general, e.g., 'noticed that she seemed to be very excited after visiting. . . .'

CONTENT

Some of the things that you may be able to note and which could be of value are:-

Amount of noise and vocalisation; when by herself, and
when responding to adults.
'Alertness'; i.e., how the child notices things around it -
its general awareness.
Dependency; e.g., amount of 'clinging' behaviour; situations
where the child seems unusually dependent on adult
support; ways in which the child shows dependence.
Reaction to separations; e.g., being left by herself;
confidence with other adults when mother is not
present.
Amount and type of attention-getting behaviour; in what
situations and in what ways does she demand attention.
Aggression or hostility; any behaviour which shows anger,
attack, hate, etc.
Affection; ease of showing love and affection; response
to affection from adults; ways of showing affection.
Withdrawal; situations in which the child seems to with-
draw from normal relationships.
Reaction to other children; own family, and other children.
Play; types of, and duration of.
Crying; amount of, and causes of.
Reactions to frustration.
General physical development; ailments, teething, etc.
Times of sleeping and waking; disturbances in sleep,
difficulties in settling down to sleep.
Management of toilet training; specific difficulties.
Management of feeding; specific difficulties.
Amount and type of bodily activity (e.g., some children
are lethargic in their movements, others always on
the move, or restless, others quick and jerky; some
want to move themselves, others to be carried, etc.);
general level of energy is another way of measuring
bodily activity.
TYPE OF OBSERVATION

Your observations should be as factual and specific as possible, but you may be able to add general statements describing the situation out of which a particular piece of behaviour arose, and any causes of this behaviour, or your interpretation of it. In general, anything which you think is worth recording should be written down, even although it may seem trivial at the time."
APPENDIX C

EXTRACTS FROM DIARIES

The following extracts from the diaries of adoptive parents have been selected for inclusion in some detail partly to show the kind of resource material available to the writer, and partly to preserve them, in view of their own intrinsic interest and value. For these reasons the writer would have preferred to include all diaries in their entirety, had space permitted.

All names are fictitious, and every effort has been made to ensure complete anonymity.

The first extensive extract was chosen because, while not typical, it shows how a rather disturbed and unhappy little girl was won with great sensitivity and loving skill. The other three were chosen almost at random from the fifteen diaries.
MARJORIE

3rd January 1963

To-day we met Marjorie. I don't know why, (I am usually the weepy type) but I didn't - as most of the other women did - cry. My arms had been aching to hold her for some months. - she was here - She was mine, or I should say ours, and that was that. I know, and expect, that the first few days, perhaps months, won't be easy. Time alone will tell.

She was very hot and sticky and sat very still with tears in her eyes, clutching her doll and a little story book. We stopped to buy ice cream and while Jim was in the shop I took off her very warm dress. She let me do this but dropped her doll. I handed it back to her but she thrust it away. The rest of the journey passed without incident and we got home as quickly as possible.

We saw to her needs (toilet, etc.) and she cried when she dropped her book, shouting "Book! Book!" The meal, a Chinese one, was already prepared so we all quickly sat down at the table. Poor Marjorie looked very bewildered when she saw her spoon and fork, but after looking at the other children she very quickly began to eat, and accepted a second helping. She ate up every scrap.

After the meal she started to cry, and cry and cry. I knew she was in need of a bath but I decided against it. I could see that the strangeness of the place and our faces had her terrified. She was very tired, in fact exhausted. We tried putting her to bed in Jean's and Mary's rooms, but her screams upset the other children so Jim sat and nursed her to sleep. When she was asleep, he attempted to move her into the front bedroom but she woke up and started to cry, so the only thing to do was for Jim to lie on the bed with her. After
about half an hour she was asleep, still clutching her book and Jim was able to creep out.

Poor little darling how can we ever know what is going on in her little mind, and how long is it going to take her to find out that we love her?

4th January 1963

Marjorie woke at 4:30 a.m. She was crying. I went into her but at the sight of me her cries grew louder. Jim came on the scene and she quietened down a little, so he took her into his bed with him. They both slept until about 7 o'clock.

Jim has attended to most of her needs, but gradually she is letting me do one or two things for her. She is still hanging on to her little book. The children have handed her most of their toys which she snatches from them. I notice that she has a good smell at everything she is given. Her first reaction when she is playing with the toys and she hears any of the other children approaching, is to quickly gather the toys to her and get ready to do battle.

She follows Jim and myself about quite a bit but from time to time goes off into our bedroom and watches herself in the mirror, making all sorts of odd faces. I happened to be in the room with her the first time she caught sight of herself: immediately her hand went up to strike, she hit her hand rather hard, and then touched the mirror once or twice. What was going on in her little mind I could not tell as her expression did not change. She only makes the faces when she is by herself: once she catches sight of anyone her expression becomes quite hostile and she raises her hand to strike.

The children are being very attentive and affectionate with Marjorie but she answers this with open hostility, and screams for anything they have in their hands. On these occasions I usually sit her on my knee. I sometimes get one
or two slaps from her until she quietens down, afterwards she will trot around with me holding her hand until something else upsets her then we have the same scene over again.

I took her out into the garden but she very definitely doesn't like the feel of grass. She lifted her feet high above the ground and screamed until I picked her up. I am having no bother so far as the toilet goes. She always comes to me holding herself and whimpering - so far no accidents.

Marjorie eats everything that is given to her at meal times and appears to enjoy her food; sits nicely at the table, and wipes her mouth with her serviette.

Bath time - bed time. I received a good few kicks from Marjorie when I started to undress her for the bath, and of course she screamed. She refused to sit down in the bath, but let me wash, but not dry her; this she did herself with a show of independence. Good girl! hasn't lost her spirit. The screams were loud, hard and long when she realized it was bedtime. Jim lay on the bed with her until she slept. She woke several times during the night but this time I myself was able to quieten her. Poor little soul, she is so terrified she sleeps with her eyes half open.

5th January 1963

Marjorie woke up crying about 5.00 a.m. after a very restless night. I put her in with Daddy and she slept off and on until 7 o'clock.

She is not too happy in the company of the other children but likes Daddy and I both to be near. We made an attempt to get her into the car but she was very suspicious and wouldn't get in.

We all went to the river in the afternoon but Marjorie wasn't too keen on the water, sitting as far away as she could without being too far away from Daddy. After much persuasion
I got her to throw stones into the water, but found she didn't like getting her hands dirty. Each stone had to be wiped clean first. I don't know whether or not she enjoyed this as the expression on her face didn't change. She watched the other children splashing about without appearing to be impressed nor did she make any attempt to go near the water.

Again she cried at bedtime but Jim stayed with her until she slept.

8th January 1963

Marjorie will cry for anything she wants and won't let me out of her sight.

I needed some shopping so, after much persuasion and perhaps a little fear of being left alone, I managed to get Marjorie into the car. She wasn't at all happy, standing up on the seat, she appeared very frightened. Getting into the shops created quite a problem. Marjorie screamed when I attempted to get out of the car but wasn't prepared to go into the shops with me. Luckily a friend came to my rescue, doing my shopping for me while I consoled Marjorie. On the drive home she appeared to relax, so taking advantage of this I drove up and down the Main Street for about fifteen minutes. On reaching home I found, much to my amusement, that Marjorie didn't want to get out of the car, and sat rocking backwards and forwards in an attempt to start the car moving.

Same scene at bedtime.

9th January 1963

Rather a difficult day. Marjorie cried for about twenty minutes after Daddy went off to work. I want to give her a sense of security before I do any chastising, but I find that there are some things I can't, for her own good, let her do, such as:- trying to bite the cat's tail, switching on the oven and playing with electric switches. I have tried to distract
her from doing these things but she won't be put off, so, it's a case of shaking my head and saying a very firm "No, no, Marjorie". At this she will throw herself on the floor and scream with frustration, kicking out at me when she can, after a couple of minutes she allows me to sit her on my knee to be comforted. I have one of these scenes every half hour.

She was all smiles when Daddy got home from work. Same scene at bedtime.

11th January 1963

Marjorie awoke crying but cheered up later on, following me about and chatting away in Chinese (I think). I managed to get her to have a mid-morning nap, the first she has had since she has been with us. After lunch I had some baking to do. I had a very difficult time keeping Marjorie away from the hot oven. Eventually she did burn herself, and cried bitterly. For some reason she appeared to blame me for the burn and wasn't too friendly when I attempted to comfort her, but I was deeply touched when later I went to get the cake out of the oven, she threw herself against me, pushing and pulling me away from the hot oven. This she did each time I opened the oven door.

Marjorie cried on going to bed, and this time I stayed with her.

12th January 1963

Marjorie woke very early but slept again with Daddy until about 7:30. Very wet day so we have spent most of the day indoors. Marjorie has had a very happy day with Daddy following him wherever he goes, still not too keen on playing with the other children.

It was taken for granted at bedtime that Daddy would go too. No tears this time.
13th January 1963

I attempted to put Marjorie in with the girls at bedtime but her tears were loud and strong, so back to the single room with Daddy in attendance.

14th January 1963

Marjorie again wept on finding Daddy missing but just for about five minutes. She spent about an hour playing with her piece of material and following me about whilst I got on with my housework. The children tried to persuade her to play outside with them, but she screamed, pushing them away and hitting Jean in the face when she tried to comfort her.

I put her down for a nap and she slept for an hour, but woke up screaming and appeared quite cross.

After lunch I took all the children to the park. This appeared to be Marjorie's first experience on a swing. She cried in fear when I put her on the swing but after pushing her gently for five minutes and being able to see the other children swinging she soon settled down to enjoy herself. She sat on the swing for almost an hour refusing to be lifted off, and even allowing Ron and John to take it in turns to push her. She put on a terrific performance, kicking, hitting and screaming when I very firmly lifted her off to go home, but she stopped crying once the car started.

We were very amused when Daddy came home; she wasn't prepared to share him with the other children who were taking it in turn, along with Marjorie, to be thrown up in the air, but she tugged, pulled and pushed Daddy until she got him into the bedroom, closing the door on the other children and holding out her arms to Daddy to be lifted up.

I took her to bed but she wanted Daddy, patting the pillow and saying "Daddy". Once he went in she quickly went to sleep.
16th January 1963

Marjorie seems quite happy to-day. I put her down for a nap but found I had to stay with her until she slept. Mrs. of the Child Welfare Department called bringing with her a bag containing Marjorie's belongings which in our hurry to leave the Airport the day she arrived we had left behind. We let Marjorie open the bag herself; this she did without any change of expression.

The bag contained two pairs of socks, two cardigans, one pair of pants and one dress; she pulled out each article holding them up for me to see but quickly gathered them to her when the other children showed interest. At the bottom of the bag was a piece of folded material. She smiled when she saw this and forgot about the other things playing for the rest of the day with the material.

Again Daddy took her to bed.

17th January 1963

Marjorie was very tearful on finding Daddy missing but after a while she was content to follow me around, she quite happily got into the car when it was time to go shopping, but would back out of each shop and stand whimpering at the door until I had completed each purchase. I tried to persuade her to remain in the car with the boys but at this she cried louder. However we were soon off home again and she was happy then.

No tears at bed time, but Daddy had to be there.

1st February 1963

We arrived home from ..... early in the evening, Marjorie along with the other children ran about with excitement, she undoubtedly remembered the place, rushing about from room to room, picking up the odd toy that had been left behind with
cries of joy. Calling her in for her bath, she ran straight to the bathroom without being shown the way. After tea she appeared tired but happy until I put her down (under protest) with the other two girls. She screamed for a good five minutes, but she was very tired and soon fell into a deep sleep.

2nd February 1963

There was lots of noise and giggles coming from the girls' room first thing this morning. On going in I found Marjorie as bright as a button along with Mary, sitting on Jean's bed - so we seem to have jumped another hurdle.

Looking back over the last few days at .... I get the impression that Marjorie has now become much more one of the family - particularly accepting Mum and Dad as protectors. In the children's playgrounds, Marjorie tackled the see-saws and slides without undue fuss, even though they were completely new to her. She has overcome her fear of water and the waves. She is friendly - well, at least not hostile - to the other children, and joins them at play. All in all, she now seems to be willing to enjoy new experiences and even to do some exploring of her own. She has begun to live again.

8th February 1963

Marjorie now enjoys our shopping expeditions, running about with Mary laughing and touching things. She takes very little notice of the shop assistants, but will occasionally give them a smile if they talk to her. Today we had occasion to go into a Chinese fruit shop. Naturally the girls were interested in Marjorie, but on catching sight of them she immediately became hostile, backing towards the door and standing there unhappily until I had completed my purchases. She remained withdrawn and very quiet for a further hour but was her usual happy self once Jean got home from kindergarten.
10th February 1963

Today Daddy went off to his conference. We all drove to... where Jim was picked up by Mr..... Jim kissed us all good-bye leaving Marjorie screaming when she saw Jim go off in the other car and crying most of the way home. Once she was home she appeared to forget all about Daddy and played happily with the other children.

She and Mary spent about one hour pushing the little prams; they had their mid-morning milk and off to bed for their nap. Marjorie settled down quite happily demanding a kiss for herself and the doll. She slept for two hours, woke up in a sunny mood and ate her dinner with relish.

I was gardening so she spent the rest of the afternoon pottering around with me. First of all she gave me a smack pointing to my hands saying "Dirty, dirty, naughty Mama". (Naughty is a new word.) I must agree with Marjorie so I put on my rubber gloves. This Marjorie thought a crime; to get ones hands dirty was bad enough but to deliberately soil one's gloves was beyond comprehension. One or two more smacks for Mum then gleefully playing with the soil and getting her hands dirty too, but Mummy was still a dirty Mama.

Bath time was enjoyed with lots of splashing each other and giggles. She enjoyed her tea and went off to bed quite happily, demanding the usual kiss for dolly and herself. No mention of Daddy and lots of noise and giggles from all three girls.

After about half an hour Jean and Mary were asleep but Marjorie shouted for Mama and on going in she pointed to her cheek saying "Daddy kiss, Daddy kiss". When Daddy comes he will give Marjorie a kiss Eileen said, this she accepted and went off to sleep and slept soundly through the night.

11th February 1963

Marjorie woke up about 7.30 a.m. and Ron lifted her out of bed and along with the other children came into bed with me.
She patted Daddy's pillow saying enquiringly "Daddy". However she has made no more mention of him not even at bedtime. She enjoyed all her meals but played with her pudding at dinner and ate it very slowly.

Today the boys had a holiday from school because of the Queen's visit. It was raining so the children stayed indoors. The three girls helped Mum and played very happily while the boys went off to their bedrooms to jig-saw puzzles - no girls allowed.

We had lunch then off quite happily for a nap. After two hours she again woke in a sunny mood and we spent about two hours at the park running about and playing on the swings. Again Marjorie's screams were loud when it was time to go home, however once we were home she played happily in the garden while I prepared the dinner.

Bath was a happy time.

Marjorie was silly and giggly at the table - showing off in fact.

She went off to bed in a gay mood but took about one hour to settle down. The girls were asleep and Marjorie was getting out of bed doing her best to wake them up. This is the first occasion she has behaved in this way but after checking her two or three times I then slapped her hands. She cried for about one minute but demanded her kiss when I left the room.

12th February 1963

Marjorie woke up about 7. This time she got out of bed herself and didn't, as I expected, come in to see me but instead went into the boys' room having lots of fun and noise.

After the boys went out to school and Jean to kindergarten the two wee ones helped Mum dry the dishes, generally happy and getting in the way. Marjorie rumpled up each bed as I made them thinking this a great joke. There were one or two tussles with Mary over toys but always quickly sorted out -
no grudges.

At 12 we went to the kindergarten - the first time for Marjorie. The sight of 40 children did not deter her from rushing up to Jean, hugging and shouting a very excited "hello". On walking back from kindy we were stopped by several mothers all wanting news of Marjorie. While they were all very friendly Marjorie returned their approaches with a scowl and refused to hold Jean's or my hand. She stumped on ahead by herself until she reached the car where she was happy once more.

Lunch was a happy meal, eating her egg and demanding more. She is not now so keen on bread and butter. She settled down for a nap quite happily (approximately two hours).

When we picked up the boys from school she ran to meet them, much excited. From there we went to the park and spent a very happy two hours running about, but most of the time playing on swings. She cried when we left for home.

After a bath, meal and bed she was rather tired and quickly went to sleep at 6.0 p.m.

17th June 1963

Marjorie is now not so keen on having a nap in the afternoon. She will lie for about 10 minutes, then demand to be up.

19th June 1963

I introduced myself to a Chinese family today. Marjorie drew back at first and I asked Mrs. . . . to speak Chinese. This she did, but we both felt that Marjorie did not understand. Mrs. . . . then introduced her four year old daughter, and both little girls, beaming, began nudging each other in a friendly fashion.

24th June 1963

I have just finished knitting Marjorie a new jumper. She is very proud of this, showing it to everyone she meets. "My Mummy made this for me", she will shout at them. If she is
not showing it off to someone, she will be gazing at herself in the mirror.

26th June 1963

Ron has spent the last two days in bed with a heavy cold. Marjorie seemed to think he was home from school for her entertainment, as she is wildly excited, going into his room and into his bed at every opportunity. She becomes quite hostile when chased away by Mum, sulking for several minutes.

30th June 1963

Being a very wet day all the children were confined to the house. In the afternoon we had visitors (four adults) and Marjorie was immediately on her feet when she heard the knock at the door, rushing to open it.

For the next couple of hours she behaved like a very lovable excited puppy; showing the visitors around the house, pointing to the flowers in the hall, she proudly said "My Mummy did that"; doing the same to her jumper, the cakes on the table, and several other things mummy had made. She took them into the bedroom, pointing to her bed and saying "Marjorie's bed". She showed off all her toys, pointing out which were her favourites. She invited our guests to have more cake and tea.

Needless to say our visitors were delighted with her; they had seen Marjorie for just a short time when she first arrived in New Zealand. She was then a very subdued and tearful little girl. They were astounded at the difference in her, and could not get over how much one of the family she had become.

8th July 1963

Marjorie has been very happy for the past few days. The only discord has been the afternoon nap.
Today I put both Jean and Marjorie in the same bed, giving them picture books to look at. They remained there resting for almost two hours, and I am happy to say that this has worked. Marjorie was quite wide awake and happy at teatime.

10th July 1963

We visited Auntie...... at ......: Marjorie is very much at home now, and behaves like an angel.

On the way home I stopped at the Park only for ten minutes. This time, much to my surprise, there was no scene when I lifted Marjorie from the swing: all she said was "Aah, mum". Turning to Mary, who was still swinging, she said "get off or we will go without you." I think she too was remembering past scenes as she said quite proudly "Marjorie a good girl".
LILIAN

Came to me at the airport without any trouble. Gave her a bottle (milk and water) changed naps and caught plane. She slept most of the way; when she woke, accepted two biscuits from the hostess and began to eat. Slept most of the way home in the car. Woke on arrival and seemed quite unconcerned at the family about her. First night she screamed when put in her cot so I stayed with her until she went to sleep. She woke many times that night and once when a dog barked she woke very afraid. Each succeeding night she slept better but there were still cries when she was put down or if she woke in the night and I had to leave the hall light on. 5.30 a.m. was her waking time and she refused to go back to her cot. After about a fortnight she would have a bottle when she woke and then go back to sleep for a while. Now she goes down to bed about 7 with a big smile and sleeps until after 7 in the morning. Most nights she wakes about 10.30 so I lift her and she goes on the pottie and off back to sleep.

Toilet training: - this had its difficulties. She had a very upset tummy for the first few days - could have been teeth, milk, food, anything, and she just screamed whenever I put her on the pottie. After catching her once or twice when she just had to use it she gradually came round and although she hasn't yet found a way of letting me know, we don't have many nappies to wash during the day.

The day after she arrived she just sat on the floor and played with whatever was at hand. She would walk round only if David (11) took her by both hands. Next day I found she could walk on her own but she still wanted to be held up. Within a couple of days she was trotting all over the place - and hasn't stopped since!

For about the first week she would go to anyone - in a
very impersonal way - but preferred men or boys (or anyone in trousers). Now she is choosy and goes only to those she knows.

From the beginning she has wanted us to pick her up and love her and rest her head on a shoulder when she is tired, but only now is she really showing affection with both arms round a neck and a big cuddle.

At first she scarcely spoke but now she chatters all day long and is beginning to say an occasional English word. Four weeks after she came I had to leave her with Paul, (14½) and Bill, (13) while I went to the hairdresser. The boys were amazed at her quietness - but she made up for it as soon as I came home!

Feeding problems hardly exist. She didn't like Farex so I give her oatmeal. Butter - "no" unless added to puddings or her vegies. Can't tolerate milk so have her on Ankoria.

She loves music. When Irene (16) was practising she'd sit on her knee and "assist" her with a Bach prelude or fugue. Equally, she would sit between David and his ukulele while he sang the latest pop numbers.

Friends and neighbours are amazed at the transformation from the quiet little girl to the rowdy tomboy she is becoming with her lovely smile and happy laugh.

Her general health and physical condition surprised everyone.

Feb. 13th

At first she used to shout at the cats but wouldn't move an inch out of their way. Now it is the cats who run. She grabs them round the tummy, by the tail and chased one to give it a bottle one day.

Woke about 7.20 with a wee grizzle but gave me a big smile when I picked her up. Was disturbed last night with two double teeth coming through (the 2 bottom ones came without
any trouble). Went back to bed about 9.30 and lay and talked to herself in the mirror. (She used to talk to her reflection in the piano until one day she had a look behind the piano to see where "the other bubbly" was. From the moment she is up she goes all the time so at present I put her down for a spell both morning and afternoon. Last night Dad was playing with her after tea (crawling round on the floor after her, until she was right under his arms). As soon as he came in tonight she went right down on all fours and waited for him to follow. David was lying on the sofa with one leg up, playing his ukulele and singing, so Lilian got a cushion and lay on the floor and began to sing, too.

After 7 months:

We all just love her. I've just asked the family what they think - "they wouldn't sell her for all the world". Her English is still very limited but she understands all we say and can carry out quite complicated directions. She comes for a cuddle and will put both arms tight round the neck and give a big kiss and squeeze. She loves clopping round in a big pair of shoes with something draped round her neck and the shopping bag in her hand. She spends ages at the piano - but must have the piano stool and music. Of course, she can also be a real little scamp - opening drawers, squeezing any tube she can get, chasing the cats, biting the soap -- I have to know where she is every minute of the day.

For myself - I find the hardest part is to believe that she isn't my own baby by birth.

She is still growing at the fantastic rate of about 1" a month but I expect this will level out shortly.
.... We would have her remain the same gay winsome sprite she was when you knew her. She has had her ups and downs, of course, during the last three weeks, the inevitable colds and irritations of emerging teeth, and they are part of the business of the quick change from one climate to another. She sleeps well in her new cot, usually from 8.30 p.m. till 7 a.m., and at least once during the day. Now and then she makes long speeches of her own, babbling up and down the scale. I'm sure there is a lot in them if we could only understand...

At first she clung to her mother, accepting her from the start; growing more and more secure in this relationship, at the end of a week she was able to accept me. Now she is very sociable, extending her friendship to most people after a careful appraisal. Our friends, like us, are delighted with her, and now she takes it all in her stride, although we all like best the quiet times we have together...

"In her stride" can be taken quite literally, because she has been walking in the last few days, and can walk five or six steps unaided. She was very proud when she first discovered she could get into a standing position by herself. We have a small garden where she can play and take the sun; and we have made a little sandpit which she may enjoy later. On two trips to the seaside she was intrigued by all the sand, and became bold enough to sit in the tide...

What an appetite she has: so far she has refused nothing. She likes to feed herself with pieces of fruit, and we are encouraging her to be independent in this way.

We find her to be very alert, and I think her language will develop quickly when she begins to talk. She has come to us at such a delightful stage; every day is bringing some changes in her now. Our home has always been a happy one, but now it is more completely a home now that we are sharing it
with Dorothy.

Eight months later.

Since I last wrote to you Dorothy has changed quite a bit. She is very independent and goes down the street to a friend's house to play with her little girl, so in every way she is now like other little girls of her own age. Her speech is very clear and she is trying out little sentences. A more adorable little girl it would be hard to find, and I thank God that she is ours.....

JAN

Development so far, i.e., from arrival, 5th January to 14th February.

Jan's development in this time has been quite remarkable. She has changed from a quiet little mite who stayed wherever she was put to a vocal, I could say almost rowdy, little girl who can crawl from one end of the house to the other in less than a minute. Her physical development has been worthy of note also – 1 lb. 4 oz. gained in a fortnight. Her limbs, which were soft and almost flabby, are now quite firm.

The thing which has most impressed us about Jan is her happy, almost merry, disposition. She seemed to need no period of adjustment to her new life but settled in immediately, as if she had been here all her life. She was never shy with any of us and was even smiling and chuckling at the boys at the airport.
Amount of noise, etc. At first Jan was very quiet. She now makes a number of sounds and can repeat some after they are said to her - "Mama" "Dadda" and "Bubba".

Alertness. Jan is most responsive and alert. She is amazingly quick to see the possibilities of a game in any little action, shaking the head, opening and shutting mouth, etc. She is consequently very quick to learn "tricks" - clapping, waving, showing her "pretty dress", etc.

Dependency. Jan tends to cling at first in the presence of strangers - buries her head in my neck. However after a few minutes she will accept them and carry on as usual. She is not keen to go to strangers but will not object if they take her quietly. She is too young to show much independence yet but she is just starting to hold her bottle herself, something she showed no signs of doing at first.

Reaction to separation. For the first few days we couldn't leave Jan in a room alone as she became most distressed - even if left only a moment. However after a week I found I could go out of the room and she would go on happily playing on the floor. It took about a fortnight for her to go to bed happily. At first I had to stay with her as she became very distressed. She dropped off to sleep quite quickly as long as I stayed and occasionally stroked her head. After about 2 weeks she accepted the bed as her own and snuggled quite happily into it so that I could leave her and she was content. I have not so far left her with other adults except my husband. One night however I left him to put her to bed while I went to Church. When I returned she still had not settled down, but her welcome to me was quite touching. We intend putting her down together for a few nights to get her over this dependency on me.
Affection. Jan is most affectionate and she loves to snuggle her head into my neck, at the same time making her "ah - ha" sound. She is affectionate to other adults too, provided she is familiar with them.

Reaction to other children. She shows great excitement when the boys (our boys) come home from school and she thoroughly enjoys playing with them. She likes the company of other children too as long as too many don't crowd round in too great numbers when she will use her "defiance action".

Crying. Jan very rarely cries. In fact if she does I know it is time she was put down for a sleep. She can even take quite a little bump without crying. At first she used to give a little whimpering cry in her sleep - 3 or 4 times a night for the first 2 or 3 weeks. She seems to be over that now although she may give the odd cry - could be teeth, of course.

Reactions to frustration. We could almost say Jan has a philosophic reaction to frustration. If we take something from her - e.g., the day's paper - she doesn't cry, but turns to play with something else. Similarly she doesn't cry if she drops something from her high chair and can't pick it up.

Times of sleeping and waking. Jan has slept at least 12 hours every night since she came. At first she seemed to need at least 3 sleeps during the day as she just slept 20 min. to ½ hour each time.

Toilet training. I have only tried Jan twice on a "potty" and both times she was so distressed and upset that I am not bothering just now. Experience with the boys has taught me that it is a waste of time till they have the intelligence to cope with the situation.

Feeding. Once again Jan is no trouble. She shows no signs of
trying to feed herself and will not even put a rusk or crust in her mouth. I have even descended to trying her with a sweet biscuit but she is not at all interested. She takes everything I have given her and doesn't mind any new tastes. She goes on till her plate is empty. The only thing that upset her was "Farex". For the first few weeks when she was eating or drinking she wasn't interested in anything else. Now however we daren't catch her eye or smile at her as she prefers playing to eating.

Bodily activity. Jan is full of energy - always doing something. She is much more energetic than she was. In her first week she sat quietly on my knee for a trip to ..... and back. Now I am almost exhausted after a trip to .....  

7 months later.

In writing about Jan I feel that what I say will probably sound too good to be true, but that is exactly what she has been. For the first few weeks I kept expecting some kind of adverse reaction. However after eight months nothing of the sort has happened. The first fortunate surprise was her complete acceptance of all of us. She wasn't at all shy and she slept more than twelve hours the first night, clapping her hands when the children went in to see her next morning. From that moment she won their hearts.

When Jan first arrived she slept in fits and starts through the day. I had to put her down eight times a day, and each time she slept about 20 minutes to half an hour. It seemed as if she were used to dropping off at any time she felt sleepy and then waking up afterwards, rather than having set sleeping times. I soon had her down to two sleeps, and after a month or two she had just one sleep at mid-day. . . . . All in all she has brought the greatest joy and happiness to all of us.
APPENDIX D

THE QUESTIONNAIRES

Questionnaires were introduced in as friendly a manner as possible, and unless children became too noisy, they were conducted informally; however, the presence of the teachers in the rooms meant that children remained in their desks, and were generally well behaved.

A short explanation was made of each form, after these were in the hands of the children, and one example was given, everybody doing this together. When names were on each paper, children were told to begin, and to work as quickly as they could. Particular stress was laid on the fact that there were no right or wrong answers - that it was their own opinions in which the investigator was interested. In every class, completed material was collected before the next form was given out. Although asked to work quickly, there was no undue emphasis on speed. For the Choice questionnaire names of children were written on the blackboard for the younger children, so that there was no similarity to a spelling lesson in the investigation. As far as this could be ascertained, children seemed to enjoy the enquiry, and to welcome the change from the regular school routine.
AN OUTLINE OF THE EXPLANATION GIVEN
TO CHILDREN WHEN THE QUESTIONNAIRES WERE ADMINISTERED

Choices. I have come from the University, and I am doing a study on the ways girls and boys think about each other, and about the friends they choose from their own class when they want to take part in various activities. There are seven different activities listed on this yellow form, and there are spaces for you to choose three friends for each pastime. The eighth question reads "Who is your best friend?"

Nobody will see these forms except me, and I don't want you to show your papers to anybody sitting near you. Does anybody not understand what to do? Any other questions?

Write your names in the space provided at the top of the page. Please begin now. Work as quickly as you can, and when you have finished I shall collect your papers.

Judgements. This form will take a little longer, but I think you may find it interesting. I am trying to find out how well girls and boys can make judgements about each other. You will see a list of names of some of the children in your class along the top of the page, and a list of statements or questions about them on the left hand side of the page. It would have taken too long to include you all, so I have chosen twenty-one names at random from your class register.
Please read the first statement, and then decide how many of the girls or boys listed do that kind of thing. If you think they do, then write a tick in the square next to their name. If you think they don't, then write a cross next to their name. When you have worked right along the top of the page, from left to right, go on to the next statement, and do the same thing until you have worked right down the page. Remember there are no right or wrong answers — it is your own opinions that I am trying to discover.

Place your own name on the top left hand corner of the page. Any questions? Work as quickly as you can, and raise your hand when you have finished please.
FOR TEACHERS:

Name. . . . . . . . . . . . . . Class. . . . . . . . . . . . .
Age . . . . . . . . . School . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
Sex . . . . . . .

How does the child behave in groups? . . . . . . . . . .
Do other children accept him as one of themselves? . . .
Choose him as a companion? . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
Do other children tell tales on him? . . . . . . . . . .
Do other children "pick on" a Chinese child? . . . . . .
Is he good at games? . . . . . . Chosen for teams? . . . . .
Has he time and leisure for school games? . . . . . . .
Does he often show signs of aggression? . . . . . . . .
Does he seem shy or withdrawn? . . . . . . . . . . . .

ABILITY: Comparison with best in class, or lowest in class.

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT: In playground . . . . . . . . . .
After school . . . . . . . . . . . .
In classroom . . . . . . . . . .
In other school activities . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

EDUCATIONAL STATUS: . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

CONDUCT: . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

GENERAL REMARKS:
For Children:

I

PLEASE ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS AS QUICKLY AS YOU CAN

1. It is a good thing that children should have to attend school. YES/NO

2. I enjoy playing with others rather than playing by myself. YES/NO

3. People always seem to pick on me. YES/NO

4. Other children often quarrel with me. YES/NO

5. Children often accept me as leader. YES/NO

6. Many children at school are unkind to me. YES/NO

7. I enjoy school work. YES/NO

8. Children are unfair because they never pick me for leader. YES/NO

NAME: . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
NAME

Write down the names of the boys or girls, from your own class, whom you would like:

1. To sit beside in school.
   (1). . . . . . . . (2). . . . . . . . (3). . . . . . .

2. To invite to a party.
   (1). . . . . . . . (2). . . . . . . . (3). . . . . . .

3. To play games with.
   (1). . . . . . . . (2). . . . . . . . (3). . . . . . .

4. To go for a picnic with, at the weekend.
   (1). . . . . . . . (2). . . . . . . . (3). . . . . . .

5. To go to the pictures with.
   (1). . . . . . . . (2). . . . . . . . (3). . . . . . .

6. To spend a holiday at your place.
   (1). . . . . . . . (2). . . . . . . . (3). . . . . . .

7. To share your plans and secrets with.
   (1). . . . . . . . (2). . . . . . . . (3). . . . . . .

WHO IS YOUR BEST FRIEND FROM THIS CLASS ? . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
III  Note: As indicated on p. 42 this Questionnaire was originally duplicated with the 21 names on the longer edge of a quarto page and the characteristics on the short edge.

1. Helps other children if they need help.
2. Lends his books or belongings.
3. Has good ideas and shares these with others.
4. Is careful with other people's things.
5. Sticks up for friends
6. Works well with others in a friendly way.
7. Encourages the efforts of others.
8. Thanks other children if they help him.
10. Is good fun in the playground.
11. Is the best Leader for school projects.
12. Is a good sport because he never tells tales.
13. Is a good member of society.
14. Is kind to other children when they are in trouble.
The Families.

Of the fifteen families who have adopted the first group of Hong Kong Orphans, only two had no children before the placement.

No reliable information was available concerning the ages of most of the parents, though it was suspected that parents of two families were in the "just over forty" bracket, (13 per cent) ten, (approximately 66 per cent) were in their early thirties, while those of three families, (20 per cent) were in the late twenties.

The following table indicates the number of children in each family, after the arrival of the Chinese child. Three families already had other adopted, or foster, children in the home before the little Chinese daughter came.

**Numbers of children in families after the arrival of the Hong Kong child.**

<table>
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<th>Number of Families</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Refugee Housing in Hong Kong.
On Arrival

Seven Months Later

On Arrival

Three Months Later
Individual Studies
Individual Studies