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SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS OF ADOLESCENTS
IN LONDON SECONDARY SCHOOLS
WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
IMMIGRANTS

by
LINDA ANKRAH-DOVE

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy at the University of London.

School of Oriental and African Studies
Department of Economic and
Political Studies.

November 1973.



ABSTRACT

West Indian, Asian, Cypriot and white British teenagers from three north London secondary comprehensive schools took part in an exploratory investigation into some of their social and political orientations. The investigator spent some months in the schools participating in their activities and getting to know the respondents informally. The respondents completed a pre-coded paper-and-pencil questionnaire based on intensive pilot studies. This was followed up by in-depth interviews.

The investigator focused interest on the question: "How far do the immigrant teenagers feel at home in Britain?" This interest was pursued with regard to their attachments to their countries of origin, their racial, ethnic or national consciousness, their educational and occupational ambitions and their political interests.

The data indicated that West Indians were more racially conscious than others but that Asians and Cypriots were more ethnically and nationally oriented. There was evidence to suggest that many immigrants and white Britons were more racially conscious than they liked to admit in school and that many would emigrate if they could.

Immigrants shared white Britons' aspirations as regards education, training and occupations. Asians were the most ambitious but West Indians were not less ambitious than working class white Britons.

Few respondents had more than a mild interest in British political life though immigrants generally were somewhat less negative in attitude than white Britons. There was little indication that these young citizens of the future will pay more than lip service to political participation or that they have the critical skills to evaluate constructively the ideology of representative democracy.

It is the investigator's opinion that more systematic and co-ordinated research is needed if policies for educating for citizenship in a multi-racial society are to be soundly based.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am most grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Donal Cruise O'Brien, for his constructive criticism and unflagging encouragement at all stages of this investigation. My especial thanks go also to all the pupils and staff of the schools which took part in the survey. Without their co-operation the enterprise could not have begun.

I am grateful to the Central Research Fund of the University of London from which I received financial help towards the costs of the survey.

In the initial stages I had much help from the personnel of the borough's Education Office and the Teachers' Centre. The fact that they must remain anonymous does not detract from the thanks I owe them. My thanks go also to the staff of the Institute of Race Relations, the Institute of Commonwealth Studies and the London University Computer Centre who so willingly offered their facilities and advice.

Among those who read and commented on parts of the report I thank specifically Dr. P.C.C. Evans of the London University Institute of Education and Mr. Nicholas Deakin, formerly of the Institute of Race Relations.

Finally, I wish to record the tolerance and encouragement of my husband, Raymond, without whose support and honour this report would not have been completed.

CONTENTS

	Page
Chapter I Introduction	5
Chapter II The Background to the Enquiry	15
Chapter III The Social Context	58
Chapter IV Design and Administration	80
Chapter V Race, Ethnic Group and Nationality	103
Chapter VI Role and Status in Employment	151
Chapter VII Political Orientations	212
Chapter VIII Conclusion	284
Appendix A	298
Appendix B	308
Appendix C	318
Appendix D - Questionnaire	332
Bibliography	341

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Androulla (Cypriot)

What country would you say you belonged to, Androulla?

Well, hmm... my parents were born in Cyprus...

Yes?

Well, I was born here... but I sort of think of myself as Greek, but, you know, I went to a Greek school. Mum's in England longer than in Cyprus so she's English too.

Anthony (white British)

And what nationality are you, then, Anthony?

Welsh, 'cos my Dad's Welsh... or British, I think... except...

Yes?

Well, we live here, don't we?

Where's that?

In London, so I suppose we're Londoners.

And what about your friend who was in here before you?

What's he?

Oh, he's from Uganda or one of them places.

Yes, but he's living here too, isn't he?

He is but his Dad's in India.

Oh, so what's Thakar then?

Oh, I don't know. I suppose it depends how he thinks of himself, isn't it?

Prakesh (Asian)

Well, I was originally born in Nairobi... but...

Yes?

Well, I'm really Indian... I eat cow...

And what about your friends?

Well, they act like Indians but they follow the life here.

Nalini (Asian)

Well, I'm Indian.

Oh, I thought you said you were born in Tanzania?

Yes, but I've got a British passport.

So which is your home, do you think?

Well... it depends if I get married. (Giggles)

George (West Indian)

So what are you, then?

British.

And your parents?

Well, they want to go back home but I don't want to... I'd like to go back for a holiday but I was educated in Britain.

Would they like you to go with them?

Well, see, they were well off back home but now things are more difficult...

Susan (West Indian)

I'm English... If we was back home we don't have to buy anything; we just go and pick them off the trees.

Do you remember it in Barbados?

Well, I was only three when we came here.

These snatches of conversation are excerpts from interviews with secondary school children. They illustrate the main focus of this enquiry which is to explore the ways in which teenagers from various racial and cultural backgrounds orientate themselves towards, and possibly identify themselves with, national, social and political groups and institutions. The confusion and ambivalence which these particular teenagers showed is typical of many others interviewed.

The Scope of the Enquiry

The context in which the enquiry was conducted was very much an institutional and an educational one. All the fourth and fifth formers, boys and girls aged fifteen and sixteen, from two large

comprehensive maintained secondary schools, close by each other in one north London borough, took part. The schools were similar to other maintained secondary schools in the borough, both in structure, organisation and the social and ethnic complexion of their intake.

The scope of the enquiry was intensive rather than extensive since a group of teenagers was studied in depth. They were not a representative sample of their age group in a statistical sense though they were perhaps typical in many ways of teenagers in school in the area. It is hoped that the explorations that this enquiry makes will open up further avenues of research.

The Method of Enquiry

The investigation took place over two school terms, (twenty-six weeks). A variety of research techniques were used in pilot studies and on the basis of the experience thus gained the investigator compiled a pre-coded, paper-and-pencil questionnaire which all the respondents completed. The investigator held private, semi-structured interviews with many of the respondents both before and after administration of the questionnaire and was present in one of the schools throughout the terms as a participant observer.

As a result of pilot work in a third school nearby, the investigator attached great importance to the manner in which she pursued the research. An investigation into matters of race and politics deals with issues which arouse emotions and alert sensitivities. It was clear from pilot studies that when the racial interest of the enquiry was not explicitly pointed out to the respondents, their attitudes on such issues, both oral and written, were less guarded.

When racial interests were explicit, some respondents refused to co-operate, some were reticent through their sensitivity at a personal level, others through their awareness that their attitudes may be socially inappropriate. A few bolder individuals were encouraged to express extremely hostile and prejudiced remarks if they were informed that the investigator was interested in race.

It was not expected that teenagers still at school would be highly sensitive to political matters. Nevertheless, when they were alerted to the political interests of the investigator, many respondents attempted a politically desirable response which gave the misleading impression that they were far more politicized than they revealed themselves to be when the political content of the enquiry was not made explicit.

The investigator had to choose between two paths, neither of which was without pitfalls. Either the racial and political content of the enquiry could be made overt in which case the context in which the investigation occurred would be emotionally charged and loaded; or it could be rendered as unobtrusive as possible. This latter alternative would impose limits on how far the investigator could probe into certain attitudes without sensitizing the respondents to their special importance.

The investigator decided, however, to take this latter path. In order to redress a possible bias in the results towards understatement and a muting of tone, much emphasis was placed on face-to-face interviewing of a private, personal and intensive nature since this would provide a rich store of qualitative data. The utmost care was taken to present the enquiry to all the young people as one into their interests and ambitions and their ideas about the world in

which they are growing up.¹

The respondents were differentiated into four ethnic groups.²

These were:

'Europeans' of British origin, hereafter, white Britons;

'Europeans' of Cypriot origin, hereafter, Cypriots;

Asians of East African or Indian origin, hereafter, Asians, and

Negroes of West Indian origin, hereafter, West Indians.

Aims of the Enquiry

For analytical purposes the enquiry divides, somewhat artificially, into three main areas of interest:

Attitudes towards Race, Ethnic Group and Nationality.

- a) How far is their race, ethnic group or nationality a salient matter with these young people?
- b) With which racial, ethnic or national groups, if any, do they identify themselves, when, if necessary, they are prompted to do so?

(Chapter V)

Attitudes about the Society in which They are Growing Up.

- a) What are their perceptions of social roles and statuses in this society?
- b) What is the quality and level of their expectations and aspirations in matters of immediate saliency to them - their education and future occupations?

(Chapter VI)

1. See Appendix D. P. Evans, Attitudes of Young Immigrants, London, Runnymede Trust, 1971, used the other approach; a copy of the questionnaire used is in the library of the Institute of Race Relations, London.

2. See Chapter IV, p.88ff and Chapter V, p.103ff for further elucidation.

Attitudes about Political Life.

- a) What are their political orientations?
 - i) Do they spontaneously orientate themselves to any particular ethnic or national groups when politics is the frame of reference?
 - ii) What nation's political life, if any, is most salient to them? (That of their country of origin, for instance?)
- b) How politically interested or apathetic are they and what direction does any interest take?
- c) What are their political attitudes in dimensions which relate to political participation and their potential membership of a political community?
 - i) Are they likely to participate in political life at a formal level as adults?
 - ii) Are they politically trustful or cynical?
 - iii) Are they deferential or not towards political authority figures?

(Chapter VII)

These questions were posed with regard to all the respondents in the enquiry. The main interest was in comparisons and contrasts of attitude between respondents of different ethnic groups. No claim is made that the results of the enquiry are definitive but they will, it is hoped, stimulate interest in further research on these lines.

Reasons for Undertaking the Enquiry

The relevance of an in-depth, small scale survey such as this, to various areas of concern, should not be under-estimated.

Welfare of the Individual

These young people, and others like them, had lived in Britain for varying lengths of time; some were born here, some arrived when they were too young to remember anywhere else, others came from different societies in the middle of their schooldays or even at the end of them.

Yet they shared with their white British peers at least some experience of British institutional life through going to school here. Within this context, at least, the attitudes of teenagers from different backgrounds, cultures and tongues, may be comparable. But the reader must remember that, while, of course, no attitudes are expressible in a contextual vacuum, the investigation was conducted within school walls and the respondents shared the restraints on the expression of attitudes imposed by them.

All these young people were at a critical stage of their social development. By the age of fifteen a person's self begins to be anchored in his social identity. The question, "Who am I?" is painful enough for most adolescents. It becomes even more so when the questioner cannot fix on a satisfactory answer. West Indians, for instance, described themselves as English, Black Britons, Coloured, Jamaicans or even, as one boy described himself on his questionnaire, "one of Enoch's abominances."

At this age cognitive powers reach maturity; adolescents become hypersensitive to the words and actions of others; they can assess the social and racial climate and discuss such matters among themselves. Many of them have a wider experience of the world outside Britain and Europe than their British classmates. And those who have not hear their parents talking vividly about the countries they used to know.

At their stage in school life, fourth and fifth formers are only too well aware that they must make choices about their futures; whether to continue at school after the statutory leaving age, whether to take a job and, if so, what it is to be.

On these counts, therefore, it is important that these teenagers should have a sense of wanting to belong somewhere, somewhere in the wider society, beyond the childhood world of primary relationships, somewhere in a community, a country or a nation, where they want to be and are accepted.

They were growing to adulthood in Britain. Is this, we ask, where they felt 'at home'?

Welfare of Society

This investigation is also relevant to the policies of those concerned with the direction in which British society is evolving in the late twentieth century.

Since the early 1960's, legislation restricting immigration from Commonwealth countries has served to publicise to newcomers the fact that, in the eyes of many Britons, Commonwealth citizenship is of second-class status. Despite official statements and legislation in the later years of the decade, which aimed to provide for the growth of a tolerant and egalitarian multi-racial society, the expression of racist attitudes has been made socially acceptable in some quarters by the speeches and activities of well-known figures in public life. The administration of the immigration controls has been seen to discriminate against non-white Commonwealth citizens. Many Asian teenagers from East Africa have recent and lively memories of the grudging hospitality which Britons offer to many who looked on Britain for succour. Even if

these young people looked forward to coming to Britain, they can hardly have felt that they were welcomed with open arms.

In school, at least, young newcomers may be shielded from some of the harsher realities of the wider society. But they are in school for, at the most, seven hours a day, five days a week, for forty weeks of the year. For the rest of the time they share the experiences of their families and friends and are influenced by them. In this enquiry, we ask whether the teenagers see a place for themselves as future adults in British society and, if so, what sort of place will it be.

The investigator's experiences as a teacher in secondary schools in a 'black' Commonwealth country and in Britain gave the initial stimulus for this enquiry. As a white-skinned woman in a black-skinned country, in a totally strange environment, she came to know a little of what it feels like to be a member of a minority group and to realise how intimately one's sense of personal identity is bound up with one's social identity. As a teacher of 'British Empire and Commonwealth History' to teenagers who were citizens of a new nation being painfully brought to birth amid tribal and ethnic hostilities, she could not fail to learn to sympathise with young people whose loyalties were often divided and incompatible.

As a teacher of subjects with political implications, both in Britain and overseas, she was daily confronted with the thorny problem of what the social objectives and implications of such courses are and should be. Whether the course is entitled British Constitution, Modern Studies, Social Studies, Civics or even Current Affairs, there is often a conflict of duty between the necessity to prepare students to pass examinations in an academic discipline and the desire to make them aware of the real life social and political processes which they

will meet in adulthood. This conflict of duty becomes all the more apparent in a newly multi-racial society.

Teachers are not justified in assuming that their students have even a broadly similar culture and background; patterns of thought, norms and goals, as well as levels of understanding, will be at least as various as the nationalities represented in the class-room. There is wide scope in this situation for the teacher to become confused in his aims, to waste his efforts in inefficacious teaching and even to abdicate from responsibility for his inescapable role as a moral educator and agent of socialization.

But in this situation also lies a challenge, a challenge to all concerned with the future of young people in Britain, whatever their race, their skin colour, their nationality or religion, that they should gain from their education in British schools a deeper knowledge of the society they live in. An adolescent born in one country or culture and growing up in another is likely to have more difficulty than most deciding who he is and where he belongs. In the light of knowledge he can stand back, appraise his situation and decide for himself on his own values and roles in adult life.

CHAPTER II

THE BACKGROUND TO THE ENQUIRY

Definition of Immigrants

In this enquiry the term immigrant is used in a wide sense to include anyone born outside the United Kingdom of foreign parents or anyone born in the United Kingdom of foreign or mixed parentage.¹ It includes, therefore, second as well as first generation 'immigrants' and pupils who though 'immigrant' have spent all their schooldays in British schools.

Department of Education and Science Definition.

For the purposes of the annual statistical return of immigrant pupils, (Form 7 (i)), required by the Department of Education and Science (D.E.S.) of all maintained schools in every borough, immigrant pupils are defined as:

- 1) children born outside the United Kingdom who have come to this country with, or to join, parents or guardians whose countries of origin were abroad;
- 2) children born in the United Kingdom to parents whose countries of origin were abroad and who came to the United Kingdom within the last ten years;

children from Northern Ireland or Eire are not included nor are children of mixed immigrant and non-immigrant parentage.

But this definition, (hereafter 'immigrant'), excludes children born of foreign parents who have been in the United Kingdom

1. See Chapter IV, p.85 ff for further discussion. This definition has been widely criticised in the House of Commons Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration Report on Education, published 26th September 1973 after this study was completed.

for more than ten years; it therefore excludes fifteen and sixteen year olds who have been in British schools all their school days, whether or not they are first or second generation immigrants.

In the early 1960's, the D.E.S. was hesitant to collect such statistics at all but in 1966 it recognised the necessity of basing policy with regard to immigrant pupils on accurate 'facts' and schools with ten or more "immigrant" pupils on their rolls were required to submit a return to the department. In 1969 the rule was extended to all maintained primary and secondary schools and in 1970 to special schools.

Criticism of these enquiries has in fact focused not so much on the principle of collecting such statistics but on the adequacy of the definition of "immigrant" pupil.

It appears that the purposes for which the statistics were needed were not clearly thought out. If the D.E.S. wanted facts about 'coloured' immigrants then the definition clearly omits 'coloured' pupils whose parents have been in the United Kingdom for more than ten years and the children of mixed marriages. And as the department itself admits:

The ten-year rule and the resultant cut-off, moreover, distort the statistical tables in that there is inevitably a bulge in the lower age groups which makes it appear that there are fewer coloured children in the schools in the higher age-range than at the lower age-range - and suggests that there will be a continually increasing number of immigrants₂ on school rolls when this will not necessarily be true.

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1. See, for example, H.E.R. Townsend and E.M. Brittan, Organization in Multi-racial Schools, Slough, National Foundation for Educational Research, 1972, pp. 18-22; Race Relations Bulletin, The Runnymede Trust, No. 29, February 1972, and No. 31, April 1972.
 2. "The Education of Immigrants", Education Survey No. 13, Department of Education and Science, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1971, p. 25.

In any case, the department denies that it is primarily interested in 'coloured' pupils though the manner in which 'coloured' and 'immigrants' are used almost synonymously here is typical of some of the initial confused thinking issuing from the department.

The ten-year rule was originally justified:

on the assumption that when immigrant parents have been in this country for ten years there will have been a degree of integration which should mitigate both the children's language problems and their problems of adjustment to a new society.

The department did not, presumably, think it necessary to spell out what it meant by 'integration'. It did, however, admit, in Education Survey No. 13, that the assumptions about the ten-year rule were not always valid.² It had doubts, for instance, as to whether:

all immigrant families make these adjustments in 10 years. There is also a clear inconsistency between the position of a child born overseas (coming perhaps to this country as a baby) who is recorded as an immigrant throughout his school life - and one born just after his parents' arrival here, who ceases to be regarded as an immigrant by the age of 10.³

Again, though many children from families of ethnic minorities do indeed have language problems, some have relatively few; some speak English as a first or second language, others have to start from the beginning.

Just as it is unjustifiable to brand all 'immigrant' pupils as having language problems of the same degree or type, so it is unjustifiable to assume that 'immigrants' from widely different backgrounds will have similar motivation towards 'integration' and a similar rate of 'progress' towards it.

1. loc. cit.

2. loc. cit.

3. loc. cit.

The D.E.S. is aware of the inadequacies of its definition of immigrant pupil and is considering what alternatives would be preferable. It has recently asked for statistics on the 'immigrant' pupils with 'language difficulties' but even this term has problems of definition.

The view has gained ground recently among interested parties that the collection of statistics on 'immigrants' should be discontinued on the grounds that the term is, strictly speaking, inaccurate when applied to children born in the United Kingdom. It is also unjustifiable, so it is argued, to label different individuals and groups as 'immigrants', particularly when they are thereby identifiable with problems.¹

There is a strong case for the collection of statistics on all children with special educational needs. British children with linguistic or social and cultural disadvantages would also figure in the statistics. But while this is a valuable exercise in itself, there is still a need for a more rigorously defined term, (or terms), covering the various culturally distinct categories labelled as 'immigrant'; this need not have unfortunate emotive overtones and could identify certain special difficulties for their education that certain specific minority groups may have.

As Education Survey No. 13 states:

Knowledge and understanding of immigrant children's previous background and of their family circumstances in this country are essential if these problems are to be properly tackled.²

In order to aid understanding of the socio-political attitudes of the teenage immigrants in this study we outline in the following pages a general picture of the overseas societies from which they or

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1. J. Collins, "The Social Backgrounds of Children from Immigrant Groups", Education for Teaching, Journal of the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education, Spring 1973, p.16.
 2. Education Survey No. 13, op.cit., p. 5.

their parents have come. We attempt a general account also of the distinctive features of the different ethnic communities as they have evolved in Britain. It is most important to note, of course, that this is by no means a comprehensive account nor does it do justice to the varieties of individual experience.

Cypriots

More than half the Cypriot teenagers in this enquiry were born in Britain. Their parents may well have lived in Britain for nearly thirty years if they emigrated under a governmental scheme for attracting workers to alleviate Britain's post-war labour shortages. Some of the young people will have accompanied their parents in the 1950's when they emigrated to seek a brighter economic future than they could hope for in Cyprus. Social unrest, economic problems and political strife between the Greek and Turkish communities made the island a difficult place in which to earn a living and rear a family.¹

The more recent immigrant teenagers may have come with, (or to join), parents or other relatives in order to enjoy a secondary education in Britain or to beat the ban on the immigration of dependents imposed progressively in the 1960's.

Whatever the timing of their migration many of the teenagers know that their parents intend to return to Cyprus one day, once their children's education is complete and they have achieved economic viability.

1. R. Oakley, New Backgrounds, London, Oxford University Press for Institute of Race Relations, 1968, gives a general account of the Cypriot background. See also V. George and G. Millerson, "The Cypriot Community in London", Race, Vol. 8., 1966-7, pp. 277-292.

But inevitably, more stay in Britain than leave. Today, there are an estimated 120,000 Greek and 40,000 Turkish Cypriots in Britain.^{*} The majority are still in London where they originally settled but many have moved from poor areas such as Islington, St. Pancras, Finsbury Park and Marylebone, into more prosperous areas of north and north-west London.

Greek and Turkish Cypriots think of themselves as entirely different groups, both culturally and politically. Most teenagers introduce themselves as 'Greek' or 'Turkish' rather than as Cypriot. Only a few of the Cypriot respondents were in fact Turkish but, being in a minority both in Cyprus and in Britain, they tend to be defensively assertive about their distinctiveness.

The parents of the majority of both Greek and Turkish teenagers came originally from peasant or working class backgrounds in Cyprus. Apart from sharing certain habits of food and dress, the two communities live apart.

Greek Cypriots

The Greek Cypriot teenager who remembers life in Cyprus inherits a tradition from the mainstream of Greek civilization. He used a form of Greek at home and in school and is a Greek Orthodox Christian. If he lived in Cyprus as a child he went to a primary school run by the Greek political authorities. His education would have been free and compulsory from six to twelve years of age and would have followed a broadly western approach. Although secondary education is free for the Greek Cypriot teenager also, it is not compulsory. Nevertheless, the fact that in

1. Mr. Kitromelides, "The Greek Cypriot Family in the U.K.", The Varied Heritage: Cyprus, unpublished papers presented at a seminar on Cyprus for teachers organized by the borough's Community Relations Council, 18th March 1972; F. Dervish, "The Turkish Cypriot Family in the U.K.", op.cit.

1971 nearly 84% of primary school leavers entered secondary school is evidence of the high esteem which Greek Cypriots have for educational success.¹

In Britain, parents continue to encourage their children to make the most of their educational opportunities and to overcome their linguistic difficulties. This, however, is not easy if the parents themselves speak only Greek.

Another difficulty common to many minority groups is that parents do not share with the schools the same ideas of what constitutes educational success. Parents want their children to gain paper qualifications which, above all, they hope, will ensure "a good job". They often do not understand and may even oppose the schools' objectives in social education.² For the first generation of Greek Cypriot immigrants are, on the whole, jealous of their cultural identity and wish to perpetuate it. Some even send their children to privately sponsored and run Greek schools rather than to maintained ones.

Indeed, the Greek Cypriot community in London has made itself as self-sufficing as possible. There are churches, shops, restaurants and cafés, banks, tourist agencies, newspapers and cultural and political societies, all run by and for Greek Cypriots. Many teenagers, insulated from life in Britain by the Cypriot community and with little knowledge of English, appear to know more about Cyprus, even if they have never been there, than they do about Britain.

Obviously, there has been some 'integration' by their parents into British social life.³ (Some, of course, even actively welcome this).

1. Kitromelides, op.cit.

2. W. Bindley, "Contact with Parents", The Multi-Racial School, J. McNeal and M. Rogers, (Eds.), London, Penguin, 1971, pp.50-72, gives a good account of this problem and how it was tackled by one London primary school.

3. See below, pp.49-53.

Job opportunities do not always fit in with the skills the immigrant has to offer. Many of the teenagers' parents, however, have used their skills in clothes' manufacture and catering. Some are now self-employed and provide work for other Cypriots and there are quite a few professionally qualified people with a large Cypriot clientèle. Unlike in Cyprus, many women work, either at home as machinists or in factories. Young people often assume that they will join the family trade or business, in clothing or hairdressing, when they leave school. This means that two, three, four income families are not uncommon. Capital can be accumulated which will provide a better standard of living in Britain or tickets to Cyprus in the future.

Nevertheless, family and community life is still, as in Cyprus, male dominated. Boys are preferred to girls in every way and family resources go first to them. Although a Greek Cypriot girl in Britain today will rarely have to find a dowry, she is much more confined to home than her brothers and her parents are likely to have a major say in whom she marries. While a Greek-Cypriot suitor is obviously ideal, a British one is sometimes acceptable but a Turkish one hardly ever.

Social arrangements in the home also follow traditional patterns. The nuclear family is normal but strong kinship ties are maintained.¹ Father is head of the household; mother still fulfils her traditional role as housekeeper as well as her new one of second bread-winner. Teenage daughters tend to have great responsibilities at home as mothers are so hard-pressed.

Outside the home, it is the men who enjoy life most. Very few women frequent the cafés and restaurants which provide social centres

1. K. Hylson-Smith, "A Study of Immigrant Group Relations in North London", Race, Vol. 9:4, 1968, pp. 467-76, describes the high degree of ethnic exclusiveness among both Turkish and Greek Cypriots.

in Islington and Camden Town. One Greek Cypriot, speaking about his own community bewails what he sees as an increase in gambling and womanising among Greek males in Britain.¹ He puts this down to the fact that the women are too busy with children to bother to make themselves attractive to their husbands.

Turkish Cypriots

The Turkish Cypriot teenagers who remember Cyprus will know what it feels like to be members of a small minority group whose political and cultural existence is continually threatened. The Turks in Cyprus form about 20% of the population and owned till recently about 35% of the arable land. But since December 1963 they have lived in enclaves, a hundred and six villages have been vacated and about twenty-five thousand people "displaced". The separate Turkish community survives with help from Turkey.²

The Muslim religion is the most important characteristic which marks off Turks from Greeks. In the 1920's the reforms of Ataturk "liberalised" life for Muslims; Turkish women are no longer behind the veil and polygamy is forbidden. But in Britain, as well as in Cyprus, it is taboo to eat pork or drink alcohol; women are still restricted to the home and subservient to men.

Turkish children, also, learn obedience early and discipline is very strict. Girls remain at home after school and older children of both sexes are often in charge of their younger siblings while father works. The teenager's duty to his family will often conflict with his

1. Kitromelides, op.cit.

2. N. Sager, "Cyprus - The Turkish Community", The Varied Heritage: Cyprus, op.cit.

obligation to attend school in Britain.¹

The situation is aggravated for many immigrant parents by a failure of communication between them and the British schools and a lack of mutual aims and expectations. Where Turkish Cypriots are concerned, the greatest problem is that parents rarely speak English and interpreters are rare. They are used to seeing the village teacher as a friend, a spokesman in the larger world and someone who, with strict discipline, will encourage their children to be as "Turkish" as possible. In Britain, teachers often seem like impersonal agents of a mysterious and impenetrable bureaucracy, who are permissive with regard to discipline and encourage their children to integrate. Many Turkish Cypriot parents, like many working class British parents, tend to withdraw from a situation they do not understand and in which they feel at a loss. Responsibility for the children's education is left to the schools. The children are most probably the losers.

Both Cypriot communities in Britain are endeavouring to improve their children's life-chances while maintaining their distinct traditions. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that there is more communication and adjustment between Cypriots in Britain and white Britons than there is between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and Cypriots and non-white immigrants.²

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1. I personally witnessed an interview with a school secretary where an eleven year old Turk, with rudimentary English, accompanied his father to school to interpret for him. He explained that his absences were due to the fact that he took his father to the employment exchange and there interpreted for him.
 2. K. Hylson-Smith, *op.cit.*; T. Kawwa, "Three Socio-metric Studies of Ethnic Relations in London Schools", *Race*, Vol. 10:2, 1968, pp. 173-80; J. Bhatnagar, *Immigrants at School*, London, Cornmarket Press, 1970, p. 146.

Asians

Since most of the Asian respondents were from either East Africa (mostly Kenya), or from the Gujarati region of north-west India, the discussion focuses on these two peoples.

The majority of the East African Asians were Sikhs and the Gujaratis Hindus. But it is important to note that some East African Asians were Hindus, Muslims or Christians and a few Gujaratis were Sikhs, Muslims, Christians or even Buddhists. It would be a mistake to assume that the following account describes a typical Indian or Gujarati or East African Asian.¹

Gujaratis

Most Gujarati respondents came to Britain as children in the 1960's to join their parents already working here.² Often, their parents were anxious to re-unite their families before immigration controls made it more difficult.

The six or seven year old Gujarati would usually have emigrated under the guidance of his own kin in India. His people in Britain may well have sent out money to finance his trip. The fact that he had a home prepared in Britain would have helped to counteract the inevitable shock and anxiety caused by the sudden change from a warm climate to a

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1. For general accounts of the Indian background, P. Mason, Patterns of Dominance, London, Oxford University Press (for Institute of Race Relations), 1971, pp. 137-90; I. Morrish, The Background of Immigrant Children, London, Allen and Unwin, 1971, pp. 95-168.
 2. For Asian settlement in Britain, S. Allen, New Minorities, Old Conflicts, New York, Random House, 1971, passim.

cold one, a semi-peasant society to a fast-moving, industrialised, urban one.¹

The Gujeratis are some of the more literate Asian immigrants in Britain; there is a good chance, therefore, that even the young girls would have attended primary school in India. Lack of adequately trained teachers and of resources may have meant that some received a sub-standard education but they would have learned to write their form of a Sanskrit language and have begun English in the final year of primary school. It is unlikely, however, that young immigrants would be at ease with spoken or written English on arrival in Britain. The fact that the Gujeratis speak a language unintelligible even to other Indians would have encouraged the use of English as a means of communication even between Asians in the same British classroom.

Indeed, though an Indian teenager may refer to himself as Indian in front of foreigners, he is unlikely to feel affinity with other Asians in his British school unless they came from his own family or village or at least share the same language and religion. This is because, in their own eyes, as well as objectively, Asians, Indians, even Gujeratis, are not a socially and culturally homogeneous group. Membership of a family, a village, a region or a religious sect is far more significant than membership of a nation.

Religion is perhaps the most divisive factor. Hinduism sanctions rigid occupational and social stratification by caste. A teenager from a higher caste, such as the Brahmins (priests) or Kshatriyas (warriors) may not be friendly with one from an inferior caste such as the Vaishyas (merchants). The Sudras (untouchables) are especially

1. C. Bagley, "Problems reported by Indian and Pakistani Immigrants", Race, Vol. 11:1, 1969, pp. 65-76.

isolated because of their pollutant status. Members of the Muslim or Christian religions are treated as out-groups.

Most Gujaratis parents in Britain were originally farmers or village craftsmen but all of the five major castes are represented in Britain.

Parents encourage their children to keep the various rules on diet, dress and, most importantly, choice of a spouse. Each caste has its own rules but endogamy is one rule shared by all.

Even where some of the restrictions imposed by caste are discarded, Gujaratis in Britain, like the Cypriots, form their own encapsulated communities, providing for their own unique needs and socializing among themselves.

Of course, there are changes. Even highly-educated people, for instance, are often forced to accept jobs which are beneath their social status and capabilities. Not a few men have had a higher education and are therefore literate in English. Nevertheless, it is their children who bear the brunt of change. For the first generation of immigrants often resign themselves to the social and occupational handicaps they suffer as members of non-white minority groups in a white society; they put up with inferior accommodation and jobs, seek little contact with Britons and work hard to improve their economic resources. Their children, however, in common with most second generation immigrants, are caught between two worlds. Taboos on dress and diet hinder their social relations with British teenagers; girls, particularly, must stay at home after school and not mix with boys as may British girls. Many have to put aside aspirations for a job and economic independence because they expect their parents to arrange a marriage for them soon after they leave school. Obviously, some parents will be more traditional than others. Nevertheless, it is marriage that causes the

most acute conflict for the teenager. Eventually most accept their parents' choice even though they may privately express a wish for autonomy. The Gujarati sense of duty to the family and respect for fate is usually strong enough to prevent open rebellion.

Nevertheless, times are changing. Even in India the traditional extended family, sharing property in common and presided over by the eldest male, is being replaced by the nuclear family. In Britain, lack of accommodation often forces large families to split up. Younger males are often more in tune with a modern, technological society than their elders and tend to take a more responsible role in the family than in the past. Indeed, some of the male respondents were heads of households, in fact, if not in theory, even while still at school. Girls also are sometimes now allowed to take a job after school as their parents realise their potential as wage-earners. Indeed, parents encourage girls as well as boys to stay as long as possible at school for traditionally they respect education and often equate length of schooling with economic potential. This is often a mistaken view especially if the teenager stays in the sixth form merely to continue a general education rather than to take advanced level examinations; for he or she will then leave school at a relatively late age with no more qualifications than younger rivals in the job-market.

East African Asians

Most of the East African teenagers emigrated to Britain in 1968 or thereafter. They were from families who opted for British rather than East African passports under the Africanization plans of Kenya. They were not Ugandan Asians, refugees and victims of a crisis which occurred after this survey was completed.

Most of the parents of the teenagers had anticipated the threat to their continued economic security in East Africa and managed to transfer their assets to Britain. They did not, therefore, arrive as paupers. Indeed, some had considerable wealth.

The Asian community has lived in East Africa for many generations. Indeed, half of the East African respondents claimed that at least one of their parents was born there also. In contrast to the Indians, the majority of them are used to a western, urbanised way of life and many use English as a second, if not a first, language. Asian parents are often business or professional people or in government service as officials or teachers. Most quickly found accommodation and jobs in Britain.¹ Their children will not, therefore, have had to endure so many changes in their way of life as the Gujerati teenagers.

Most East African respondents in this study were Sikhs. This is a syncretic religion which developed originally as a radical, reformist off-shoot of Hinduism. It rejects the social rigidities of caste and incorporates Islamic ideals of egalitarianism; Sikhs see themselves as members of a universal brotherhood. In the past they were persecuted and this has encouraged their reputation as warriors and wanderers.

They place very high emphasis on family unity and have tended to migrate from Asia to East Africa and from East Africa to Britain as whole families.

1. A. Little and J. Toynbee, "The Asians: a Threat or an Asset?", New Society, 28th October 1972, pp. 205-7.

In Britain, Sikh tends to help Sikh, regardless of social status. The Sikh community has established its own social and religious centres in areas such as Southall where earlier Sikh immigrants found jobs. Later arrivals find initial shelter in these areas and many stay on.

Some young people discard certain social customs such as the prohibition of alcohol and tobacco; boys sometimes shave their hair and beards and go without the turban; girls often work after leaving school. Their relative freedom reflects their way of life in East Africa and the confidence which a fairly high social and economic status has given them. Communal endogamy is one tradition which, however, has survived the rejection of caste and migration from one continent to another. It helps to reinforce Sikh identity, though some teenagers find it difficult to accept.

Most of the respondents will have attended a multi-racial primary school in East Africa, though a few exclusively Asian schools continued to operate for a few years after political independence and African governments' moves towards the creation of equal opportunities in education for all races. In school, most of the Asians will, as children, have shared classrooms with African and European pupils and teachers. But this does not seem to have eradicated attitudes of social superiority over "black" Africans which the Asian community has held for generations. One Kenyan Asian boy, who was in fact a Hindu and thought of himself as Indian, speaks for many who had appreciated their life in East Africa:

In Kenya it was easy. We had more freedom and money - if you've got a government job.

He continued:

It wasn't always very safe - the Kenya people, the Africans, not very advanced, they don't think logically..... well, some people get deported....

Prompted, he went on rather more magnanimously:

They want to get immigrants out. They're right really in a sense because its their country and they've been driven like slaves - though I was born there, but they have more rights.

He went on to give a somewhat ambivalent view of Britain:

I like Britain for its education. It makes sure that everyone's equal and no-one's reduced to starvation. Financially we're better off but no friends.

He thought that on the whole British people were nice but:

... not some ignorant people like working class, like factory workers. They don't respect us.

Asians from East Africa will not have found British secondary schools altogether strange for some will already have attended African secondary schools for a year or two. These are still predominantly modelled on the British academic grammar school, with timetables organised on a subject basis and a somewhat formal atmosphere. Teenager after teenager told the investigator how much he valued his education and saw it as a passport to economic success. They wanted to work hard and sometimes complained of the permissive, often rowdy, climate of their British comprehensive schools.

West Indians

Although the majority of young West Indians in Britain were born here, this is true of only a quarter of the respondents in this study. The majority came originally from Jamaica though some were from other areas of the Caribbean, from Guyana on the mainland and the small islands of St. Vincent, Antigua and St. Kitts. Some of them had parents from yet other islands.

The use here of the term West Indian is not intended to disguise

the variety of life-styles of the Caribbean area.¹ Each island has its own unique physical and cultural features. Many West Indians know Britain better than they know other West Indian islands, miles away from their own. Certain generalisations, however, may be made, in order that the background of the West Indian teenagers may be understood. The emphasis is on Jamaicans and on West Indians of predominantly Negro race.

West Indian men first experienced life in Britain during the second world war.² Some subsequently returned and others followed, seeking better opportunities for employment than they had at home. By 1951, there were about 4,000 in Britain. It seems that the level of migration after that rose and fell with the demand for labour until restrictions were imposed in 1962.³ Unlike Asians, West Indian immigrants came individually rather than as families or groups. A fair number of women emigrated on their own or with children. During the 1960's, as for all immigrant groups, it was dependants, old people, women and children, who tended to emigrate rather than people seeking work. During the last ten years, therefore, many West Indian families have been united in Britain; many youngsters have been separated from foster parents and relatives in their islands and joined a mother or both parents who are virtually strangers to them. Some have met step-fathers whom their mothers married after arrival in Britain and many have step-brothers and sisters. West Indian youngsters very often lack the compensatory security of a familiar, closely-knit family on arrival; on the contrary, they often have to adjust to a new family as well as a strange climate and way of life.

1. Morrish, op. cit., p.21, and for a general account, pp. 21-92.

2. N. Deakin, Colour, Citizenship and British Society, London, Panther, 1970, pp. 44-55, gives a general account of post-war immigration.

3. See below, pp. 37-8.

Many West Indians in Britain have mother-only homes. This is partly a consequence of the disruption which migration causes but also of the family arrangements characteristic of West Indian societies. One common heritage of the West Indian islands is that of slavery.¹ Christian marriage was forbidden by plantation owners to prevent permanent relationships among slaves. But the more children female slaves produced, the more the profit for the slave-owner.

This pattern has continued long after slavery has gone. Women take pride in child-bearing and assume responsibility for the children. Men demonstrate their virility by impregnating women, whether they intend to form a permanent relationship or not. They are permitted to be relatively irresponsible with regard to their children but this also means that women are in charge at home. Very often, younger women leave their children in charge of grandmothers or aunts while they work to keep the home going. Step-brothers and sisters, cousins, aunts and uncles and grandparents often live together.

This does not mean that stable unions and even Christian marriages do not occur. If a "common-law" marriage succeeds and the man is interested in his children, as many are, the couple may aspire to the social prestige of a legal and Christian ceremony. This may be postponed for many years until the expense of a "show" can be met.

In Britain, the parents of West Indian teenagers very often get married. They often have fewer children than they would have done in the West Indies. There is evidence that many first generation West

1. Morrish, op. cit., pp. 52-7, summarises some theories about the family systems of the West Indies; Allen, op. cit., pp. 82-5, also gives an account of marriage customs. Mason, op. cit., pp. 274-340, gives a valuable account of the colour-class society of the West Indies consequent upon the institution of slavery.

Indians conform to British norms in this respect; they are sensitive to the stigma which illegitimacy carries in Britain and find smaller families economically advantageous.¹ Nevertheless, many teenage girls have family responsibilities, caring for younger siblings and managing the household while mother goes to work, often at night or on shifts.

West Indian society is permeated by social distinctions based on racial characteristics. In colonial times, on the top of the social and political pyramid sat the European master whose customs came to be envied and imitated. Asians and paler-skinned negroes formed the middle ranks, both occupationally and socially. At the base were the negroes of African origin, formerly slaves, and more recently the urban and rural proletariat.

This stratification based on race is exemplified in religion. While the Asiatic peoples keep to their own religions, mainly Hinduism, the negro peoples have come under the influence of Christian missionaries of all denominations. While some practices reminiscent of pagan cults are still in vogue, Christianity provides spiritual nourishment and a vigorous social life. Christianity was socially prestigious as the religion of the colonial powers and many non-conformist, evangelical sects, such as the Church of God and the Ras Tafari of Jamaica, give solace to the oppressed and poor. In Britain, however, many West Indians have turned away from the established Church, feeling unwelcome or disliking the cold formality of the services and social life. Some have embraced their own sects which re-create the enthusiasm and conviviality of religious life in the islands.² Few of the West Indian

1. Deakin, op. cit., pp. 282-91.

2. S. Patterson, Dark Strangers, London, Penguin, 1965, pp. 200-206.

teenagers with whom the investigator spoke were fervently religious.

Until recently the only means of gaining social status in the West Indies was to marry someone of a lighter skin colour and of more European features than one's own. But in this century the cultural concept of negritude and the political one of Black Power have enabled negro West Indians to gain self-respect. With the end of formal colonialism also, the white master has vacated his seat of power for the black one.

But lack of pride in a common culture and the inability to discard the psychological handicaps that submission to slavery produced left many West Indians uncertain of their personal and social identities.

The heightened consciousness of social status based on class-colour distinctions and the lack of identity affect West Indian life in Britain. Light-skinned Barbadian teenagers still look down upon blacker-skinned Jamaicans; while some girls proudly sport Black Power badges, others lighten their skins and straighten their hair.¹ Many share their parents' generation's disillusionment with Britain.² In the West Indies they had met only middle and upper class Britons and had no alternative to the glorification of the British way of life which school text books encouraged. They had expected Britain to be a land of milk and honey and to be accepted by the British people as fellow members of the Commonwealth who shared a similar language and way of life. Instead, they found themselves barely accepted on the lowest rungs of the British social class ladder; even skilled workers were at a disadvantage in

1. It would be interesting to know if Black Power attracts lighter-skinned as much as darker-skinned negroes.

2. Patterson, op.cit., passim, a comprehensive account of the settlement of West Indians in Brixton in the 1950's. Deakin, op.cit., pp. 282-8.

in a society which was unexpectedly strange. Many began to see themselves as victims of prejudice and discrimination on the part of landlords, estate agents and building societies as well as employers and fellow-employees.

But unlike the Asians, West Indians cannot withdraw into their own community. Despite some attempts, they have failed to organise cohesive social and political groups from the diverse peoples who emigrated throughout the post-war years. The West Indian "community" remains fragmented and powerless compared with Asian (or Cypriot) organisations.¹

This is due partly to lack of a common identity and partly to lack of common aims and methods. Whilst the older generation once wholeheartedly espoused assimilation and co-operation with the host society, many young people reject a Britain which they feel rejects them and advocate militancy.²

West Indian teenagers born and brought up in Britain cannot often identify wholly with their parents' hopes and fears for they have only second-hand knowledge of life in the West Indies. They can only compare their own with the opportunities of British teenagers with whom they have grown up. At school, despite theoretical equality, many find themselves at a disadvantage.³

Teenagers who went to primary school in the West Indies are often even more at a loss in British secondary schools. In Jamaica, for instance, primary education is of variable quality and even today gives an unrealistic idea of British life. Teaching methods are sometimes out of date and

1. Deakin, op. cit., pp. 288-291.

2. For the concept of assimilation see below, p.49 ff.

3. For further discussion see below, p.40 ff.

discipline very strict. Many children from rural areas particularly may not have gone to school regularly and all will have to learn "standard" English if they are to make headway in British secondary schools.

Immigration in the 1960's

After the second World War, immigrants from Eastern Europe, Cyprus and the West Indies settled unobtrusively in Britain. It was only in the early 1960's after one or two racial incidents such as the 1958 Notting Hill Riot that immigrants began to be popularly perceived as "problems". It was not, moreover, the Cypriots of Islington whom people viewed with alarm but the 'coloured' Asians and West Indians. The press fanned concern about a flood of Pakistanis settling in Bradford, Sikhs in Southall and West Indians in Brixton, but these fears were not exaggerated, particularly as far as overcrowding in the borough studied is concerned. Between 1961 and 1966 people born in Asia and the West Indies increased from 3.2% to 6.0% of the total population of the borough, Cypriots from 1.3% to 3.3%.¹

The increase, however, between 1955 and 1961 of the total numbers of immigrants in Britain from 42,700 to 136,400 was dramatic enough to persuade the Conservative government that a policy towards race and immigration was necessary.² The solution was sought in terms of control of immigration and in 1962 the Commonwealth Immigrants Act for

1. Returns of borough for 1961 and 1966 Censuses.

2. Deakin, op.cit., pp. 91-147 gives a fuller account of official policies and practices.

the first time restricted entry into Britain of all Commonwealth citizens unless they already lived here, were issued with employment vouchers or had jobs to come to or were the spouse or dependants of immigrants already resident in Britain.

After an initial increase in the immigration of workers in the early 1960's, their numbers fell throughout the decade.¹ The number of dependants, however, coming to reunite with heads of households, rose steadily till 1969. This was despite further restrictions on the immigration of dependants in the 1965 White Paper, Immigration from the Commonwealth, (part 2) - and the Race Relations Act of 1968. By 1967, over 90% of all Commonwealth immigrants were dependants and an increasing proportion of these were children from the new Commonwealth. By 1969, there were signs that families were complete as the rate of entry of dependants tailed off.

Educational Consequences of the Immigration of Dependants

This rapid increase in the numbers of young immigrants settling in Britain led to a tendency regretted by the Department of Education and Science, "to regard 'the immigrant child' as synonymous with 'problem'".² The Department's Education Survey No. 13 summarises the situation with which schools were faced in the 1960's:

Some schools before 1960 had a cosmopolitan range of nationalities among their pupils but had found relatively little difficulty in absorbing and educating children of the earlier post-war European immigrants. In the early 1960's, however, the concentration and rapid built-up in the numbers of children arriving from

1. Ibid., p. 53, shows that between 1963 and 1968 the total number of dependants of Indian and Pakistanis rose from 9,920 to 26,253; and of West Indians from 7,896 to an average of over 10,000, 1964-7, with a decline to 6,230 in 1968.

2. Education Survey, No. 13: op.cit., p.4.

Commonwealth countries and entering the schools at different ages and at all times throughout the school year began to create serious educational difficulties.¹

On the next pages the document spells out some of these difficulties. There was indeed a rapid build-up in the numbers of immigrant school children, from 1.8% of the total school population in 1966 to 3.3% by January 1970. This increase, moreover, was concentrated in certain schools mostly in inner cities, so that "within the space of a few years the source of intake of some schools changed radically - and the more noticeably because of colour."²

Dispersal

The official line was that 'colour' did not constitute an "educational difficulty" but there is no doubt that parents in some hard-pressed areas such as Bromwich, Bradford and Southall, who feared that large numbers of immigrants in their schools would handicap their own children's education, encouraged the local education authorities, (E.E.A's), to adopt a policy of dispersal of immigrant children so that no school nor class should contain more than one-third immigrants. By 1965, dispersal was officially sanctioned in the D.E.S. Circular 7/65, The Education of Immigrants.³ The document set out the belief that a 30% limit would prevent "the strains" that "too many immigrants" would inevitably cause. The document did not show why 30% was the appropriate limit nor did it define 'immigrant' though it implicitly included 'coloured' children born in Britain.

1. Ibid., p. 1.

2. Ibid., p. 2.

3. "The Education of Immigrants", Circular No. 7/65, Department of Education and Science, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1965.

There was some opposition to the policy of dispersal on both educational and moral grounds but there was no doubt that the sudden influx of numbers of immigrant children into over-crowded classes did cause administrative and educational problems.¹

Problems

The irregular arrival of different aged children of various tongues, religions and customs, into schools often already short of space, resources and specially trained teachers, caused continual disruption. Children frequently had inadequate documentation of age, name and nationality and special health checks had to be arranged. Non-English speaking parents were little help. Children from rural, peasant societies, and often illiterate ones, needed the elementary social education in hygiene and eating habits which most British children have in pre-school years. Often older children had to learn how to wield a pencil since they had not been trained in basic motor skills with childhood play and toys.

Culture Shock

Apart from this, children uprooted suddenly from familiar surroundings to face a strange climate, language, faces and customs, experience "culture shock which may lead to severe problems of personal adjustment".² Individuals react differently, but it is quite common

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1. These are amply documented in official papers and in the accounts of practising teachers; e.g. N. Hawkes, Immigrant Children in British Schools, London, Pall Mall Press, (for Institute of Race Relations), 1966; H.A. Crump, (Ed.), "Work Group on West Indian Pupils, Report 1970", Association of Teachers of English to Pupils from Overseas, (A.T.E.P.O.), Birmingham, A.T.E.P.O., 1970.
 2. R. Scott, A Wedding Man is Nicer than Cats, Miss, Newton Abbot, David and Charles, 1971, describes the problems of Asian children in Bradford primary schools as experienced by a sympathetic teacher.

for young Asians to withdraw into themselves, to become passive and apathetic.

Living Conditions

Part of this shock will be due to the experience of living in industrial cities where bricks and concrete are exchanged for open countryside. Many mothers, unaccustomed to heavy traffic, are afraid to venture forth from the home to take small children to school. An added difficulty is that of the social conditions which many immigrants have to endure in Britain. As Education Survey No. 13 puts it:

... many coloured immigrants find themselves in the poorest housing in the most depressed areas and may have little choice but to send their children to what are often the oldest and most dismal schools and those which are most likely to face staffing problems.

Many face radical changes in family life. Apart from having to adjust to new relatives in overcrowded conditions, young West Indians may be left alone for long periods while mother goes to work. An illness similar to autism is one manifestation of such deprivation.² The Asian child is more often fortunate enough to preserve a sense of identity through firm family and cultural ties.

Older Immigrant Pupils

Education Survey No. 13 recognised the particularly acute problems of immigrant pupils of secondary school age:

Especially difficult is the challenge presented by older immigrant children arriving in this country at the age of

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1. Education Survey No. 13, op.cit., p.3. See also G. Bowker, Education of Coloured Immigrants, London, Longmans, 1968, pp. 58-71, for a concise general survey of problems.
 2. G. Stewart-Prince, "The Emotional Problems of West Indian Children in England", Age Forum, 6: Education in Multi-racial Schools. Record of a conference organised by The Advisory Centre for Education, London, Ginn, 1970, pp. 29-39.

13 or 14 years..... The one or two years of schooling that remain to them are insufficient for them to overcome their language difficulties and to adjust themselves to the new social environment in which they operate. Only very rarely can such late arrivals make up for these handicaps before they leave school..... In the main they leave school with insufficient qualifications to enter further education or industrial training courses, find it difficult to secure satisfying employment, and represent a serious potential source of unrest arising from lack of personal fulfilment.

Adolescent immigrants, whether late arrivals or not, not only share the common identificational difficulties of most adolescents but also have to choose between the values and customs learnt at home over the years and the often inconsistent ones which they learn at school and from peers. The difference between Asian values with regard to social relationships and those of British teenagers has already been noted. The difference between the strict discipline of West Indian, Asian and Cypriot homes and the more permissive atmosphere of British schools often causes misunderstandings: parents believe the schools are letting their children run wild while the schools believe they are instilling self-discipline; children often become unruly and aggressive, unsure of the appropriate behaviour when faced with opposed treatment from parents and teachers. Many parents are as sensitive as their children to hostile racial attitudes and behaviour on the part of school authorities and other pupils; some react aggressively, others avoid contact with the school. The idea that teachers may be as prejudiced and discriminatory as any other adults has only reluctantly been acknowledged.²

1. Education Survey No. 13, op.cit., p. 8.

2. W.W. Daniel, Racial Discrimination in England, London, Penguin, 1968, publicised the P.E.P.'s Report (1967) of a survey which showed widespread discrimination in housing and employment. It stimulated governmental and private reassessment of race relations policies.

This is also a difficult area to research.¹

Action

Much more amenable to research and action have been the linguistic and educational difficulties of immigrant pupils. The two go hand in hand, of course. A child who uses his hands to scoop rice needs to know the meaning of the word "spoon" as well as how to use it. An older pupil can only succeed educationally if he learns a host of specialised "subject" concepts and he can only succeed socially when he speaks fair English. One Asian girl whom I interviewed thought lessons about race would help people mix but then admitted:

I go more with Indian girls, not English. We can talk about Indian actors and actresses - but I like England.

In the early days, teachers of English to immigrants coped as best they could with inadequate skills and resources. Arrangements for pupils varied according to administrative convenience and sometimes according to the needs of the pupils. There were three main patterns; full-time reception centres, part-time withdrawal into special classes, and letting pupils "pick up" English in normal classes. All of these schemes have their merits and defects. What is certain is that resources were, and often are, inadequate to the task.

By 1962, the Association for the Teaching of English to Pupils from Overseas, (A.T.E.P.O.), a Birmingham teachers' voluntary group, was offering study sessions and practical guidance. The National Council for Commonwealth Immigrants, (N.C.C.I.), pressurised the government and institutes and colleges of education for resources and ideas. Courses

1. But see P. Arrowsmith, The Colour of Six Schools, London, Friends Community Relations Committee of the Social Responsibility Council, Society of Friends and the Community and Race Relations Unit of the British Council of Churches, 1972.

in teaching English as a second language and on the multi-cultural school were organised. In 1964, the Schools Council sponsored the Leeds Project which investigated the specific linguistic needs of Asian and southern European children. Teaching materials were specially designed.¹ Belatedly, the needs of non-standard English speaking West Indians were also recognised.

Gradually, the language difficulties of immigrant pupils are being dealt with on a more intensive and systematic basis, especially in the primary school. There is still, however, much to be done.

Assessment and Placing

Since many immigrants do not speak sufficient English it is often difficult to assess their educational standard and potential and to place them in appropriate schools and classes. Tests suitable for British pupils prove unsuitable for those from different cultures.² Recently, the idea fostered in part by the 1965 White Paper and Circular 7/65, that Asian and West Indian children are of inferior potential and hold back their British classmates, has been quashed. Of course, linguistic problems may reduce a school's efficiency and so be detrimental to the performance of all pupils. But a number of studies support the conclusion of a London one of 1967 that the performance of immigrant pupils who have had almost full primary education in Britain does not differ significantly from that of primary school pupils as a whole.³

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1. Scope, Stage 1, Harlow, Longmans, 1969 and Scope, Stage 2 and Senior Scope, Harlow, Longmans, 1972.
 2. T. Burgin and P. Edson, Spring Grove: The Education of Immigrant Children, Oxford University Press for Institute of Race Relations, 1967, gives a grass-roots account of one school's attempts to deal with this problem.
 3. A Little, C. Mabey and G. Whitaker, "Education of Immigrant Pupils in Inner London Primary Schools", Race, Vol. 9:4, January 1968, pp. 439-52.

The fact remains, however, that West Indians especially, among immigrant pupils, are at a disadvantage at school. They are disproportionately represented in the lower streams of secondary schools and in schools for the educationally sub-normal, (E.S.N.). Coard first drew attention to the E.S.N. problem for West Indians; he criticised the untutored and indiscriminate use of unsuitable diagnostic tests on newly-arrived and often frightened children.¹ Research since then has justified his stand and, furthermore, has brought to light some of the problems of emotional deprivation which many West Indian children suffer in their early years.² Despite a campaign by the North London West Indian Association to remedy the situation in the schools of the borough studied, little in the situation has changed. In 1972, 42% of the pupils in the borough's E.S.N. schools were "blacks" compared to nearly 19% in the schools at large.³

Deprivation

In 1967, the Plowden Report reviewed the social and psychological effects on children of a deprived environment, one which most immigrants share with British working class children.⁴ It led to a policy of

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1. B. Coard, How the West Indian Child is made Educationally Sub-Normal in the British School System, London, New Beacon Books for the Caribbean Education and Community Workers' Association, 1971.
 2. Race Relations Bulletin, No. 32, The Runnymede Trust, May 1972; H.E.R. Townsend, Immigrant Pupils in England: The London Education Authority Response, Slough, National Foundation for Educational Research, 1971; W. Bushell, "The Immigrant (West Indian) Child in School", Stresses in Children, V.P. Varma, (Ed.), University of London Press, 1973, pp. 82-92.
 3. V. Fethney, "Our E.S.N. Children", Race Today, April 1973, pp. 109-15.
 4. "Children and their Primary Schools", Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education, (Plowden Report), London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1967.

"positive discrimination" by which extra educational resources were channelled into these areas. Education Survey No. 13 summarises what became known as the government's Educational Priority Areas programme. This released resources for areas and schools which had, among other "problems", more than 6% 'immigrants' on their rolls.¹

This action encouraged educationists to identify the problems of immigrant pupils with the more general problems of a deprived environment. As Dipak Nandy has stated:

Sometimes we took an unhealthy, zoological interest in the "cultural background" of immigrant children - as though they were a new species of flora and fauna deposited in our midst - in order to account for their difficulties in school, when a simple inspection of their housing condition, which they share with many native children would have provided a sufficient explanation.²

The new approach cooled the government's official enthusiasm for dispersal and L.E.A's were allowed to pursue their own policies.³ The borough studied had not adopted it in the mid-1960's despite its large proportion of immigrant pupils. In 1968, however, Powell's notorious Birmingham speech, in which he called passionately for a cut-back in the numbers of immigrants, released similar racist propaganda in the local press. It was suggested that the borough's schools would be at least 70% 'immigrant' by the next generation. Soon afterwards the L.E.A. proposed a "banding" scheme, intended to place children in comprehensive schools according to ability, in such a way that each school would receive a fair allocation of different abilities. Strong opposition came from the Cypriot and West Indian parents as well as

1. Education Survey No. 13, op.cit., pp. 27-8.

2. D. Nandy, "Foreword", The Multi-Racial School, J. McNeal and M. Rogers, (Eds.), op.cit., p. 10.

3. Education Survey No. 13, op.cit., pp. 16-21, traces the history of official thinking on dispersal.

British teachers and parents. In the atmosphere of the time, the scheme was seen as an attempt to discriminate against immigrant children by dispersing them throughout the borough. After a protracted struggle the scheme died a quiet death.

Meanwhile, however, research and action on the problems of immigrant pupils has continued apace alongside the more general official and unofficial interest in race relations. The Community Relations Commission acts as an educative force, publishing literature, organising conferences and advising on the education of teachers and immigrants.¹ The local Community Relations Councils attempt similar enterprises through their education and youth sub-committees though their role is not an easy one due to lack of finance and their association, in the view of many immigrants, with local government interests.²

The D.E.S. itself has published many documents about immigrant education and has sponsored two statistically valuable surveys by the National Foundation for Educational Research.³ These deal with the organisational provisions of both L.E.A.'s and the schools themselves for their immigrant pupils. These and the publications of many interested groups have increased the factual content of the burgeoning

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1. e.g. Education and Community Relations, monthly newsletter of the Community Relations Commission; Education for a Multi-Cultural Society 1 - Syllabuses, Community Relations Commission, 1970; Education for a Multi-Cultural Society 2 - Language, Community Relations Commission, 1972.
 2. M.J. Hill and R.M. Isscharoff, Community Action and Race Relations: a Study of C.R.C.'s in Britain, Oxford University Press for Institute of Race Relations, 1971.
 3. "The Continuing Needs of Immigrants", Education Survey No. 14, Department of Education and Science, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972, is one recent government survey; H.E.R. Townsend, Immigrant Pupils in England: the L.E.A. Response, op.cit.; H.E.R. Townsend and E.M. Brittan, Organization in Multi-Racial Schools, op.cit.

newsprint spent on race and immigration in Britain. That the government believes the education of immigrant pupils to be an issue of importance for the future of "harmonious" race relations is shown in the fact that the House of Commons' Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration is at present collecting information for its next report on Education.

Multi-Racial Schools

Only in recent years has it been possible to ascertain the 'immigrant' (D.E.S. definition), composition of schools; in 1971 'immigrants' formed 3.3% of the total school population in English and Welsh maintained schools.¹ But this figure gives no adequate picture of the racial composition of the schools nor their specific educational problems, due to the restricted definition of immigrant pupil used by the D.E.S.

Nor does it give any idea of the concentration of 'immigrant' pupils in certain areas, notably the London area and the West Midlands. In 1967, just over 9% of schools with an 'immigrant' intake, had over 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % 'immigrants' in them.² In 1970, about half the 'immigrant' pupils were about equally divided between inner and outer London and, moreover, they were concentrated within certain areas and schools even within London.³

In 1971, the largest proportion of 'immigrants' in maintained secondary schools in outer London were West Indians, (31.9%) there were

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1. Statistics of Education, 1971, Department of Education and Science, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972.
 2. Statistics of Education, 1967, Department of Education and Science, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1968.
 3. H.E.R. Townsend, op.cit., passim.

nearly 22% Indians, nearly 11% East African Asians and 7.4% Cypriots.¹ Outer London schools are, it seems, likely to remain multi-racial in composition; their particular racial and social class composition will vary with the area and the way in which catchment areas are drawn. Nevertheless, no outer London school can ignore the fact that it serves a wider multi-racial society, however many 'immigrants' of whatever race, it may or may not have within its walls.

Integration

Implicit in earlier official pronouncements on multi-racial schools was the idea that the primary function of the schools was the resocialization and integration of immigrants.

The school's role in the process of integration was seen as a social one: it would train immigrants to be British, and provide a location where they could mix with English children.²

No one made it clear whether the immigrants were to be trained to be middle class Yorkshiremen or working class Londoners. Nor was it questioned whether the schools should or could take on this task.

"Integration" was implicitly accepted as a laudable aim but remained undefined. As Education Survey No. 13 stated:

Early in the decade (1960's), a group of HM Inspectors had begun... to give increasing attention to the educational problems... implicit in the successful integration of immigrant children.³

It was also mistakenly assumed that society in general and the parents of immigrant pupils would welcome their integration. Indeed,

1. Statistics of Education, 1971, op.cit.

2. Deakin, op.cit., p. 187.

3. Education Survey No. 13, op.cit., p.15; my parenthesis.

it was thought that an immigrant child in a British school should be encouraged to assimilate culturally. The Second Report of the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council, 1964, a body set up by the government to advise on the welfare and integration of immigrants, argued:

A national system of education must aim at producing citizens who can take their place in society properly equipped to exercise rights and perform duties the same as those of other citizens. If their parents were brought up in another culture and another tradition, children should be encouraged to respect it, but a national system cannot be expected to perpetuate the different values of immigrant groups.

This policy equated integration with assimilation, the process by which an ethnic group adjusts itself so completely to its new surroundings that it loses its separate identity.

But, more usually, integration is a term reserved for,

a process whereby a minority group, while retaining its own culture and religion, adapts itself to and is accepted as a part of the majority society in all its external aspects of association.

This is the sense in which the term is used here. "External aspects of association" include measurable indices such as those on accommodation and employment. But, on this definition, immigrants could, individually or as groups, manage to find accommodation and employment and yet remain relatively at a disadvantage compared with the host community. Thus Jenkins' definition of integration as:

Equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance

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1. Quoted in Deakin, op.cit., p. 172 .
 2. Deakin, op.cit., p. 22 .
 3. Ibid., pp. 22-3 .

was important in that it gave official voice to the idea of Britain's increasingly multi-racial society should also be an egalitarian one.¹ The Race Relations Act 1968, whatever its limitations, marks the first positive official action to create equal opportunities in housing and employment, regardless of racial criteria.

Education for a Multi-racial Society

Educationists also began to think out more explicitly what they meant by integration. The Plowden Report 1967 had placed firmly on the map ideas of child-centred education, whereby the interests and needs of the child, whether native or immigrant, should be the first priority. This meant that integration had to become a two-way process involving understanding, sympathy, tolerance and respect by the host community, including the schools, for the immigrants' own values and customs.

Education Survey No. 13 spells out what this involves:

The education service can make its best contribution to the country's future.... by helping each individual immigrant to become a citizen who can take his or her place in society, fully and properly equipped to accept responsibilities, exercise rights and perform duties. At the same time we need to respect and permit the expression of differences of attitude, custom, belief, language and culture - not only because for the newcomers their own backgrounds have value and significance - but because they may eventually enrich the main stream of our own cultural and social tradition.²

It made a number of suggestions of "the positive things schools can do in the face of the need to prepare (all) pupils for life in a multi-racial society."³ But neither Jenkins' formula nor those of the D.E.S.

1. Ibid., p. 23. (My underlining.)

2. Education Survey No. 13, op.cit., p. 13.

3. Ibid., p. 12; my parenthesis.

considered the possibility that the two aims of cultural diversity and equal opportunity may in practice conflict.¹ To take but one example: how can schools positively create equal opportunities for Asian girls to exercise their rights to jobs without interfering with cultural norms and customs which restrict the girls to the home?

The schools are in a dilemma here unless immigrant pupils (and their parents) identify themselves completely with the host society and the hosts recognise the immigrant as one of themselves. But this turns the wheel full circle for we seem, then, to be discussing not "integration", "association in external aspects", but "assimilation", the process in which cultural diversity is lost.

In practice, many teachers are still assimilationists but the term itself has recently lost favour, partly because it smacks of an attitude of patronage and of intolerance towards cultural diversity by the host society and partly because the term is bedevilled by obscurities of meaning.²

Gordon has set out what he considers are sub-stages in any process

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1. Allen, op.cit., p. 19, criticises Jenkins' formula in more general terms.
 2. For some recent attempts by sociologists to clarify what is meant by assimilation and to distinguish it from related concepts such as absorption, acculturation and integration, see Patterson, op.cit., pp. 13-35; Allen, op.cit., pp. 16-24; Price, "The study of Assimilation", Migration, J.A. Jackson (Ed.), Cambridge University Press, 1969, pp. 181-237 gives a useful summary and critique of some of the major contributions to the literature; A.H. Richmond, "Sociology of Migration in Industrial and Post-Industrial Societies", Ibid., pp. 238-81.

of assimilation.¹ Cultural assimilation is the process by which immigrants adopt the cultural patterns of the host society. It is likely to be the first type of assimilation to occur and may continue even when other types do not occur. Structural assimilation comes next and involves immigrants in the primary groups of the host society; this stage is the most important one, the peg on which "successful" assimilation hangs. Marital and identificational assimilation may follow, the latter being the development of a sense of peoplehood based on the host society. For assimilation to be successful, Gordon maintains, there must be no prejudice or discrimination in society. He also points out that assimilation is not an inevitable process and, when it does occur, it may be rapid or take several generations. Some stages may never occur and the process may even go into reverse.

This study is mainly concerned with the cultural and identificational aspects of the assimilation process. A part of the cultural process will include economic assimilation.

While educational theorists and practitioners veer uneasily between integrationist and assimilationist policies towards their immigrant pupils - if, indeed, they have a policy at all - most are agreed, at least, that Britain is inevitably going to be multi-racial.

1. M.M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, New York, Oxford University Press, 1964, esp. p. 71. No attempt is made here to use the whole of Gordon's theory; nor, indeed, is his typology wholly without defect. He omits, for instance, to make it clear how economic assimilation fits in. Nor is his distinction between "intrinsic cultural traits", deriving from the central core of the ethnic cultural heritage, and "extrinsic cultural traits", extrinsic to the group's cultural heritage, as clear as he assumes it to be. For a summary and criticism of his typology see Price, "The Study of Assimilation", op.cit., pp. 219-27.

This fact, Nandy maintains, makes it important,

that an education system responsive to the needs of a multi-racial society involves not only immigrant children, but also native; not only black children, but also white; not only multi-racial schools, but also schools which are unlikely to see a non-white face in the foreseeable future.¹

How the L.E.A's head teachers and classroom teachers prepare their pupils for a multi-racial society, if at all, depends on official guidelines and individual ideas. The picture varies not just between schools but even between different classrooms in the same school.²

It is not the place here to discuss fully all the variations on the theme of preparation for life in a multi-racial society. Two important aspects, however, may be referred to as examples of some re-appraisals which have begun to take place.

Until recently the topic of race relations was considered by most teachers to be too controversial for inclusion in the curriculum, even of a secondary school. But as part of its Humanities Project the Schools Council undertook to evaluate a pilot study in the direct teaching of race relations to teenage pupils.³ A "pack" was compiled including film, tape and print, with materials such as speeches by Powell, Malcom X and the Black Panthers, and anecdotes from the deep south of America and South Africa. The aim was to present conflicting and controversial views to pupils who would work out their own views

1. Nandy, op.cit., p.9.

2. See, for example, "The Multi-racial School", Secondary Education, National Union of Teachers, Autumn Term, 1971, pp. 3-16.

3. G.K. Verma and B. MacDonald, "Teaching Race in Schools: Some Effects on the attitudinal and Sociometric Patterns of Adolescents", Race, Vol. 13:2, 1971, pp. 187-202, summarises some of the aims and results of the Schools Council-Nuffield Humanities Curriculum Project on the reaching of race relations to adolescents. See also, "Guardian Extra", The Guardian, 26th October 1971, p. 12.

and allow the teacher to act as neutral chairman. The pack was not eventually published since teachers found it impossible, and sometimes undesirable, to remain neutral and often found the classroom an inappropriate place for such emotional issues to be discussed.

Some teachers, however, do attempt to teach "race relations", though more often as an integral part of a social or moral education course than as an isolated course. Some schools have allowed the development of courses on "Black Studies" which attempt to counteract the ethnocentric bias of many courses in history, geography, religion and social studies in British schools.¹

These courses have evolved with the growth of research into the ethnocentrism of school curricula and text-books in general. Ethnocentrism and racism have been found not only in the texts of books used in schools but in illustrations, films, and examination syllabuses of both schools and teacher-training institutions.² As a result, much biased material has been withdrawn and much

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1. For example, Black Studies, Media Resources Centre, Inner London Education Authority, 1972; G. Edwards, "In Search of Heroes", The Guardian, 2nd May 1973.
 2. See L. White (Ed.), Impact: World Development in British Education, Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development, September 1971, for a comprehensive account of research in these fields. B. Dufour, "Race Relations in the Curriculum - An Approach through Social Science", Ace Forum 6: Education in Multi-racial Schools, op.cit., pp. 40-47; "Race in the Curriculum", a Community Relations Commission reprint from World Studies, Education Service, Quarterly Bulletin, No. 4; Report of a Conference at Nottingham University, England, 1967; H. Cunningham, "Race in the Curriculum", McNeal and Rogers (Eds.), op.cit., pp. 134-148; "Race Relations and the Secondary School Curriculum", notes prepared for discussion by the Education Committee of the Ealing Community Relations Council, 1973.

rewritten.¹ Doubtless, however, much remains to be done, for biased material is only recognised as such and only cast aside when society in general holds a wider, more racially tolerant attitude than exists at present.

The ideal of an egalitarian multi-racial society is far from being achieved. It is certainly not the sole responsibility of the schools. Indeed, unless society at large practises what the schools preach in the field of race relations, it is doubtful whether the schools can have much impact at all.

But the teacher in the classroom cannot sit back and wait for society at large. He must deal with issues as they arise. What, for instance, should he do about the Asian girl who wears her trousers to school when British girls are not allowed to do so according to school rules? How should he try to explain the matter to her strictly religious and non-English speaking father? To whom does he owe an obligation? To the head teacher who insists on the rule? To the father who does not wish his daughter to lose her cultural links? To the assimilationists, who would have the girl conform, at least in behaviour? But if he enforces the rule, if only to be fair to the other pupils, may he not be fostering a resentment in his Asian pupil whose interests and needs he must consider? And may not that resentment be communicated to other Asians who see it as an act of hostility and against the cause of "harmonious" race relations?

This and similar issues have to be faced by teachers in the borough

1. B. Hill, "Heads may scrap racist books", Times Educational Supplement, 29th October 1971. For examples of two recent text books for adolescents on the history of Africa, both with a more Africa-centred approach, L.A. Lacy, Black Africa on the Move, London and New York, Franklin Watts, 1972; J. Hollings, African Nationalism, London, Rupert Hart-Davis, 1971.

studied, every day of the school week. Such problems defy ready answers and yet on a day to day basis answers must be found.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

The Borough

The borough where the teenagers lived and went to school straddles an area of nearly 7,500 acres in north London.

It has a population of over 240,000, a land shortage, a housing shortage and many of the problems of urban decay and dilapidation.¹ Apart from a few favoured neighbourhoods, its residential areas are overcrowded and costly.² In districts where people own their homes or live in council property they tend to stay, but there is a large, shifting population composed mainly of flat-dwellers, students, immigrants and the poor. Older, larger houses, once the pride of the affluent, have deteriorated and are open to multiple letting. Some have been demolished to

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1. See Census 1971: County Report: Greater London, Part I, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1973; between the census years, 1961 to 1971, the borough's population declined by 7.4%, but this is not much greater than the decline for London as a whole. The census showed that there was a fairly high proportion of pensioners, 17%.
 2. According to the census, 39% of households lacked the exclusive use of at least one basic amenity, (hot water supply, bath or shower, inside WC). The situation was worst in households renting furnished or unfurnished from private landlords. See footnote 1 below, p. 59.

make room for private development of modern blocks of flats.¹ On the other hand, many streets of small, Victorian terraced houses are being improved by people anxious to make a home of their own in an area where the inflation of house values has been especially dramatic. Some of these districts house a high proportion of West Indians and Cypriots.

Apart from the existence of one or two council estates, council accommodation is hard to come by. Indeed, the council even provides for homeless families in private hotels at public expense because of its shortage of suitable property. New road schemes and a programme of urban renewal further restrict the amount of accommodation available at any one time. A recently formed squatters group has, however, worked in co-operation with the borough's housing department to try to ease the situation.

Parts of the area serve as an overspill from the inner city. For many the borough represents a desirable place to which to move, a movement out of the depressed areas further south to a suburban environment with good shopping centres, parks and communications to north and south.

Many wage-earners commute southwards daily but there is extensive light industry in the borough, mostly in food and drinks, clothing and footwear, engineering and electrical trades, metal goods, timber, furniture, paper, printing and chemicals. The public services also provide much employment.

1. According to the 1971 Census, op.cit., of the borough's resident households, 35% were owner-occupied, 19% owned by the Council, 29% were unfurnished privately rented and 16% furnished privately rented. It is a reasonable assumption that few immigrant families qualify for council property and the majority will live in privately rented accommodation, which is poorest in terms of basic amenities.

Immigrants

Statistics from the 1971 Census, giving the borough's population by place of birth, were published during compilation of this report. These figures do not, of course, indicate the numbers of second generation immigrants, nor do they suggest how many children born overseas were born to British parents. Such analysis must await later data.

Between the census years 1966 and 1971 the total number of immigrants rose from over 36,000 (14.3% of the total population), to 56,000 (23.4%). 'New' Commonwealth immigrants numbered 34,595 (14.4% of the total population of the borough).

Of the groups with which this study is concerned, the West Indians form the largest proportion, as Table 3:1 indicates. Cypriots, however, are almost as numerous. Since 1966, the numbers of both these groups have increased by only about 3,000 each. Of the Asians in whom we are interested, the Indians form the higher proportion, though the numbers of Asians, from India or from East Africa, are small.

Table 3:1

Population of the Borough by Place of Birth for certain Immigrant Groups for Census Year 1971

Place of Birth	Numbers	Percentage of all born overseas*
West Indies	13,170	24.0
Cyprus	11,865	18.0
India	3,255	6.0
East Africa (mainly Kenya)	1,365	1.0
All born overseas	56,000	100.0

* All percentages are rounded up.

(Extracted from Census 1971: County Report: Greater London, Part 1, Table 14, p. 84).

Secondary Education

There are seventeen secondary schools in the borough. The three used for this survey are among eight which are fully comprehensive and co-educational. Since the comprehensive re-organisation of 1967, they have on their rolls between 900 and 1,400 pupils.

The Immigrant Pupils

In 1971, according to the official returns made by the borough to the Department of Education and Science, there were 26.6% 'immigrant pupils', (D.E.S. definition), in primary and secondary schools. In fact, the borough had the highest proportion of 'immigrants' in school of any London borough.

Table 3:2 selects from the official returns of the borough to the D.E.S. the statistics concerning those immigrant groups with which this survey is concerned. It must be remembered, however, that the official definition of 'immigrant pupil' omits all second generation immigrants and those whose parents have been in Britain for more than ten years, as well as pupils of mixed British and non-British parentage.

From this it follows that very little change will be recorded in the overall proportion of 'immigrant' pupils in school. Newcomers, such as the East African Asians whose numbers in school rose from 141 in 1969, the first year in which they are listed separately, to 322 in 1972, would swell the number of immigrants, were it not that immigrants who have been in Britain longer 'drop out' of the returns and so stabilise the statistics. The official returns over the five years 1968 to 1972 do indeed show very little change in the overall proportion of 'immigrant pupils' in school in the borough.

Table 3:2

"Immigrant Pupils", (D.E.S. definition), in School in the Borough,
20th January, 1972

	All Secondary Schools		All Schools	
	No.	% of immigrants	No.	% of immigrants
West Indians	1,452	43.0	4,926	45.0
Greek Cypriots	667	20.0	2,497	23.0
Turkish Cypriots	248	8.0	850	8.0
Indian & other Asian	285	9.0	923	9.0
Kenyan Asian	187	6.0	322	3.0

(Extracted from the official return, (Form 7(i)) to the D.E.S. from
the borough's Education Department).

Since 1968, the Educational Consultant concerned with immigrant pupils has worked hard, from his base at the Teachers' Centre, to utilise the resources of the borough for the benefit of immigrant pupils and their teachers. The primary schools especially have profited from his team's help in both the linguistic and social aspects of the education of immigrants.

The needs of secondary schools began to be assessed and tackled in earnest only a year or two before this survey was undertaken. Largely due to the more rigid structure of the secondary school, immigrants with language difficulties received very little extra help. As pressure from educationists and local immigrant parents grew, resources were made available for a new scheme for language teaching through the Language Resources Centre.

The scheme is operated under the overall supervision of the Educational Consultant and his assistant. It is aimed to help poor English speakers as well as those with no English at all. The teachers are specialists in English as a Second Language and many have taught overseas also. They are allocated to one school each, with the specific duty to teach immigrants only. They work as a team, meeting frequently to pool experiences and skills. They also work closely with other teachers in the schools in order to be able to teach their pupils the exact concepts needed in every subject in every term. Teachers working within this scheme are not available for other teaching so that their efforts with immigrant pupils may have, what was often lacking in the past, permanence and continuity. By the end of the year 1972-3, all secondary schools in the borough will enjoy the services of a language specialist. Four more will be available to help other teachers if they call at the Language Resources Centre.

This project had barely begun at the time this report was compiled so that evaluation is impossible. On paper, at least, it is an encouraging beginning. There is much wasted talent among older immigrant pupils due to language difficulties; many social difficulties spring from them; yet, these pupils have received less attention than younger ones until recently. If a working relationship between the language teacher, under the ultimate authority of the Centre, and the head teachers of the schools in which they work, can be evolved, the scheme stands a good chance of success. It would be a disaster if the specialists were regarded as jacks-of-all-trades, as have been many teachers of immigrants in the past. The pupils with whom they are working need, above all, continuous and reliable help from someone whom they can come to like and trust.

Youth and Community Relations

The Education and Youth sub-committees of the borough's Community Relations Council have acted as pressure groups to educate the public at large and the Education Department on the needs of young immigrants in the borough. Conferences and cultural events have been organised for older school children, for teachers, head teachers and the community in general.

At the time this survey was being conducted, the Cypriot Community Relations Officer and the West Indian Community Development Officer were actively trying to promote harmony between different communities in the borough. A grant from the borough enabled them to organise a number of schemes; pre-school play-groups, school holiday youth camps and a voluntary scheme for teaching English to immigrant adults were started.

Despite this activity at official and semi-official levels, inter-ethnic relations within the borough are not close. This is a characteristic, perhaps, of any widespread suburban area. But there is no doubt that the efforts of the Community Relations Council make little impact on the population of the borough at large, especially the native population, who see it as an immigrant organisation rather than one for the whole community.¹ Even by many immigrants, its officers are seen as with 'them' rather than 'us'. The Education sub-committee, on which the investigator sits, finds it difficult to attract membership from the Asian and Cypriot communities who are socially self-sufficient. Many West Indians,

1. See also G. Linscott, "Priming the Pump, The Guardian, 3rd May 1973.

the Community Relations Officer feels, are coming to believe that their interests are best served in separate organisations. The Educational Consultant, with whom the investigator had some long and useful conversations, thought that the West Indians are losing their assimilationist attitudes and are organising themselves, protectively, defensively as a group, believing more and more that, to get things done for themselves they have to, as he put it, "get unpleasant".

Very few people with whom the investigator discussed the matter were optimistic about community relations in the borough. Whatever their race or nationality, officials, leaders of community groups and youth leaders, their message was similar; prejudice and discrimination does continue; increasingly, the colour of a man's skin defines his identity and allegiance: many Cypriots identify with the white Briton and see the 'immigration issue', hopefully, as the black man's problem; Turkish and Greek Cypriots tend to keep apart; home visiting between members of different groups is rare.

Interestingly, only among school children and teachers did the investigator come across people who thought the future was bright for communal relationships. The school children, of course, are sheltered as yet but it is not unreasonable to suggest, perhaps, that many of their teachers also are sheltered from harsher social realities in the adult world outside school walls. The investigator had to be most careful in her approach in such matters to teachers. Not only was there the difficulty of gaining the complete trust of those who knew her as a research worker rather than as a regular member of staff, but also, it appeared, many felt that race was a

taboo subject. Reactions varied; some, when prompted, would discuss the issue; some from genuine interest, others, perhaps, from a desire to demonstrate their own liberal-mindedness. The most common reactions ran on the lines of: "They're all the same; I treat them all alike." .. and the somewhat defensive: "We've no problem here". Teachers in the schools used in the survey were not aware that the investigator was researching race relations as such. This meant that she was able to hear not a few unthinking, uninformed, even prejudiced remarks in the informal atmosphere of the staff room. On the other hand, in the borough at large, the investigator met some teachers of all races and nationalities who were dedicated to working towards a multi-racial community.

Though there has been as yet little racial violence, youth workers and community leaders view with growing concern the growing polarization of youth clubs into 'all-white' and 'all-black'. One West Indian leader believes that young West Indians hold an attitude of: "You don't want us and we don't want you."

Teenagers in some areas, both white-skinned and black-skinned, informed the investigator that this situation continues among young people out at work. Public houses are marked out as 'our territory' and 'yours'; gangs form in the evenings to patrol. Even 'white' youths reported that the police were "out to get" the 'black' gangs.

During the time of this survey, the Community Relations Council had set up a working party to investigate police-immigrant relations in the borough and to report to the House of Commons' Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration.¹ A survey of

1. "Police-Immigrant Relations", Report of the House of Commons' Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, Vol. I, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972; see also M. Adeney, "Black Rogues - or Unfair Cops?", The Guardian, 9th August 1972.

immigrant attitudes towards the police met with a predictably guarded response but the working party was able to come to some tentative conclusions.¹

It welcomed the attempts of the police, especially the police liaison officer, to establish better relations with young people generally and with immigrants in particular. Visits to schools, youth clubs and to the summer holiday projects for children proved worthwhile.

It felt, however, that, "Skin colour plays a significant role in the complexity of complaints about racial discrimination by the police"; And that, "the police... have not adjusted to a changing British society which is now multicultural and multi-racial." With regard to young immigrants the working party showed concern that, "Many young constables seem to expect trouble in any encounter with black youths." At a meeting held by several West Indian organisations in the borough at which the issue was raised, the working party reported that:

The general tenor of discussion, the contributions from the speakers and the reactions of the audience, all suggested that the role of black people as citizens is constantly threatened by experiences with the police involving harassment and victimisation.

On the other hand, the working party felt that an examination of police records of young persons arrested showed that neither immigrants nor black youths generally were more prone to be arrested than other members of the general public.

Reports from other boroughs suggested that relations with the police were better among Asians than West Indians, and that, unlike

1. Extracted from unpublished material lent to the investigator by the local Community Relations Council.

West Indians, Asian youths were likely to consider joining the police force.¹

In this borough, also, it seems that it is West Indian youth, boys in particular, who come up against the police. Their ethnic communities do not, it seems, provide for them the all-inclusive social life that Asian and Cypriot young people have at hand.

Since they are relatively free in the evenings, unlike Asians and Cypriots, some of their difficulties arise from their more frequent contact with white British youngsters. Jealousies arise over what are perceived as unequal job opportunities; the investigator heard several personal accounts from school-children over what they alleged were cases of racial discrimination in holiday jobs.

In the mundane routine of daily social intercourse, in bus queues, in shops, across the garden fence, social relations between host community and immigrants are, on the whole, viable enough. But for young people, non-white ones in particular, relationships outside the intimate circle of home and friends, are liable to cause uneasiness and tension.

The Schools

While still at school, however, young people are to some extent insulated from the wider society. The following pages describe the organisation and ethos of the schools which provided the facilities

1. Adeney, op.cit.

for this enquiry.

Like some other schools in the borough, these three were amalgamated in 1967 from former grammar and secondary modern schools. This entails a certain amount of physical and administrative difficulty in housing pupils in separate buildings though each one has a modern block for its main school.

All comprehensives in the borough share the pastoral system of social and academic organisation; each pupil finds him or herself assigned to a teacher throughout his school life; the pastoral teachers and their assistants are responsible for the social welfare and educational guidance of pupils in their 'houses' and should be in close touch with other teachers, parents and the pupils themselves.¹ Though details vary from school to school, the principle is that pupils and teachers should have a long-standing and personal relationship despite the large size and potentially impersonal structure of the schools.

All three schools are organised on mixed-ability lines. Setting rather than streaming is the pattern after the first year; pupils are guided into sets for some subjects like mathematics and French so that each can develop his potential according to his individual abilities. An increasing number of pupils are opting to stay at school in the fifth form in order to take the Certificate of Secondary Education, (C.S.E.), and the Ordinary Level of the General Certificate of Education, (G.C.E.); some stay on for at least one year in the sixth form, whether they take more examinations at that level or at an advanced level or not.

1. The investigator is indebted to all teachers, but particularly the pastoral heads of the schools who helped her time and again in providing information and contact with pupils.

The schools offer the usual range of subjects. As large schools they can accommodate a fairly wide variety, though pupils sometimes expressed the wish for greater choice. One fifth form girl wrote on the back of her questionnaire:

There isn't enough variety in our lessons, also I think we should have more lessons to choose from, more languages, maths. OR arithmetic, horse riding, skating and to be taught how to drive a car.

With the raising of the school leaving age in 1972 many of the fourth and fifth formers whose fifteenth birthdays fell after 31st August 1972, must stay at school until at least the end of the Spring term, 1974. The raising of the school leaving age, therefore, was a particularly personal and salient issue with many of the teenagers. Questions about the age at which they wish to leave school are always relevant to this age group; in this year, of course, they were even more so. Some spontaneously expressed an opinion:

I do not think the school leaving age should go up any more. It should stay at fifteen. Because there is no point in people staying on when there is no hope of their passing exams.

Another fourth form girl saw it as an economic and political issue:

The raising of the school leaving age is not a very good idea. Teachers get enough money as it is! They will want more for teaching more people.

Social Class

The respondents in the two schools used for the final survey were categorised into social classes according to the Registrar-General's classification. As Table 3:3 indicates, the majority

fell into classes three, four and five.¹ Classes one and two and four and five are combined for most purposes.

Table 3:3

Social Class of the Respondents according to Registrar-General's Classification, according to Parental Occupation

Social Class	1 & 2	3	4 & 5	Not known
% of Respondents	18	37	38	9

Respondents tended to identify, in so far as social class is a frame of reference at all, with the workingclass. Of all the respondents in one of the schools, asked to write about "anything that you feel strongly about", only two mentioned social class specifically, (as opposed to expressing stereotyped social class attitudes). The two comments were:

I wish the British working class would cease holding the country to ransom by striking.

and,

I feel strongly about the type of society we live in as we are ruled by a minority of people who exploit the middle and working classes.

A pilot study attempted to assess the respondents' perceptions of social class. The term proved unclear to a majority of those younger than fifteen throughout the school. Some of this age would ask what the term meant. Seventeen year olds, in the sixth form, would often argue logically that social conditions and mobility make it difficult to choose between occupation, income, standard of

1. For discussion of this categorisation see Chapter IV below, pp. 94-8.

living, education and other factors, as criteria of social class.¹ Some sophisticated individuals objected to such a classification at all on the grounds that "We're all equal now." Others maintained that they were working class because "Everyone works these days." Many recently arrived immigrants were at a loss to classify themselves in the British social class system, even if they understood the concept.

Social Climate

The investigator had ample opportunity to assess the social atmosphere and routine relationships in the three schools. On the whole, they were good. Certainly, the school used for intensive pilot work and one of those used in the final survey had outstandingly happy and relaxed atmospheres. Staff got on well among themselves and with pupils and the dominant ethos was democratic and co-operative. The other school, though run on slightly more authoritarian lines, also had a good reputation as a school where pupils were treated as individuals.

Questionnaire items support this assessment.² And a selection of many spontaneous remarks, written and oral, addressed to the investigator, illustrate individual variations in pupils' attitudes to their schools. Even when they were critical, they felt free to be so.

1. T.J. Nossiter, "Family, Class and Party among British School-children", unpublished paper, Conference on Political Socialization, Exeter University, England, September 1971, found an increased awareness of class with age.

2. See Chapter VI below, pp. 184-6.

I enjoy all my lessons in school, especially Spanish...

School dinners are not very good. The mashed potatoes have lumps...

In my opinion the comprehensive system of education is somewhat of a flop.

Pupils should have more say in how school is run.

I think everyone would benefit from informal discussion with teachers.

When someone get into t[r]ouble the teachers always stard (sic) pick on them insteat (sic) help them.

And, finally, one of the numerous complaints about that peremial issue, school uniform:

There is no real need for school uniform. If we are dressed in rags or in a dinning (sic) suit it would not alter how much we learn.

Race and Social Climate

Though the teenagers were by no means inhibited on many issues, it was clear that the social ethos of the schools did inhibit the expression of racial friction. Even in private some were hesitant to talk about race and in public responses were much influenned by social desirability. The investigator interviewed a fourth form white British boy who exemplifies how an awareness of the social desirability of 'liberal' attitudes may modify the expression of views most probably imbibed at home:

Why did you mention Enoch Powell particularly?

He should be P.M. He's right. There's too many coloureds.

Really?

I've nothing against them. They should mix. But all the coloured people they all come to London. They should put them up North.

In general, the opinion was that in school at least the races should mix, though most were aware that race relations in the wider society were problematic and controversial.¹

In school, on the whole, contact between individuals of different races was relaxed. In the playgrounds and in leisure activities, including sports, there was considerable mixing. Where friends at home tended to be in the same year at the same school they were often also of the same race. Sociometric tests used in pilot studies bore this out; friends outside school tended to come from the same neighbourhood, to attend the same clubs and often to be of the same race. A majority of the teenagers interviewed claimed that their friends were 'mixed', though this was less true of Asians, particularly the girls. One or two comments from interviews illustrate these points:

Most friends at school are all races but out of school mostly Indian, Kenyan with one or two English.

(East African Asian girl)

My friends are a mixture.

(Cypriot girl)

People should mix because if they stuck together there'll be riots. At home we had Turkish on one side and English on the other; us in the middle... My friends in school are mixed.

(West Indian girl)

At junior school we used to play (football), coloureds against white.

(White British) (My parenthesis)

Teachers and sixth formers, all of whom had supervisory duties, supported the investigator's impression that within the

1. See also Chapter V below, pp. 123-4.

schools race was a low key issue. Some teachers, of course, may have deliberately played it down for the benefit of a relative outsider.¹ But sixth formers were relatively outspoken. They admitted that they had occasional difficulties with younger pupils. Sometimes they were accused of 'picking on' an offender because of 'colour' but they themselves were adamant that their exercise of authority was fair. Some of the younger pupils interviewed did indeed express resentment at being picked on by older pupils and certain teachers but their behaviour was by no means good.

None of the schools offers a formal course in race relations though such matters may be included by individual teachers in the general or social studies courses which are taken by fourth and fifth formers for one hour per week. The local Teachers' Association had recently held a conference on the matter under the auspices of the Community Relations Council and decided that such courses should not be adopted. This decision is in line with the tendency noted above for teachers to underplay or ignore the issue altogether. Yet, to judge from some of the spontaneous comments from their pupils made to the investigator, such class-room discussion might well prove interesting. Among the things that respondents felt 'strongly about' were:

... And I think that weather (sic) your skin is Black or White you should be given a job...

What makes me annoyed is the overcrowding of Black Power...

Stricter control over immigration very urgent! because they are leaving no work for English school leavers.

Racial discrimination board is unfair.

1. See above, pp. 65-6.

... half of the schools are coloured or Greek, Indian and many others. Some are very nice-natured people but others, 75%, are not.

As some teachers emphasised, the social studies courses do allow scope for the teacher to introduce racial or political matters into discussion; indeed, the stated aim of the course in one of the schools is "to meet young persons' personal needs in the fields of social, moral, religious and health education." It is the teacher's responsibility to introduce 'hot' issues if he or she feels that they would be of interest to and relevant to the pupils' needs and if he feels that his relationship with his pupils is good enough. The problem is, of course, that some teachers may, for a variety of reasons, omit such discussion from the course and allow their pupils to go out into the world with no understanding. Moreover, the investigator's impression was that such 'general' courses, though valued by pupils as a time when they could discuss matters of concern to them, were perceived by pupils and teachers alike as a 'break' from more intensive academic work and that, consequently, the time was not rigorously and fully used.

Immigrant Pupils

Table 3:4 shows the numbers of 'immigrant pupils' (D.E.S. definition), in the two schools used for the final survey, in January 1972.

Table 3:4

'Immigrant Pupils' in Schools used in Survey, January 1972

	School One		School Two	
	Nos.	%	Nos.	%
Cypriots	61	18	109	42
Asians (mainly Indian)	31	9	19	8
East African Asians (mainly Kenyan)	46	14	14	6
West Indians	144	43	84	33
All Immigrants	342	34	259	22

(Extracted from D.E.S. Form 7(i)).

School One had a slightly higher proportion of 'immigrant pupils' than average (25%), for secondary comprehensives in the borough and School Two had a slightly lower proportion. The third school, used for pilot work, had a slightly lower than average proportion.

Investigation of the school records for the years 1968 to 1972 indicated that, according to the D.E.S. definition of 'immigrant pupil', one of the schools used in the final survey had a higher proportion of West Indians than of any other 'immigrant' group. Cypriots were the next most numerous. In the other school used for the final survey and in that used for the pilot study these positions were reversed. In all three schools, the relative proportions of each 'immigrant' group, as well as the proportion of 'immigrant pupils' vis a vis other pupils, had remained fairly stable. Only one of the three schools appears to have taken in considerable numbers of 'Kenyan' Asians since 1969, the first year in which this group were classified separately.

The school records do not, of course, indicate the racial origins of all pupils and proved useless for the purposes of this enquiry.

Education of Immigrant Pupils

Until recently, neither school used for the main survey gave high priority to the special educational needs of pupils of different races and tongues, despite the fairly high proportion of officially 'immigrant pupils' in their classrooms. There was no specific social education for new-comers to Britain and attempts to deal with language difficulties were unsystematic. Those pupils who could 'get along' in normal lessons, but whose English was not standard or was not proficient, were reliant for any extra help they needed on the class teacher who did not always have the time, expertise or inclination to give it. Only too often these pupils found themselves in the lower sets for many subjects requiring competence in language. This was so, even in the year of the survey, among fourth and fifth formers, for these pupils had completed their earlier years at school before the situation improved. Many of the immigrant pupils leaving school in the year of the survey, especially West Indians, went out into the world with very poor standards of spoken and written English.

Immigrants with insufficient English to attend normal lessons withdraw for 'special English'. For a time, at the school in which the investigator taught, they were placed with the slow learners. During 1970, a part-time teacher who had some experience, though not training, in teaching English to adult immigrants, was appointed. She had a room, approximately twelve feet by ten, in the annexe to the main building, about five to ten minutes' walk away. In here, up to fifteen non-English speakers, of different nationalities, ages and stages of development, assembled together.

Pressure on space and resources meant that they returned to normal classes at the earliest possible time. Very often this would be too soon and they would soon find themselves in the slow-learners classes or in the lowest sets.

Not surprisingly, the teacher's morale was low. She taught with few resources, in isolation from the main stream of school life. The official records for the school list the number of 'immigrant pupils' who had language difficulties in 1972 as twenty-seven. This is a grossly misleading under-estimate of the real situation.

It is, however, improving. The new arrangements for the education of immigrants, described earlier, are gradually replacing the former inadequate ones. The school in which the investigator taught will receive the additional help in 1972-73. The other school used in the main survey began to enjoy the services of a language specialist appointed under the new scheme, late in 1971.

Unfortunately, this scheme will not affect the teenagers who helped in this enquiry. It is too late for them.

CHAPTER IV

DESIGN AND ADMINISTRATION

Pilot Work

The investigator lived in the catchment area of the three schools for nine months before approaching the authorities for permission to conduct the enquiry. In that time she acquainted herself thoroughly with the borough, visited youth clubs and social events and talked with people involved with organisations concerned with different racial and ethnic groups.

An In-depth Enquiry

One early decision to be made was that of the scope and depth of the survey. To obtain a representative sample of the fourth and fifth year pupils in all eight secondary comprehensives in the borough it would be necessary for the investigator to obtain access to all. This depended largely on the goodwill and tolerance of individual head teachers. One school approached, though sympathetic, could not accept any more research workers or students during that year.

Moreover, if the normal timetables of the pupils were not to be disrupted by the investigation, all pupils in the relevant age-groups would have to complete the questionnaire and a random sample would have to be selected afterwards. This would be uneconomical in time and money.

But the most important consideration which clinched the argument against the use of a representative sample was that, given

the sensitive nature of the enquiry and the fact that the respondents were young people, a more intimate and personal approach seemed appropriate.¹

The investigator decided, therefore, to utilise her previous teaching experience to establish a close relationship with pupils in three schools in the borough, all within two to three miles of one another.

One of the three schools was used for intensive pilot work. Thus, the investigator was able to evaluate thoroughly a wide range of research techniques from sociometric tests, semi-projective sentence-completion and story-completion items, attitude scales, written autobiography to 'free' class room discussion and face-to-face interviewing. The suitability of different techniques varied with different age-groups and personalities and experience thus gained allowed the investigator to develop a flexibility of approach which proved of great value in the final survey. The questionnaire was built up on the basis of the pilot work and every pre-coded item was based on earlier open-ended items.²

The investigator spent one term in the school used for the pilot study. The head teacher was kind enough to allow her access to all pupils from the first to the sixth form. She was able, therefore, to examine the suitability of every test item in terms of its interest and comprehensibility at every age level. To most of the staff and pupils she became known gradually as a research worker, who had been a teacher, and who was interested in "what young people think of the society they are growing up in." Staff

1. See Chapter 1 above, pp. 7-8.

2. See Appendix D below, p. 332.

were most co-operative, allowing her to take over lessons occasionally so that she could meet groups of pupils and talk with small groups and individuals. With the odd exception, most pupils also enjoyed helping in the research.

Simultaneously, the investigator arranged to teach part-time on a voluntary basis at one of the other two schools which would be used for the final survey. In return, the head teacher kindly allowed access to all fourth and fifth formers, and others if needful. The investigator taught daily in the annexe to the main building, five to ten minutes walk away, where the first year pupils were accommodated. In this way she had continuous contact with the school but her role as a researcher in the main building did not, as far as she could ascertain, conflict with her role as a teacher to the eleven year olds. At various times she took the opportunity to 'fill in' for classes right the way through the school so as to acquaint herself thoroughly with the pupils. Participant observation was possible at almost any time of the day, in the streets on the way to and from school, in the playground, in the sixth form social room, in the class rooms and corridors and in the staff room.

Rapport

Two terms at the school allowed the investigator time to gain the trust of the teenagers. They came to accept her as a member of the school community and a familiar figure around the school; someone who, while not a teacher, was interested in their ambitions and views on life.¹

1. Many teenagers relaxed considerably once they understood that the investigator was not a teacher.

Instruments of the enquiry were only used in this school after being evaluated in the school where the pilot studies were conducted. Unsuitable items and those which did not sufficiently conceal the racial interests of the survey were thereby eliminated. On the other hand, items were probed more deeply and with less concealment of racial connotations in the school used for the pilot work, when this was important. The insight thus gained helped the investigator to reach richer interpretations of the final test data than would otherwise have been possible.

The twin policies of concealment of explicit racial interest and of the establishment of rapport with fourth and fifth formers obviated any need for interviewers of the same ethnic or racial type as the respondents. Research findings indicate that the race of the interviewer can influence responses.¹ The investigator took considerable pains to establish herself as a person, rather than as a member of any particular national, ethnic or racial group. She introduced questions with a racial content into both questionnaire and interviews in as logical and natural a manner as possible in an effort to ensure that every respondent should be thinking of himself primarily as a young person soon to go out into the world, rather than as a West Indian, for instance, or a Cypriot, a 'coloured' person or a 'white' one.

The investigator was not able to become a quasi-member of the other school used for the final survey but she took steps instead to visit the school on occasion, to talk to staff and to be as

1. W.W. Daniel, Racial Discrimination in England, London, Penguin, 1968, p. 249; D. Oliensis, 'Inter-Racial Attitudes of Kenyan Secondary School Students', Race, Vol. 8, 1967, pp. 345-55.

visible as possible to pupils so that she should not be a complete stranger at the final testing. This arrangement, though not so satisfactory as the other one, was the best that could be made given the administrative difficulties.

Even so, some fifth form girls were somewhat suspicious and evasive, particularly a group of West Indians, who, it turned out, were inclined to be unco-operative generally. It is indicative of the importance of rapport in a study of this nature that, in this school, pupils availed themselves far more frequently of the choice they were given of not giving their names on the questionnaire. This deprived the investigator of the opportunity to cross-check matters of fact with personal records held by the school but it did, in the opinion of the investigator, produce a higher response to the more intimate questions than would otherwise have been the case.

One or two quotations from remarks written by the respondents onto their questionnaires will illustrate the importance of rapport in this type of enquiry.

Many, like this girl, took the whole thing very seriously:

I think that what your (sic) doing is quite a good idea. I only hope you do really achive (sic) something.

Another completed every question but commented:

I think that on the whole the questions were good. Some I resenter (sic) answering like the ones on what my parents do for a living...

And someone else declared:

I liked the idea of having this type of survay (sic) about us and our views. Some of the questions were personal but I liked not having to put my name.

One girl wrote briefly:

Glad I was of an assistance to your surveys.
Thank you.

But others could not be satisfied:

This questionnaire is not bad but leaves out other important matters, e.g. Common Market, Drugs, the poor and starving, Homeless, and Sport which is becoming a money earning business as well as a good Ambassador for Britain with other countries, And Sex.

The Respondents

All pupils in the fourth and fifth forms in the two schools, present on the day of the survey, completed the paper-and-pencil questionnaire. Of the 559 respondents only four had their questionnaires rejected on grounds of illegibility or incomprehensibility.

It was difficult to decide the criteria upon which classification of the respondents was to depend. Initially, the assumption was made that the school records would yield information on the country of birth and nationality of the respondents; this, it was assumed, would yield sufficient information, together with a cross-check of the racial group of each person which the investigator would make while administering the questionnaires, to allow the exclusion of any respondents who did not fit into any major category.

School records, however, proved unreliable, out of date, or incomplete. Classification by country of origin did not, of course, fit neatly with racial or ethnic group, especially for Asians; classification according to parental origin proved even more problematic.

Ethnic Group and Race¹

Finally, the decision was made to use the following classification, based upon data gleaned from records, respondents' own reports, teachers' knowledge and the investigator's own observation of every respondent during the conduct of the questionnaire.

Four major categories were compiled. These were:

White Britons, of European or 'Caucasion' racial type, born in Great Britain or Northern Ireland, of British parents of the same racial type, or born elsewhere of British parents of the same racial type;

Cypriots, of 'European' or 'Caucasian' racial type, born in Cyprus or Britain or elsewhere, of parents born in Cyprus, Greece or the United States of America, of Cypriot origin;

Asians, of 'Asian' racial type, born in India, East Africa or Britain, of Asian parents, born in Asia, East Africa or elsewhere;

West Indians, of 'Negro' racial type, born in the West Indies, including Guyana, or in Britain, of parents born in the West Indies or Britain;

In the few cases where 'mixed' parentage occurred, the father's racial group was used, if possible, as the basis for classification.

These categories identify as immigrants those born overseas or in Britain of parents of a non-British origin. The term 'white Britons' is, therefore, used throughout to emphasise the fact that, technically, there are many 'black British' respondents who are categorized here as immigrants. The term 'immigrant' is used here in a wider sense than that used by the D.E.S.; it

1. For further discussions of these concepts, see Chapter V below, pp. 103-6.

employs country of origin and racial type as the main criteria of classification.

Ten questionnaires were excluded from the analysis since the respondents did not fit into any major category. There were a number of problems even so. The Asians proved the most difficult cases to classify for many of them had migrated all over the world, with or without their families, and many were unable to state definitely where their parents were born. Physical appearance, religion and language were then used to aid classification. Only four per cent of the respondents, it is estimated, had parents born in Pakistan. Of the seven per cent of respondents born in that country, only two respondents were Muslim. The majority of Asians were probably of Indian origin. Forty-nine per cent of the East African born Asians claimed that their parents were born there also, but they were all Hindu or Sikh rather than Muslim. Seventy-seven per cent of Indian born respondents claimed Indian born parents and six per cent East African.

Table 4:1

<u>Ethnic Group of the Respondents</u>						
Ethnic Group	School 1		School 2		Total	
	m nos.	f nos.	m nos.	f nos.	nos.	%
Cypriots	17	12	33	16	78	15.00
Asians	19	21	14	6	60	11.00
West Indians	38	31	22	18	109	20.00
White Britains	48	50	87	113	298	55.00
All Respondents	122	114	156	153	545	100.00

Table 4:1 indicates how the respondents were distributed over the four ethnic groups identified above and Table 4:2 shows the proportions of each ethnic group, apart from the four per cent of white Britains born abroad to white British parents, who are second generation immigrants.

Table 4:2

First and Second Generation Immigrants in each Ethnic Group

	% born in Britain	% born Overseas
Cypriots	52	48
Asians	7	93
West Indians	24	76
White Britons	96	4
All Groups	65	35

Over half the Cypriots were born in Britain and a quarter of the West Indians. Only a small minority of Asians, however, were born in Britain.

Table 4:3 indicates the respondents' country or region of birth.

Table 4:3

<u>Respondents' Countries or Regions of Birth</u>							
%	Britain	West Indies	East Africa	India	Pakistan	Cyprus	Overseas but unknown/elsewhere
Cypriots	52	-	-	-	-	43	5
Asians	7	-	50	22	7	-	14
West Indians	24	69	-	-	-	-	7
White Britons	96	-	-	-	-	-	4

Table 4:4 indicates the birthplace of the respondents' parents where this is certain.

Table 4:4

<u>Parents' Countries or Regions of Birth (usually father)</u>							
%	Britain	West Indies	East Africa	India	Pakistan	Cyprus	Unknown/Overseas
Cypriots	-	-	-	-	-	91	9
Asians	2	-	25	54	4	-	15
West Indians	1	92	-	-	-	-	7
White Britons	87	-	-	4	-	-	9

The operational classification of the respondents recorded above is not entirely satisfactory in all respects. Racial and ethnic categories are notoriously difficult to apply. This one, for instance, fails to recognise important differences of culture and background between respondents categorised together. Hindu and Sikh Asians, Christian and Muslim Cypriots are not differentiated, for instance; nor are Asians from a rural background and those from an urban one. Similarly, the West Indian from Jamaica is categorised under the same group as one from

a different background and culture in Guyana; and just as the English-born West Indian may feel culturally more akin to his white British city dweller than he does to his brown-skinned brother in St. Kitts, so might white British youngsters from rural Wales feel little in common with their city cousins.

Some of these sub-group differences are taken into account in interpretation of the data from the questionnaires. Material from interviews is especially helpful for this. But at some point a somewhat arbitrary line has to be drawn, otherwise sub-group differentiation would make analysis and interpretation of the data most complex. The investigator considered a more stringent categorisation, particularly with regard to religious differences and social background, but decided against this, largely on the ground that other important variables would then justify inclusion.

Instead, she decided that the major overlapping divisions should be between immigrants and hosts and between white-skinned European racial types and brown- or black-skinned Asians and Negroes.¹ In this way, the analysis can compare and contrast both immigrant with hosts', and white-skinned immigrants' with non-white skinned immigrants' perceptions of the socio-political scene in Britain. The focus on skin colour will allow some estimation of whether this variable is important when immigrants' perceptions of their own roles and statuses in British society are considered. Cypriots, though immigrants, share racial characteristics with

1. For discussion of the different analytical approaches to the study of race relations, see S. Allen, New Minorities, Old Conflicts, New York, Random House, 1970, pp. 3-28; M. Banton, Race Relations, London, Tavistock, 1967, pp. 1-11 and pp. 55-76; S. Patterson, Dark Strangers, London, Penguin, pp. 16-19.

their hosts. They may, therefore, provide some interesting data, which may confound any interpretation on an exclusively host-immigrant or white-skin-black-skin schema.

There are, of course, difficulties in allocating people to even such broad racial groups as European (or Caucasian), Asian and Negro. Even within these groups there are variations and the dividing line between different skin colours is not always sharp. There is, however, a justification, for the purposes of this enquiry, for a classification by race, however crude, based on region of origin and skin colour.

The 'white' and 'non-white' classification is a salient feature of society in Britain. As Mark Bonham-Carter, Chairman of the Race Relations Board, has said recently:

The difficulties (in a multi-racial school) ... are often a result of cultural differences, rather than because of race or colour. (But) What is true is that the 'coloured' immigrant is readily identifiable and every teacher knows that children respond to the expectations of those who teach them.¹

He may well have added that they respond to the expectations and attitudes of society in general. From discussions the investigator had with young people, youth leaders and officials in the borough, she came to the conclusion that it would not be unrealistic to assume that the superficial but immediately visible characteristic of skin colour is the major criterion by which people define the identity of others.² As a general rule, white Britons do not take

1. From a talk reported in the local Community Relations Council's Newsletter, February 1972; my parentheses.

2. For an interesting instance of this at an official level, S. Bentley, "Identity and Community Cooperation: A note on Terminology", Race, Vol. 14:1, 1972, pp. 70-76.

care to distinguish between the Sikh and the Hindu Asian, nor the light-skinned Barbadian and the darker West Indian, or West African; all are 'coloured', perceived, often erroneously, as a group sharing identity, and often treated as such.

To people categorised by their hosts as 'coloureds', differences between them may be important and salient. But it is reasonable to suggest that, where a minority group or individual has the host society as his frame of reference, then skin-colour differences become more salient. The immigrant sees himself in part as he is seen by the host society. One West Indian boy, for instance, described himself as English on the grounds that he was born in England. Asked if he thought that was the best way to describe himself, he replied without hesitation: "No, coloured."

In the face of what some immigrants see as a threatening social situation, they have in recent years identified themselves proudly by racial characteristics. As one West Indian girl told the investigator:

I don't know what it (Black Power) means but I believe in it.

Some respondents identified themselves as 'black'; but others perceived this more militantly racial identification with suspicion and preferred the term 'coloured'.

On such grounds, therefore, the investigator decided that a classification of the teenagers on broad racial and ethnic lines would not be an over-simplification of social reality as reflected in the attitudes of hosts and immigrants towards the society in which they were living.

1. My parenthesis.

Length of Residence in Britain

An enquiry which probes the perceptions of people towards the society in which they are living must take into account the length of time they have had to absorb knowledge and experiences of it and their opportunities to compare it with other societies they have known.

The matter is, of course, complicated; it makes a difference whether or not a teenager is living with his family and whether his people want him to feel at home in Britain; it makes a difference how well he can communicate in English, how many British friends he has and how old he was when he left his former home. Obviously, to find out how long a person has lived in Britain does not indicate how integrated or assimilated he is. Nevertheless, such a variable has some validity and some practical advantages. It is information which is fairly easily obtainable and it does indicate how many years of British education the respondents have had.¹ Those who have been in Britain from birth or for more than ten years will have had both primary and secondary education here; those in Britain between ten and five years will have had at least all their secondary education here; those who arrived less than five years ago may have had only a brief experience of secondary education.

Table 4:5 shows how long the respondents in each ethnic group have been in Britain. The percentages do not add up to one hundred per cent partly because, as elsewhere in this study, they are

1. Of course, some newcomers may wait weeks, even months, for a place in a secondary school, particularly those whose parents have one short term visa after another; for there is no requirement that a school should accept such children and many overcrowded ones resist taking such entrants. Other newcomers, casual admissions, may move from one school to another in the process of settling.

rounded up, partly because some white Britons were returned emigrants and partly because the facts about a few respondents were in doubt and omitted from the table.

Table 4:5

%	<u>Length of Residence in Britain</u>			
	Birth	More than ten years	More than five years	Less than five years
Cypriots	52	19	18	11
Asians	7	17	27	50
West Indians	24	16	26	33
White Britons	96	2	2	1
All Groups	65	10	12	15

While one third of the West Indians and half the Asians arrived in Britain very recently, the majority of the Cypriots were born in Britain or have been here for most of their school days.

Social Class

The Registrar General's classification by occupation was used to define the social class of the respondents.¹ Respondents with fathers in social classes one and two, higher administrative, professional and self-employed business people, are, broadly, upper and middle class; those with fathers in social class three, skilled workers and others in white-collar clerical work, are, broadly, lower middle class; those with fathers in classes four and five, in semi-and unskilled work, are, broadly, lower or working class.

1. M. Abrams, "Some Measurements of Social Stratification in Britain". Social Stratification, J.A. Jackson (Ed.), Cambridge University Press, 1968, pp. 133-44.

Analysis of the data by investigation of the social class of the respondents is done sparingly and with caution; for one thing, the information on which such a classification is based was not one hundred per cent reliable; and for another, there are problems in applying the concept of social class on a multi-cultural sample.

It proved most difficult to obtain details of family backgrounds, parental occupation, income, education or accommodation. Direct questioning of the respondents or of teachers was often, pilot studies revealed, perceived as an unwarranted intrusion into private affairs and, in any case, so subjective were many reports that their reliability was suspect if they were to serve as a basis for establishing criteria of objective social class. Even where information was given willingly it was often insufficiently detailed.

In view of these practical difficulties the investigator decided to use the criterion of father's occupation as a basis for establishing the respondents' social class, despite the fact that this oversimplifies a sophisticated concept.¹

A more sophisticated approach would take into account, at the least, not only father's occupation but also parental income, education and living standards. Even if father's occupation is accepted as an adequate criterion, there are problems, in an era of job-scarcity and both inter- and intra-generational mobility, of ascertaining (by occupation of his father) the social class of

1. For a study using a more sophisticated approach see R.E. Dowse and J. Hughes, "The Family, the School and the Political Socialization Process", Sociology, Vol. 5, January 1971, pp. 21-45.

a young person not yet at work himself. The background and influence of the mother may also be highly relevant; she may be of different social origins from her husband and may well be in an occupation which would place her in a different social class. In the case of one-parent families, moreover, parental occupations may give no guide to the children's living standards.

The one-parent family is, of course, common among native children, but it is even more so among immigrants. For some it may be a temporary phase while the family is re-united. For others it may be more permanent; many West Indians, for instance, live with mother alone and she may be entirely without male support in raising her family; in such cases it often makes more sense to use the mother's occupation as the criterion.

The present occupation of many immigrant heads of household may be misleading as criteria of social class. The newcomer, in particular, may take whatever job can be found; this was often the case with East African Asians who had professional backgrounds but were working in semi- and unskilled jobs in Britain. Some respondents entered the father's former occupation on the questionnaire and interviews revealed that they did this to hide the fact that the father had suffered a loss of status after emigration to Britain. In such cases, also, the investigator had to use the criterion of father's occupation flexibly.

A more fundamental criticism of the application of the concept of social class to a multi-cultural sample is that immigrants, particularly newcomers, cannot usefully be categorised within any

social class in Britain.¹ They do not have a place in the social structure nor do they conform to British norms and values.

In view of all these problems, both theoretical and practical, in using social class as a variable, it would seem that there is little point in including it at all. The investigator decided, however, that one consideration made analysis by social class useful. This was that it would allow systematic analysis by class for the native respondents; their attitudes would then be a standard by which to judge the attitudes of immigrant groups. It should be emphasised, nonetheless, that such analysis of the data is highly tentative.

From Table 4:6 it is clear that the distribution of all four groups among the five social classes is similar.

Table 4:6

Distribution of Ethnic Groups among five social classes, (Registrar-General's classification by parental occupation).

%	Social Class					
	1	2	3	4	5	Not known
Cypriots	3	22	23	36	13	6
Asians	7	25	25	19	15	10
West Indians	4	4	44	21	9	22
White Britons	3	15	41	24	16	4
All Groups	3	15	37	24	14	8

Cypriots and Asians have a higher proportion than average in class two, partly because some respondents reported their fathers'

1. D.G. MacRae, "Classlessness", New Society, 26th October 1972, pp. 208-210.

previous occupations and partly because both groups have in them a number of self-employed business people. A large number of Cypriots fall into the semi-skilled category as machinists and tailors. West Indians have a low proportion in classes one and two compared with other groups and a high proportion in class three. The proportions of respondents in classes four and five may well have been under-estimated for West Indians, and indeed, all groups; this is because respondents' descriptions of their parents' occupations were not always precise enough to allow the investigator to distinguish skilled, (class three), jobs from semi- and unskilled ones, (classes four and five); doubtful cases were systematically placed in class three. The higher proportion of 'don't knows' and 'unascertained' among West Indians is partly a consequence of the one-parent problem noted above and partly, the investigator suspects, due to a greater reluctance by respondents whose parents were in low status jobs or unemployed to give this information.

Since, for most purposes in this study, classes one and two and four and five, are combined, the distribution of ethnic groups on this basis is shown in Table 4:7. It highlights the bunching of Cypriots and Asians in the higher classes, compared with the overall distribution. The opposite is the case for white Britons and West Indians.

Table 4:7Distribution of Ethnic Groups among Three Social Classes

%	Social Class			
	1 and 2	3	4 and 5	Not known
Cypriots	25	23	49	6
Asians	32	25	34	10
West Indians	8	44	29	22
White Britons	18	41	39	4
All Groups	18	37	38	9

The Instruments of the Enquiry

A pre-coded questionnaire formed the basis of the enquiry, (Appendix D). This was supported by extensive informal interviewing and participant observation and by formal, semi-structured interviews by the investigator with ten per cent of the respondents. These were held as a follow-up to the questionnaire after some preliminary analysis.

Administration and Analysis of the Tests

The investigator administered all the questionnaires personally but on a slightly different basis in the two schools owing to the different administrative arrangements with which she felt it necessary to fit in.

In the school in which she taught she had greater freedom to arrange matters as she pleased. Through the co-operation of the teachers who taught General Studies to fourth and fifth forms, she was able to present the questionnaires on a class by class basis in

a timetable slot that fitted well with the focus of interest of the questionnaire. Each class had one hour and ten minutes with her. This was ample time for an introduction and for even the slowest respondent to complete the questions. Queries could be dealt with as they arose.

In the other school more than one class at a time were assembled in the hall so that there was a certain disturbance to routine and a greater than usual atmosphere of excitement. The investigator was still able to conduct the administration personally.

In both schools teachers went out of their way to co-operate fully. The investigator asked that they should be present to settle the respondents and then to leave. In this way the promise of complete secrecy and privacy regarding the respondents' answers would be respected.

The introductory remarks made at each administration of the questionnaire were substantially the same. The main points were that the researcher was trying to find out what young people thought about the society in which they were growing up and about their ambitions and interests; their replies were in strict confidence and would be seen by no teacher, parent or any one except the investigator. Their help was entirely voluntary but, if they wished, it could be anonymous.

Well over two-thirds of the respondents did identify themselves though a greater proportion in the school in which the investigator was less well known did not do so. Despite the fact that the idea of anonymity or pseudonymity appealed to some, no questionnaire had to be discarded completely because of obviously flippant replies.

Many respondents enquired about when they would be told 'the results' and asked more about the aims of the enquiry. One fifth form girl told the investigator that she enjoyed completing the questionnaire because it had made her think about herself in ways she had never done before.

When someone seemed unable to comprehend, the investigator encouraged without directional prompting; merely reading out the question in point was often enough to stimulate endeavour. The higher non-response rate on the later questions reflects the fact that for some the effort of reading and writing made at the start could not be sustained to the end.

In order to compensate for the fact that less rapport had been established in the school in which the investigator did not teach, twenty minutes longer was allowed for the administration of the questionnaires. This gave more time for the introduction and for preliminary queries. The investigator was still able to follow up most individual difficulties despite the larger groups. In this school, and for those who completed the questionnaire before time, there was opportunity for the respondents to 'write down anything you feel strongly about', on the back of their papers. Many filled a whole foolscap sheet with their views. They ranged from school affairs, teenage pre-occupations in general, to matters of social, even global importance. These data proved most fruitful for assessing the social climate of the schools as well as reactions to the questionnaire itself.

The interviews also were voluntary though in fact nobody refused one. Interviewees were not selected randomly as a subsample of the total population. Those of particular interest or

who presented problems for analysis were chosen. But since many were taking examinations and even leaving school in the latter part of the summer term practical considerations were often decisive. The interviews were held over three weeks throughout the school day whenever respondents could be available. . Each interview lasted between twenty and forty minutes. They were held in free areas, whether they were classrooms, the medical inspection room or on the grass outside. Informality was the aim, each interview, though guided, taking its individual turn.

CHAPTER V

RACE, ETHNIC GROUP AND NATIONALITY

This chapter attempts to answer some of the questions posed in Chapter One;

How far is their race, ethnic group or nationality a salient matter with these young people?

and,

With which racial, ethnic or national groups, if any, do they identify themselves, when, if necessary, they are prompted to do so?

Definitions

The terms race, ethnic group and nationality are commonly used interchangeably; indeed the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary defines them in terms of each other. So far here they have been defined on an operational basis only.¹

Race

The biological use of the word 'race' alludes strictly to the inherited characteristics of 'a tribe', nation or people, regarded as of common stock.² A race transmits a complex of physical features from one generation to the next.

1. Chapter IV above, p. 86.

2. S. Allen, New Minorities, Old Conflicts, New York, Random House, 1970, p.4.

While the term may be clear enough conceptually, it is difficult to apply empirically.¹ One obvious reason for this is that genetic and cultural features may both be 'transmitted' and are often difficult to distinguish. This is why a definition which takes this into account may be more useful. Here, the term race is used to mean, as in common parlance, a social category based upon biological characteristics like skin colour.²

Ethnic Group

An ethnic group, however, may or may not share a biological inheritance, though it often does. Use of the term here indicates that it is social or cultural affinity which is being stressed in the context, rather than racial characteristics. Hulse's definition is useful in this study: he defines an ethnic group as:

a recognizable socio-cultural unit based upon some form of national or tribal distinction, which lives among other people rather than in its own country. The unity is one of sentiment and tradition.³

Here, of course, white Britons are labelled as an ethnic group even though they live in their own country. It is true, also, that there are wide differences of culture between one group of Asians or Cypriots or West Indians and another, so that 'unity of sentiment and tradition' may be more in the eyes of the outsider than in the hearts of members of an ethnic group; nevertheless,

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1. P. Mason, Race Relations, Oxford University Press, 1970, pp.9-34; A.H. Richmond, "Introduction", Readings in Race and Ethnic Relations, Ed. A.H. Richmond, Oxford, Pergamon, 1972, pp. 1-29; D.W. Harding, "What do the Genes Decide?", Overseas Challenge, Vol. 22, Spring 1972, pp. 14-18.
 2. J.D.R. Porter, Black Child. White Child, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1971, p. 13.
 3. F.S. Hulse, "Ethnic, Caste and Genetic Miscegenation", Richmond, (Ed.), op.cit., p. 35.

they share enough cultural and social features for there to be some justification for labelling them a group recognizable as such in a foreign land.

Nationality

The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary defines the ambiguous term nation as:

a distinct race or people, characterized by common descent, language or history, usually organised as a separate political state and occupying a definite territory.

This Weberian definition begs many questions but it does serve to emphasise the political connotation of the term which is dominant in this study.¹

There are, then, some conceptual features common to the terms race, ethnic group and nationality. But in this study, race connotes social categories based upon physical characteristics; ethnic group connotes shared traditions and a real or perceived sentiment of solidarity; and a person's nationality is the political identification he makes.

Of course, since even adults do not, these young people could not be expected to distinguish strictly between these terms, even if they understood them at all. For example, a boy from Jamaica may well refer to himself as coloured, black, Negro, West Indian, Jamaican or even, "English, because I live here." Moreover, self-reference as Cypriot, Indian or Jamaican does not necessarily mean

1. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, (Eds.), From Max Weber, Revised Edition, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970, pp. 171-9; see also, R. Rose, Governing without Consensus, London, Faber, 1971, p. 28 and p. 203.

that the person identifies with that group as a community, 'a group of people who feel they belong together.'¹ He may be identifying a geographical or racial category.

Obviously, there are nuances of meaning involved which differ according to the individual's immediate frame of reference as well as with his more general social orientation. To the racially-prejudiced white Briton, the term, 'coloured', will carry overtones which may not exist if used by a 'coloured' person. The assertion, 'I'm British', will connote something different when passports are the issue from when geographical origins are.

Related Studies

In an enquiry about the social identifications of young people from different ethnic groups, it is important to establish how far they are aware of racial, ethnic and national issues in their daily lives. This will vary with each person's experiences and with the immediate social context. Here, as was explained, race was not emphasised as a feature of the social situation in which the tests were administered.

Awareness of Racial, Ethnic and National Categories

A person must have developed the perceptual and cognitive ability to be aware of racial, ethnic and national categories, (REN), before he can find them salient. Once they become salient,

1. Gerth and Mills, (Eds.), op.cit., p. 183.

he may acquire attitudes towards them, even though he may not completely understand them.¹

There is little doubt that RACIAL awareness develops in early childhood and that people are able to make racial value-judgements at an early age. Research has concentrated on tracing the development of young children's awareness of and attitudes towards racial differences. Until recently, much of it was conducted in the United States of America where the racial and ethnic context is so different as to render findings largely irrelevant for Great Britain. Most research has investigated differences in awareness and in attitudes between white-skinned and black-skinned (negro) subjects.

The few studies conducted in Britain have also concentrated on white British and negro children. Most of these studies are limited in their significance because of their small scale. Findings are rarely comparable because of the differences in technique and the social situation in which they were conducted. Some share with the American studies a rather serious methodological deficiency.² This stems from the problem of interpreting data gleaned from very young subjects. Some studies ask the children to identify themselves from photographs, drawings or dolls,

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1. G. Jahoda, T. Veness, I. Pushkin, "Awareness of Ethnic Differences in Young Children: Proposals for a British Study", Race, Vol.8, 1966, pp. 63-74.
 2. For American studies, R. Horowitz, "Racial Aspects of Self-Identification in Nursery School Children", Journal of Psychology, Vol. 7, 1939, pp. 91-9; K.B. Clark and M.P. Clark, "The Development of Consciousness of Self and the Emergence of Racial Identity in Negro Pre-school Children", Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 10, 1939, pp. 591-99.

according to racial type. But they are unable to distinguish between the children's perceptual and cognitive skills and their affective and evaluative attitudes. This is especially important where the child, aware of the social status of different racial types, identifies himself with the racial type of the preferred status.¹

The technique which asks children to distinguish between dolls of different racial types, but not to identify themselves, avoids this problem but still does not distinguish perceptual awareness from awareness of the social status of different racial types.

There are many variables which are likely to influence the age at which racial differences are realized and attitudes towards them formed. According to Goodman, the main ones are the child's perceptual keenness and stage of cognitive development, his opportunities to observe physical and social differences between people, either directly or through the media, and his observation of other people's reactions to racial features.²

Generally, British studies support American conclusions which suggest that racial awareness may develop in pre-school children as early as the age of three. Attitudes also develop

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1. J. Hubbard, "Racial Attitudes in Young Children and their Parents' Attitudes to Child Rearing and Social Problems", unpublished dissertation for Diploma in Child Development, London University Institute of Education, 1965; I. Pushkin, "A Study of Ethnic Choice in the Play of Young Children in Three London Districts", Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1967.
 2. M.E. Goodman, Race Awareness in Young Children, 2nd Enlarged Edition, New York, Collier, 1964.

early but understanding and attitudes become more complex as the child grows older. In Britain to date there have been no extensive studies exploring systematically the influence of social class, sex, skin colour, social contact and climate on the rate and types of awareness in children.

Marsh studied three to seven year olds, negroes and white British, who were fostered out in East Sussex.¹ The foster parents and siblings were all white-skinned. Marsh found that racial awareness was not associated with any systematic racial preferences in the children. He reasoned that close contact with white-skinned foster parents and siblings and minimal contact with negroes probably accounted for a lack of racial prejudice in his subjects. This reasoning indicates that the family environment may be an important factor in the development of racial attitudes in pre-school children. This, of course, seems highly probable but further research is needed to sort out the influence of racial contacts within the family and the expression of racial attitudes by family members. Marsh himself concluded that children do not necessarily attach value judgements to racial categories unless they are exposed to socializing forces characterised by overt racial consciousness and/or hostility.

Brown and Johnson studied English children aged from three to eleven in playgroups and primary schools.² They tried to ascertain whether there was any developmental trend in their

1. A. Marsh, "Racial Differences in West African and British Children", Race, Vol. 11:3, 1970, pp. 289-302.

2. G. Brown and S. Johnson, "The Attribution of Behavioural Connotations to Shaded and White Figures by Caucasian Children", British Journal of Clinical Psychology, Vol.10:4, 1971, pp. 306-12.

subjects' allocation of positive and negative judgements of the behaviour of white-skinned and negro children whose pictures they were shown. Under-fives, they found, made random judgements. Five to eight year olds progressively made positive statements about the negro figures but the eight to eleven year olds showed a slight decline in this trend. Interestingly, they noticed a connection between racial contact and attitudes; the more frequent the contact, the more positive the attitudes and vice versa.

This study appears to support the suggestion that socializing forces, this time at school, are highly influential in the development of young children's racial awareness and attitudes. But the authors are, perhaps, somewhat naive in their view that racial contact minimises racial prejudice. Much depends on the quality of the contact.

True, Laisley found that racial awareness and preference were not much in evidence among the youngsters she studied.¹ Her subjects were all in London nursery schools, both mixed and all-white. But she stressed that the low salience of race was probably due to the fact that the social climate of the schools was relaxed and that teachers were markedly egalitarian.

Other recent British studies also point to the importance of racial contact and climate for the rate of growth and the quality

1. J. Laishley, "Skin Colour Awareness and Preferences in London Nursery-School Children", Race, Vol. 13:1, 1971, pp. 45-64.

of young children's racial awareness. But their findings were not optimistic for race relations.

Pushkin found that prejudice among English children against negroes increased in intensity from the age of five.¹ English mothers tended to be more hostile to non-whites if they lived in a racially tense area. Presumably, these hostilities would be communicated to their children who in turn would develop them at school.

Studies exploring the racial self-identifications of young children indicate that they become sensitive to the racial climate at an early age. Milner compared the self-identifications of English children in Bristol with those of West Indian and Asian immigrants.² Almost half the West Indians identified with the white dolls and nearly three-quarters maintained that they would rather be the white doll. The pattern was similar for Asians though fewer mis-identified themselves racially. No English child identified with non-white dolls. These findings are similar to American ones and to the few conducted in Britain. Hubbard, for instance, found that five and six year olds were aware of colour differences and of the low status of dark skins.³

A study conducted recently in north London schools suggested that immigrant, especially non-white, adolescents may find it

1. Pushkin, op.cit.

2. D. Milner, "Ethnic Identity and Preference in Minority Group Children", Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Bristol University, England, 1971.

3. Hubbard, op.cit.

particularly difficult to establish their identity.¹ Bhatnagar found that West Indians were less socially acceptable than Cypriots and argued convincingly that social acceptability depended importantly on skin colour. The West Indians' awareness of their lowly social status damaged their self-esteem and confused their images of themselves.

Sometimes, as Sandford puts it, members of low-status minority groups show a kind of identification with the dominant group as "a desperate attempt to solve the crisis in the self."² This can be particularly acute at adolescence as contact with a wider society subjects a person to cross-pressures from reference groups and individuals outside the family. New values and new aspirations may then arise.³

Most British studies concerned with adolescents concentrate on social relationships and the development of prejudice or on

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1. J. Bhatnagar, Immigrants at School, London, Cornmarket Press, 1970, pp. 145-7.
 2. N. Sandford, "The Dynamics of Identification", Psychological Review, Vol. 62:2, 1955, pp. 106-18.
 3. For an inter-disciplinary approach to this widely investigated subject: A.S. Phillips, "Self-Concepts in Children", Educational Research, Vol. 6, 1963-4, pp. 104-9; O.G. Brim and S. Wheeler, Socialization after Childhood: Two Essays, New York, Wiley, 1967, pp. 3-17; B.C. Rosen, "Conflicting Group Membership: A Study of Parent-Peer Group Cross-Pressures", American Sociological Review, Vol. 20, 1955, pp. 155-61; K. Polk and W. Pink, "Youth Culture and the School: A Replication", British Journal of Sociology, Vol.22:2, 1971, pp. 160-71; M. Sherif and C.W. Sherif, Reference Groups, New York, Harper and Row, 1964, esp. pp. 1-34; S.N. Eisenstadt, "Studies in Reference Group Behaviour", Human Relations, Vol.7, 1954, pp. 191-216.

comparing academic performance.¹ Few of these are directly relevant here. One or two may be mentioned, nevertheless, since they again point to the importance of racial contact and climate for the quality of racial attitudes. Kawwa studied eleven to seventeen year olds in London and Lowestoft.² In London, the subjects proved more ethnocentric than in Lowestoft in so far as their choice of friends went. The Lowestoft youngsters also expressed more tolerant racial attitudes even though, or because, their contact with immigrants was less frequent.

In a later study, Kawwa found that non-white schoolchildren were more racially hostile than whites and that strong ethnocentric attitudes developed as early as seven years.³ Again, racial contact seems to have encouraged racial awareness and hostility. Rex and Moore's study of Sparkbrook indicates that the general resentment of young people in a deprived area may spill

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1. e.g., K.G. Rowley, "Social Relations between British and Immigrant Children", Educational Research, Vol.10, 1967-8, pp. 145-8; M.O. Durojaiye, "Race Relations among Junior School Children", Educational Research, Vol.11, 1969, pp.226-8; S. Lederman, "An Investigation into Some Factors relevant to the Social Acceptance of Immigrant Boys into Secondary Schools", Unpublished M.A. (Arts) thesis, London University Institute of Education, 1968; J. Sargeant, "Participation of West Indian Boys in English Schools' Sports Teams", Educational Research, Vol.14:3, 1972, pp. 225-30.
 2. T. Kawwa, "The Ethnic Prejudice and Choice of Friends among English and Non-English Adolescents", Unpublished M.A. thesis, London University Institute of Education, 1963.
 3. T. Kawwa, "A Study of Interaction between Native and Immigrant Children in English Schools with Special Reference to Ethnic Prejudice", Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London University Institute of Education, 1965.

over into racial hostilities, particularly outside school.¹

Research findings indicate that children also develop awareness of national identities and differences early in life. From about the age of six, most children are perceptually and cognitively able to understand classifications based on nationality.

Lambert and Klineberg interviewed six, ten and fourteen year olds, in a cross-national study.² They encouraged their subjects to reveal spontaneously whether they perceived themselves as members of a national group and, if so, how salient this membership group was to them. Reference to membership of a nation was rare among younger children. They also were more inclined to hold stereotypes of national groups, both descriptive and evaluative. Older children were more discriminating.

Jahoda's study supports these findings.³ Basing the enquiry on the Piagetian thesis that children's ideas develop by a series of necessary stages, he found that Scottish children's spatial and conceptual ideas of nationality remained confused up to the age of seven or so; they would confuse the meaning of town, country and nation and be unsure of their own identities

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1. J. Rex and R. Moore, "Race, Community and Conflict: A Study of Sparkbrook", Oxford University Press for Institute of Race Relations, 1967, (paperback reprint 1971), pp. 230-257. See also W.G. Runciman, "Relative Deprivation and Social Justice", London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966, pp. 9-54.
 2. W.E. Lambert and O. Klineberg, "A Pilot Study of the Origins and Development of National Stereotypes", International Social Science Journal, Vol.11, 1959, pp. 221-38. For a study showing the importance of spontaneity in establishing reference groups, E. Stern and S. Keller, "Spontaneous Reference Groups in France", Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol.17, 1953, pp. 208-17.
 3. G. Jahoda, "Development of Scottish Children's ideas and Attitudes about Other Countries", Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 58, 1962, pp. 91-108.

in relation to these concepts. After the age of seven, the subjects' understanding increased but less so for those of lower social class. By eleven, most children had adult conceptions of what membership of a country means. However, not till adolescence was a child's nationality particularly salient to him; indeed, before eight years, few children had developed feelings of patriotism.

Further studies by Jahoda elaborated on the earlier ones.¹ By adolescence, the subjects were showing more interest in the people of foreign countries, rather than in the strange and exotic scenery which interested the younger subjects. Older subjects showed they were influenced by adult ideas by stating preferences for countries with which Britain at the time had favourable relations.

Several studies indicate that young people are as prone as many adults to evaluate foreigners and their countries without much factual information with which to support their views. Morrison found that Scottish teenagers, aged thirteen and fourteen, were largely ethnocentric, basing their preferences for foreign peoples on a somewhat hazy understanding of East-West relations at that time and on very little factual information about foreign peoples and places.² However, there was, he found, much individual

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1. G. Jahoda, "Development of Children's Ideas about Country and Nationality", British Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol.33, 1963, pp. 47-60 and pp. 143-53.
 2. A. Morrison, "Attitudes of Children to International Affairs", Educational Research, Vol.9, 1966-7, pp. 197-202. See also H. Tajfel, "Children and Foreigners", New Society, 30th June 1966, pp. 9-11; for a study stressing the point that children acquire attitudes towards foreigners before they know much about them. For an earlier study, M. Kerr, "An Experimental Investigation of National Stereotypes", Sociological Review, Vol. 35, 1943.

variation; some held crude stereotypes, others were highly discriminating and aware of ideological issues.

These studies do indicate that adolescents are generally aware of their national identity and that they tend to categorise foreigners from a national viewpoint. In general, they evaluate foreigners in the light of their understanding of how their own country is getting along with others.

But it must be remembered that studies such as these are of limited relevance in other respects. Any attempt to find out peoples' views of their own nation and of others depends very much for its findings on the time, place and atmosphere in which the study is conducted. Since the international and racial climate changes, only the most recent studies can be relevant to contemporary research findings. Moreover, a study of attitudes towards nationality conducted among Israelis or Greeks, for instance, is likely to produce different results from one conducted among Canadians, or ~~Bantus~~, or Scots.

Conclusions

What relevance to the present enquiry do these British studies have? Given the different times, places and methods of research, it is not, perhaps, surprising that they provide few firm guidelines.

It may, however, be assumed quite safely, that all the young people in this study are old enough to be aware of and to have formed some attitudes towards their own and others' racial, ethnic and national groups.

Since no large-scale systematic study has yet been conducted in Britain which attempts to control for the influence of age, sex, social class and other important variables which might affect racial, ethnic and national attitudes, it would be an error to do more than suggest that racial contact and the racial and international climate appear to influence the attitudes of even young children.

It must be remembered also that there is no simple connection between attitudes and behaviour.¹ This is particularly so in so highly emotive and sensitive an area as race relations. The social climate of the school may be particularly important in this context as a constraint on the translation of hostile attitudes into action.

Research Findings

Salience of Race, Ethnic Group and Nationality

A sub-group of the respondents took part in a test designed to extract some measure of the salience to them of race, ethnic group and nationality.

As part of their English lessons, the young people were asked by the investigator to look at a photograph showing commonplace scenes in English schools or streets. In most of them children or adults of various racial ethnic and national origins

1. B. Kutner, C. Wilkins and P.R. Yarrow, "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Behaviour involving Racial Prejudice", Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 47, 1952, pp. 649-52. For a general account of the nature of attitudes and research techniques, M. Jahoda and N. Warren, (Eds.), Attitudes, London, Penguin, 1966.

worked or played. The respondents then had to spend five minutes writing down, "Whatever strikes you as interesting about your photograph."

The photographs conformed to two main criteria. One was that there should be other points of interest in them apart from the REN identity of the people so that respondents who mentioned REN should be doing so fairly spontaneously. The other was that the racial content of the photographs should be as unemotive as possible; ones suggesting racial tension or very obviously putting over a message about race were eliminated in pilot studies. Thus, the respondents had few, if any, pointers to the quality of the description asked of them in what they perceived as a routine educational task. The procedure also, probably, lessened the likelihood that extreme racial attitudes would be expressed.

The scripts were analysed for mention of REN and for positive, neutral and hostile comments. More than 50% of respondents who mentioned REN were neutral; 25% were definitely positive and another 25% hostile.

This, for instance, is a particularly articulate excerpt from a Cypriot boy's essay:

The photo shows children of various races playing happily together... The children do not think themselves different from one another... and this is the way things ought to be.

Similar positive comments came from an Indian boy when describing the same scene:

... all the children are playing together. There are all different coloured (sic). Some are white, some are black and some are Indian. All are playing together... Nobody thinks that he is coloured so I musn't speak to him...

And from an English girl:

Children of many races learning together... they don't worry about what colour or religion their friend is.

A girl from London who had emigrated with her family to Australia and later returned made comments on a slum scene of south London. They were classed as neutral.

... (the) influx of immigrants is the only thing that makes the demand for houses so great. I'm not saying I'm prejudiced as many of my closest friends are immigrants...

The doubtfully neutral and hostile comments came mostly from white British girls. The following is one especially extreme example:

Both girls are from different countries and are working well together... But there is nothing unusual in this as there are many foreigners here. To me Pakistanis are repulsive. I detest their meek and mild attitude and greasy hair. And with the odd exception, they, meaning Indians and Pakistanis and Africans etc. often act ignorantly, not only in school but often out of school.

Few expressed themselves as unreservedly as this.

Interestingly, although the essay was anonymous like the rest, the investigator recognised the girl's handwriting and was able to contrast the hostility expressed here with her apparent rationality and tolerance in group discussion. Most probably, the girl's awareness of the school's social values inhibited her. There were

1. For a similar technique see D. Oliensis, "Inter-racial Attitudes of Kenyan Secondary School Students", Race, Vol. 8:4, 1967, pp. 345-55.

about five or six East African Asian newcomers in her class but her photograph showed a light-skinned West Indian girl and a southern European girl in a cookery group.

Nothing definitive emerges from the above, however, since only 40% of the sub-group mentioned REN at all.

Table 5:1 shows the results of the photograph test.

Table 5:1

Salience of Race Ethnic Group and Nationality

	% mentioning REN
Cypriots	33
Asians	62
West Indians	67
All Minority Groups	46
White Britons	45
All Groups	40 n = 98

The West Indians and Asians, it seems, were more prone to mention REN than the Cypriots or white Britons. The results, of course, are not generalisable, but this pattern is perhaps a predictable one; the non-white groups may be more attuned to the racial content of the photographs since they daily experience what it feels like to be highly visible minorities; the Cypriots are less visibly different so that REN may be less salient for them or they preferred to let it seem so.

But a further dimension of the matter needs to be recognised. The test measures the salience of REN categories for those respondents only who were willing to mention them or had no reticence or

inhibitions about doing so. It does not measure the salience of REN categories to those respondents who omitted to mention them, whatever the reason for the omission.

White Britons who did not mention REN may not find race salient; it may not be a significant issue in the lives of members of the numerical and cultural majority group. But, more probably, for adolescents whose social sensibilities are maturing, there are social constraints on the expression of attitudes in so sensitive an area. We must remember that the schools' environment is dominantly harmonious, upholding tolerance and pluralism. Interview data support this. Race was more often mentioned spontaneously by all ethnic groups in a secure and private face-to-face situation than the data here would indicate.

Similar reasoning may explain the apparently low salience of REN for Cypriots. This group, immigrant yet white skinned, finds the issue of race relations within the borough a delicate one. To be outspoken draws attention to the speaker's role and status as immigrant. To keep quiet may encourage the 'immigrant problem' to become even more closely identified with the 'colour problem'.

But if REN were more salient for minority groups whose skin colour makes them highly visible, how can we explain why nearly 40% of West Indians and Asians did not mention such points of interest in the photographs? The answer must lie with individuals; the dark skinned teenager, sensitive to racial issues, may respond by mentioning REN with aggressive pride or defensiveness or he may maintain embarrassed silence.

Interpretation of the results of the photograph test, therefore, must be cautious. It is clear, though, that nearly half the respondents thought race, ethnicity or nationality interesting enough to mention spontaneously in a neutral context.

Interest in Race Relations Lessons

An interesting extra dimension to this picture of the salience of race to these adolescents was tapped by an item in the questionnaire which read as follows:

We are not all interested in the same things. Here are some subjects that other young people say they would like to learn at school.

Do any of them interest you?

One of the six suggestions, unobtrusively listed between Astronomy and Yoga, was Race Relations. Overall interest was low as Table 5:2 indicates.¹

Table 5:2

<u>Interest in Race Relations Lessons</u>			
%	m	f	m & f
Cypriots	32	29	31
Asians	28	46	37
West Indians	47	52	50
All Minority Groups	38	44	40
White Britons	18	26	22
All Groups	28	33	31

1. See also Appendix A, Tables A1, A2 and A3.

Only a third of the respondents expressed an interest. West Indians expressed interest most often, a result comparable to the salience of REN to them as measured on the photograph test. The Cypriots also showed roughly the same interest in race relations on both tests but the Asians showed less. White Britons, as might be expected, showed least interest of all.

Girls, Cypriots excepted, were slightly more interested than boys. Those born overseas were inclined to be more interested than those born in Britain. The general trend was for interest to be lower the lower the social class but the opposite was true of West Indians.

Interpretation of these data relies heavily upon informal follow up discussions with groups and individuals. Most teenagers did not find such a topic particularly attractive as a 'subject'. Those who thought further than this sometimes suggested that such matters were too difficult, sensitive or embarrassing for classroom treatment. Those who were interested often thought such matters ought to be discussed openly because, "It might do some good." Or else they were personally interested in learning about other countries and customs.

Most of the young people seemed to regard the subject of race relations as a problem. It is significant that the minority groups expressed more interest in this lesson presented as an intellectual discipline, (40%), than the white Britons, (22%), and that non-white groups showed most interest. It may be that there is a connection between the perception of the issue as a personal problem and a willingness to make the effort to learn more about it and even to participate in public discussion.

We must bear in mind, however, that there was but mild intellectual interest in race relations lessons, even relative to five other, not highly popular, subject options.

Spontaneous Self-Identification by Race

How far is race a salient referent when self-identification is required?

The first item on the questionnaire asked for a self-description and specifically invited mention of physical, and, therefore, racial characteristics. The respondents were not, however, alerted to the racial interests of the enquiry.

The test suffers the same ambiguity as the photograph one in that reticence and non-salience are indistinguishable. The item read as follows:

I would like to remember you if I come to your school again. So please write down a few things about yourself that will help me identify you next time we meet. Don't spend long thinking; just write down the first things you think of, e.g. How tall you are.

Fifty-seven per cent of West Indians mentioned racial characteristics in self-identification compared with 20% of Asians, 11% of Cypriots and a mere 3% of white Britons. Most racial allusions were to skin colour. Following are a few of the respondents' answers to this item.

I got Brown eyes and My cloure (sic) is Brown.
Black Hair. weight round about 8 st.

(Asian boy)

About 5'3", I take size 5 shoes, I have got a freckle on my nose not to (sic) clear to see and I am a negro.

(West Indian girl)

I am approx f ft 2 ins at least measurement and have
a scar on left leg.

(West Indian girl)

I have black hair.

(West Indian boy)

... and a lightish brown skin. I mean I am not dark
as some West Indian people are.

(West Indian boy)

Dark brown eyes, black hair, 5' 10", faire (sic)
complexion.

(dark-skinned Asian boy)

I am a black girl.

(West Indian girl)

And finally,

I am fairly tall and slim and I have a brown skin. Tan.
I am always neat and tidy and intelligent.

(Asian boy)

On the face of it, race is moderately salient to West Indians
as a frame of reference for self-identification; it is not so for
Asians or Cypriots.

Here are some examples of replies which carry no racial
allusions.

5' 9" tall Brown curly hair thin. 8 stone in weight.
large feet. Blue eyes.

(White British boy)

I am 5' 4" light brown-blond hair, medium built, big
eyes - blue. Turned up nose, commonly known as Ringo.

(White British girl)

5' 9" Black hair Brown eyes Handsome I support
Man Utd.

(Cypriot boy)

Brown longish hair and green eyes, I chipped (sic)
tooth. Size 5 shoe.

(White British girl)

It is interesting to note that 11% of Cypriots referred to
themselves as white specifically. Perhaps again, they were 'taking
sides'.

The inference based on data from this test that racial self-identification is not a highly salient frame of reference for Asians and West Indians needs to be examined. The most obvious distinguishing mark of a non-white minority group for a stranger is its colour. These young people were invited to describe their distinguishing characteristics and the most obvious thing to mention would be skin colour; yet only 34% of non-white respondents did this.

The photograph test showed a fairly high proportion of non-whites were willing to mention racial characteristics of an objective situation where self-identification was not involved. Why, then, the reticence when it was?

The answer most probably lies with the attitude of the individual towards his racial membership group and his evaluation of its status. These attitudes in turn affect his self-concept and his willingness to identify himself publicly with his racial group. Adolescents are more vulnerable than children to pressures from comparative reference groups and may suffer a crisis of identity if their group is not favoured in the larger society. The adolescent may well be unwilling to draw attention to his race, for, even if he is proud, he is aware of the social disadvantage of it to himself. If this line of reasoning is valid, it may well be that the very omission of self-identification by racial characteristics on this test is an indication that race is of social significance to a high proportion of immigrant respondents.

Spontaneous Self-Identification by Ethnic Group and Nationality.

The teenagers' descriptions of themselves were also coded to discover how often ethnic and national identity was mentioned.¹ In general, mention of race was far more frequent. Since, in the context, it was difficult to distinguish ethnic group from nationality, the two categories were not coded separately. One or two examples of self-descriptions indicate the difficulties of coding involved.

6 ft. Broken leg. Cypriot origin, black hair.

East African Asian, slender, 5' 9", dark hair, eyes.
Acute sense of humour. Talkative with pseudo-liberal attitudes.

Table 5:3 tabulates the results of the self-identification test.

Table 5:3

Self-Identification by Race, Ethnic Group and Nationality

% mentioning	Race	Ethnic Group or Nationality	Race, Ethnic Group, Nationality
Cypriots	11	20	30
Asians	20	29	49
West Indians	57	9	66
All Minority Groups	34	17	50
White Britons	3	5	8
All Groups	17	10	27

-
1. Where it was difficult to distinguish between an allusion to race and one to ethnic group or nationality, a systematic, if somewhat arbitrary, codification was used.

Although Cypriots and Asians tended to identify themselves more often by nationality or ethnic group than by race, the reverse was true of the West Indians; only a very small percentage of them used ethnic or national terms in self-description; it appears that the West Indians were more ready to label themselves racially than the others but less ready to categorise themselves ethnically or nationally. It may be that they were less confused as to their racial identity than others but more confused as to their communal loyalties. This may well be the case for it is only recently in Britain that West Indians from different areas of the Caribbean and of different complexions have begun to draw together as a community. For second generation West Indians, the terms 'black' or 'coloured' may well be more meaningful in terms of their social situation than 'West Indian' or 'Jamaican' or 'Barbadian'. The host community labels them by skin colour and recently West Indians have themselves begun proudly to assert that they are black as a group as well as individually. Furthermore, even first generation West Indians' experiences will have accustomed them to stratification based on distinctions of race. On the other hand, Cypriots and Asians enjoy a close communal life and many have had personal experience of nationalistic and communal strife in their countries of origin. This may have brought home to them their political and social identities.

Analysis of the data by the sex of the respondents indicated that girls generally among immigrants were more racially and communally assertive. West Indian and Asian girls identified themselves by RENE more often than boys but the reverse was true of

Cypriots, (Table A4). When the REN aggregation was broken down, West Indian girls were shown to be more racially conscious than any other group and more so than West Indian boys, (Table A5). Asian boys, however, were more racially conscious than the girls. (These, however, compensate for this by being more communally conscious than Asian boys.) There was little difference between Cypriot boys and girls where either racial or ethnic and national consciousness was concerned, (Table A6).

It is probable that self-identification along racial, ethnic or national lines may well have some connection with the length of time a person has spent in Britain. It could be that a teenager born in Britain or resident here all his schooldays may not find these categories so salient as may a relative newcomer who feels strange, maybe defensive, in alien surroundings. On the other hand, the opposite could be the case; exposure to white racism could encourage the immigrant to be progressively more racist in turn; as he grows older he finds race more salient.

The data support the former suggestion most forcefully in the case of West Indians and somewhat less so for Asians, Tables A7 and A8). Slightly fewer than half the West Indians born in Britain mentioned REN and over 70% of those born in the West Indies did so.

For Cypriots, however, the trend was reversed. While 34% of Cypriots born in Britain mentioned REN, only 22% of those born in Cyprus did so; only about 10% of those who have lived in

Britain less than ten years mentioned REN but 36% of those who had been here longer did so.

Why should Cypriots identify themselves in REN terms more often if they have had longer to forget Cyprus? Any answer can be tentative only. Interview material suggests some clues. Cypriots born in Britain or here from early childhood tended to romanticize about the country of which their parents had told them or which was a holiday home. To them Cyprus was a land of sunshine, relaxation and plenty. They felt secure enough as competent English-speakers, imbued with British culture, to express a romantic attachment to Cyprus. Moreover, for those sensitive to British xenophobia and resentful of being treated as immigrants, though white-skinned like their hosts, mention of REN may represent aggressive self-assertion and resentment against inferior and undeserved inferior status. It seems, therefore, that the hypothesis that exposure to white racism could render immigrants more racially conscious over time is plausible for Cypriots. It must also be recognised that a simpler explanation is also possible. Newcomers, less sure of their footing on these shores, less at home with the language, may be less ready to accept the invitation to identify themselves as immigrants; they may also be aware of some of the stringencies of life in Cyprus. It is not clear, however, why this should not apply to the other ethnic groups also.

Table A9 indicates that immigrant respondents tended to mention REN more often if they belonged to social class three.

Lower class West Indians also showed high REN consciousness but the higher class groups showed least consciousness particularly for Cypriots. While interpretation of data by social class is extremely tentative, it is plausible to suggest that the higher social classes need to be less racially or communally self-assertive since their life-chances are probably better than for the majority of immigrants. Self-assertiveness by the lower class groups may indicate resentment at inferior status and opportunities in life.

In the interviews the teenagers were prompted to identify themselves in terms of race, ethnic group nationality. The quotations at the beginning of Chapter One are from transcripts of face-to-face interviews. The questions were introduced as naturally and unobtrusively as possible, usually in a series of factual queries about age, tutor group and personal hobbies.

Most identifications were ethnic or national. Few misunderstood the question completely. Most white Britons claimed they were English, occasionally Welsh or Scots. Some obviously enjoyed claiming Celtic ancestry; one or two claimed they were 'half French' or 'half American' because of a foreign ancestor. A few Asians put their religious ties first, claiming that they were Sikhs or Hindus when asked what nationality they would say they were. Those who were pressed about their African links emphatically denied that they were African and most were reluctant to agree with the suggestion that they were Kenyan or Tanzanian. Where they were born or what their passports were made little difference to communal loyalties and most Asians were Indian in

their own eyes, or wanted to be perceived as such.

On the other hand, only a third of the West Indians interviewed claimed to belong to the island from which they or a parent had come. When it was suggested to them that they were British or English by virtue of birthplace or passport this group made it clear that they did not want to be regarded as such. But the majority spontaneously, even triumphantly at times, claimed that they were British or, more usually, English, on the grounds of birthplace or possession of a British passport or because they did not well remember the West Indies. West Indians, like Asians, identified themselves with groups with which they felt they had most in common, irrespective of physical or legal connections. For most West Indians interviewed, identification with England, and sometimes with Britain, was more meaningful than identification with, say, Jamaica or St. Kitts, and certainly more so than with the West Indies generally.¹

It is well, however, to remember at this point, that the salience of national and ethnic reference groups was artificially heightened in the interviews. Pilot studies at every age showed that these are among the last identifications mentioned when respondents are asked to jot down ten answers to the question, "Who are you?". For many, such categories did not arise spontaneously. As one Asian girl remarked, when asked her nationality, "I never really think about it." The same girl had,

1. Since many respondents, white Britons included, could not distinguish the difference between Britain or England, the investigator usually allowed the terms to stand as interchangeable.

however, obviously thought about related issues, for, when asked if she thought that people of the same kind ought to stick together and do a lot to help each other, or not, she replied adamantly:

No, they should all mix. Different colours shouldn't stick together. They should reason things out.

The Cypriots more often showed genuine hesitation about their affiliations. Half of them could not decide whether they were Greek because, usually, their parents were, or English or British because of birthplace or passport. Some were further confused because they could not speak Greek even though they claimed they were Greek. For many, it appears, being asked to choose between being Greek and being 'English' was a troubling experience. Some had not previously thought that there might be a need for such a choice or had not wanted to face it. Perhaps they were being realistic in this in that their white skins may have shielded them from some of the harsher experiences that non-white immigrants often, sooner or later, have to face. It might have been surmised that since a high proportion of Cypriot respondents were born in Britain or had spent all their school days here they would tend to come down on the side of belonging to Britain. Many were, however, unable to make a clear identification one way or the other; it is clear that they retain close ethnic ties which sometimes transcend, when they are forced to choose, ties with the wider community in which they now live. Again, they were probably being fairly pragmatic in that they saw few crucial difficulties in accommodating both identities.

Summary

Even if no account is taken of the strong social constraints on the expression of views about race, ethnic group and nationality, it is clear that such issues ~~were~~ moderately salient to all groups and particularly so to West Indians. This group showed more interest in race relations on an intellectual level, even though overall interest was low.

Where subjective self-description is concerned, the picture is similar. Half the minority groups used REN categories, with racial ones being used most by West Indians and ethnic and national ones by Asians and Cypriots.

Identification of the Home-Land

For thousands of years Britain has housed many different peoples. But it is only as a result of recent large-scale immigration into this uncomfortably crowded island that policy-makers have come to terms with the fact that, "For good or ill England has become a multi-racial society."¹

Mr. James Callaghan, as Home Secretary in 1968, spelt out the principles upon which future governments were, in theory, to take their stand; Britain, he declared, should be a country where:

... every citizen shares an equal right to the same freedoms, the same responsibilities, the same opportunities, the same benefits.²

Since the late 1950's, however, racial riots, racial prejudice, discrimination and discontent have been the subject

1. Lord Gardiner, Lord Chancellor, in a speech in the House of Commons, 1969, quoted in N. Deakin, Colour. Citizenship and British Society, Panther, 1970, p. 95.

2. Ibid., p. 129.

of official enquiries and increasingly newsworthy. Only the blind, deaf or totally insensitive among immigrants would have failed to take notice of the xenophobia, the racial prejudice and passion of many white Britons.¹

But adult immigrants, whatever their race, came to Britain for what they judged to be sound economic or political reasons. Most, therefore, were ready to a greater or lesser extent, to endure the difficulties inherent in tearing up their roots and replanting themselves in an alien land. Most were prepared to take the rough with the smooth.

Their children, however, lack an adult maturity, both of identity and experience, with which to stand up to life in a strange society. Most would agree with a West Indian girl who in an interview declared, "As long as I'm happy I don't mind where I belong."

It is this issue to which we now turn. What land, what country, what society, does the teenager think of as home?

The terms, 'country', 'land', 'society', are used interchangeably here as indeed they were by most of the respondents. The term, 'home', is used deliberately, connoting as it does for most people, close, personal ties, a place where one is accepted, feels secure and at ease.

'Attitudes', as Edmund Leach maintains, 'are not things

1. J. Gould, "A Sociological Portrait: Nationality and Ethnicity", New Society, 30th December 1971, pp. 1281-4.

which exist in the abstract - they are a response to situations.¹
 To examine, therefore, where the respondents feel at home, where they feel they belong or want to belong, is to measure their perceptions of their social situation in Britain and their beliefs about their possible future experience in this country or elsewhere.

The questionnaire asked the following:

How about going to live in another country later on?
 Nobody can say for sure, but, on the whole, would you rather make your home in another country or in Britain?

Table 5:4 tabulates the teenagers' responses to this item.

Table 5:4

% choosing	<u>Choice of Home-Land</u>		
	Britain	Another Country	No Answer
Cypriots	33	56	11
Asians	22	59	19
West Indians	19	65	18
All Minority Groups	25	60	16
White Britons	50	41	9
All Groups	38	50	15

As might be expected, it was only white Britons who chose Britain as a home more often than any other country. Only a fifth of West Indians and Asians and a third of the Cypriots did so.

1. Quoted in I. Davies, Social Mobility and Political Change, London, Pall Mall, 1970, p. 86. For literature on the nature and measurement of attitudes in general, see D. Krech, R.S. Crutch and E.L. Ballachey, (Eds.), Individual in Society: A Text-book of Social Psychology, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1962, esp. pp. 137-179 and pp. 180-214.

Sixty per cent of all immigrant respondents preferred to make their homes in another country. There was, moreover, a higher proportion of failures to reply from immigrants, particularly by Asians and West Indians. This may indicate some reticence about expressing a preference for another country to an English investigator or it may show genuine doubt.

Interestingly, girls were more forthright or seemed to be able to make up their minds more definitely than boys, (Table A10). And girls, in every group, including white Britons, more often chose to live outside Britain. It may be that the boys were more sensitive to the need to stay put in order to train for an occupation or to find a job. Or it may be that girls were less satisfied (or more adventurous) than boys.

It does seem that since so high a proportion of all respondents expressed a desire to live abroad some may have been indulging in fantasy, day-dreaming about a life of leisure and luxury in the sun; (Hawaii seems a favourite). To distinguish between the day-dreamers and the more 'serious', those who wanted to make a home abroad were asked two further questions:

What other country would you most like to live in?

and,

How long would you like to live there, probably?

Table 5:5 sheds more light on the meaning of the data in Table 5:4. More among the minority groups were able to state that they would prefer to live abroad than could state how long they would like to live there and some white Britons stated that they would like to go abroad for a period but failed to state

categorically whether they preferred Britain or another country as home. However, 63% of all respondents who wanted to go to another country envisaged a short stay only.¹ More white Britons and Cypriots than West Indians and Asians preferred a short stay abroad. The fact remains, however, that nearly half the West Indians and Asians and over a third of the Cypriots were bold enough to think of spending many years or even their whole lives outside Britain.

Table 5:5

<u>Length of Stay in another Country</u>			
% choosing	Short Stay	Long Stay	Prefer Abroad
Cypriots	62	38	56
Asians	51	49	59
West Indians	55	45	65
Minority Groups	56	44	60
White Britons	70	30	41
All Groups	63	37	50

Table 5:6 indicates that a good proportion of the respondents in each ethnic group who wanted to make a long-stay home overseas thought first of going to the country from which they or their parents originated. The proportion of Cypriots who thought first of Cyprus was especially high. A fair proportion of Asians and West Indians, on the other hand, were thinking in terms of countries

1. Short-stay is one or a few years; long-stay is many years or always.

other than their land of ethnic origin. The 'other' category comprised mainly choices for the United States of America and the 'old' Commonwealth, as well as a few other more exotic areas of the world.

Table 5:6

<u>Choice of Country - Long Stay¹</u>					
% choosing	Cyprus	East Africa	India & Other Asia	West Indies	Other
Cypriots	82	-	-	-	19
Asians	-	6	42	-	53
West Indians	-	-	-	57	41

In view of the fact that over half the Asians in the study were born in East Africa, it may seem surprising that so small a proportion chose that area as a possible future home. They may, however, have been aware of the political unfeasibility of return there. Notwithstanding, therefore, their appreciation of the way of life they had enjoyed in East Africa, many probably felt it would be unrealistic to state that they would like to make a home there.

The same considerations, on political or economic grounds, may have dissuaded some other Asians and West Indians from stating a wish to return to their countries of origin if they wished also for a relatively peaceful and prosperous life.

1. See Appendix A, Table A11, for short-stay choices.

If this argument is correct, and it is supported by interview data, it would appear that Cypriots envisaged that a return to Cyprus is an economic and political possibility for them, since 82% would like, or could state boldly that they would like, to make a home there. Either this, or their attachment to Cyprus was strong enough to outweigh practical considerations against going there. Certainly, Cypriot families maintain close links with friends and relatives overseas, often sending members of the family to the island for holidays. But also, many heads of household intend, one day, to use accumulated capital to take their families 'home'. This intention, whether realizable or not, may well have induced many young Cypriot respondents to state a preference for Cyprus as a long-stay home.

Table A11 indicates that of the 56% of immigrant respondents who wanted to go overseas and for a short stay only, a majority wanted to go to countries other than those of their ethnic origin. These data uphold the initial distinction between long-stay and short-stay would-be emigrants as being a distinction between those seriously considering a home overseas and those wishing merely to travel and see the world. The proportion of exotic place-names in the 'other' country category is higher for short-stay choices and the proportion of developed and industrialized countries names, - countries where it would be easier to make a living, - is higher among long-stay choices.

Table 5:7 analyses the immigrant respondents' choice of homeland, irrespective of the length of stay envisaged, but according to whether they were born in Britain or not.

Table 5:7

Respondents' Choice of Home-Land x Birth-Place

% choosing	Born in Britain		Born Overseas	
	Another Country	Britain	Another Country	Britain
Cypriots	44	42	68	25
Asians	(25)*	(75)	61	18
West Indians	52	21	69	18
All Minority Groups	41	46	66	21

*() indicates that very small numbers are involved

The most important feature highlighted by Table 5:7 is that second generation immigrants were much more likely than those born overseas to want to live in Britain. Over half the West Indians born in Britain, however, preferred to make their homes in another country and only a fifth preferred to remain in Britain. Cypriots were much more equally divided. No conclusions can be made about the very small number of Asians born in Britain.

Of first generation immigrants, a good majority preferred to leave this country and make a home elsewhere. Only a fifth preferred to settle more or less permanently in Britain.

Table A12 shows no general trend in the choice of a homeland when the length of residence in Britain is taken into account. The major contrast remains between those born in Britain

and those born overseas. It is interesting, however intriguing, that Britain was far less popular as a home for Asian and Cypriot respondents who had been in Britain for ten or more years, than was the case for West Indians. The shorter the time West Indians had lived in Britain, the less likely were they to want to remain here.

Implications

We may now summarise these data and draw one or two tentative indications from them.

In general, it seems, there was a wide interest among these young people, of whatever ethnic group, in the world across the seas. This interest was more frequently expressed, as might be expected, among those who had some ties abroad, though 70% of white Britons also considered at least a short-stay emigration.

Although 16% of immigrants would or could not state a preference one way or the other, more than half of those who did choose, wanted to go overseas. Of these, 56% considered a short stay and 44% a long stay. West Indians and Asians were more often bold enough to envisage a long stay than were Cypriots. Even 30% of white Britons were willing, at least on paper, to consider going overseas for a long time. Second generation immigrants were happier to remain in Britain than first generation ones though fewer West Indians, whether born in Britain or not, were content to remain here, than was the case for Cypriots and Asians.

Girls on the whole seemed more inclined to go overseas than boys. We suggested earlier that this may be due to their perception of their future sex roles. For boys, a safe job, the opportunity to train, the prospect of good earning power, is more likely to be of paramount importance. Girls can 'afford' to be less pragmatic. They probably see their futures, for the most part, in terms of only a few years of work, possibly in a glamorous career such as the highly popular one of air hostess, followed by marriage and a family. Seeing the world would be a last fling before the inevitable 'settling down'.

But this does not explain fully why West Indian and Asian girls chose a home abroad so much more frequently than Cypriots or white Britons. Could it be that physical appearance plays a part here? Teenage girls are especially concerned about physical attractiveness. We saw in the last section that West Indian, though not Asian, girls, identify themselves by racial characteristics more often than boys, implying, it was argued, that race is a highly salient frame of reference for them. It is not suggested here that the West Indian girl in Britain finds herself unattractive. She is, however, aware that the dominant group favours a light skin and that she is, in the eyes of most people, what adolescents hate to be, 'different'; may it not be that some West Indian teenage girls claimed to favour emigration, particularly to the West Indies or America, because they wish to escape to a country where, they believe, black not only is, but is thought to be, beautiful?

Extreme aggressiveness and hostility was shown only by female respondents and only by white Britons and West Indians.

Could these attitudes be in reciprocal recognition of the differences in the status of black and white 'attractiveness'?

Yet this explanation will not do for the Asian girls who preferred to make a home abroad for they did not find race a highly salient referent. Several lines of explanation are possible. For one thing, Asian girls are confined at home more than other girls; while this means that their chances of experiencing racial incidents may be less frequent, it may also mean that they see themselves at a disadvantage in Britain compared with other teenage girls. Being confined to the home may give them more chance to miss relatives and friends overseas. More importantly, they may see a return to their country of origin as a better and earlier chance to get married, a chance which Asian girls value very much indeed.

But why, in general, did so many of these teenagers favour emigration? Many, it appears, would like simply to see the world; it is a world for them where mobility is easy and inexpensive. But they were not merely fantasising. Very few respondents who wanted to stay abroad for a long time named 'fantasy' countries. Nor are communal ties the whole story, except, perhaps, for some Cypriots. Most Asians and West Indians chose countries where they thought they would have political freedom and economic opportunity. Canada was a popular choice for West Indians and Asians. They perceived it as a land where everyone may attain a high standard of living and where racialism is minimal. Australia and New Zealand were more often popular among Cypriots and white Britons. This may reflect an awareness among non-whites of these countries' more

restrictive immigration laws. West Indians were attracted by America because they associated it specifically with pride in blackness. As one girl wrote spontaneously on her questionnaire:

There, they're teaching smaller children about Black Power.

This did not mean, however, that young West Indians ignored the social and political disadvantages that they might have encountered there. One of the older respondents remarked that she would like to see a coloured President; asked why, she replied:

In America they're (coloured people) suffering more than they are here.

It seems, therefore, that wherever they choose to think of as a future home, these teenagers want good economic prospects and a comfortable social situation. Only a quarter of the immigrant teenagers chose, on paper, to stay permanently in Britain and over 40% stated that they would like to make a long stay or a permanent home overseas. Does this mean, then, that they are looking away from a country which they perceive as holding out to them few economic or social opportunities? Does it mean that non-white teenagers feel less 'at home' in Britain than do Cypriots?

In order to suggest some tentative answers to these questions we turn to the analysis of other questionnaire items which are more positively and specifically oriented to the respondents' perceptions about people in Britain, their society and economy.

Perceptions of British People, Society and Economy

The respondents were asked:

What would you say about people in THIS COUNTRY compared with people in OTHER COUNTRIES, on the whole?

Would you say people in this country are:-

- a) Nicer..... OR a) Not so nice.....
 b) Better off..... OR b) Worse off.....
 c) Happier..... OR c) Unhappier.....

These questions followed immediately after some asking details of country of birth and residence and for country of choice. Thus a ready comparative frame of reference was available.

Table 5:8 tabulates the information from these items.

Table 5:8

Perceptions of People in Britain as Nicer, Better Off and Happier than People in Other Countries

% perceiving people in Britain	as	Nicer	Better Off	Happier
Cypriots		40	73	54
Asians		32	59	48
West Indians		18	50	33
All Minority Groups		28	56	43
White Britons		47	64	49
All Groups		38	62	46

Thirty-eight per cent of all the respondents who answered the question, and only 28% of immigrants, agreed positively that people in Britain are nicer than others.¹ White Britons were kinder to

1. See also Appendix A, Tables A13 and A14.

their own people than any of the immigrant groups, (or they were more ethnocentric), nearly half of them agreeing that Britons are nicer. Cypriots were more favourably disposed towards people in Britain than either of the non-white groups, particularly the West Indians.

A majority of respondents perceived people in Britain as relatively prosperous. Only 12% though that they were less prosperous than others.¹ There was, however, a wide variation on perceptions between ethnic groups on this dimension also. Cypriots were most often inclined to think that people in Britain have well-lined pockets and white Britons were also frequently optimistic. But again, Asians and West Indians were less favourable in their judgements. A higher proportion of West Indians than of any other ethnic group were prepared to state outright that people in Britain are less well off than others. West Indian girls were most often of this view.

From follow-up data it is clear that respondents generally understood the terms, 'better off' and 'worse off', in a specifically economic sense. A few, however, took the terms more broadly, to mean mental and spiritual welfare also. Some refused to assent that 'people in this country' are 'better off' because they found that they could not generalise to include themselves and their own families. While this attitude indicates that they were assuming that they were a part of British society, it also indicates

1. See also Appendix A, Tables A15 and A16

a sense of relative deprivation.¹ Allowing, however, for the fact that there was a high 'no answer' rate on this item, we can assume that most of these young people saw Britain today as a relatively prosperous country.

Less than half the teenagers perceived people in Britain as relatively happy.² But the general pattern was similar to the one for economic welfare. Cypriots and white Britons were more often able to perceive people in Britain in a favourable light and West Indians were by far the least often able to do so. It is an obvious but important point that personal feelings probably influenced the respondents' subjective perceptions of other peoples' contentment.

On all three dimensions there was a high 'no answer' rate. The main reason for this, happily, was the unwillingness of many respondents to generalize at a superficial level. Many felt this so strongly that they wrote in some such remark onto the questionnaire. Some objected personally to the investigator that they could not make judgements which forced them into accepting an ethnocentric view, as they saw it, or a stereotype of different peoples, whether British or not. Many wrote remarks such as

1. The concept of relative deprivation is analysed and used in social survey by W.G. Runciman, Relative Deprivation and Social Justice, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966, pp. 9-54.

2. See also Appendix A, Tables A17 and A18.

"Some are (nicer), some aren't", or "Can't say", or even, "Stupid question." Some felt that they did not have sufficient knowledge of other peoples to make judgements, "I can't genralize (sic) really". Some immigrants felt that they could not judge about people in Britain because they are encapsulated within their own communities: "We don't have much to do with them"; or because they were recent arrivals here. It is possible too that many failures to reply were polite or embarrassed substitutes for unfavourable judgements on the part of immigrants towards the host community.

If, therefore, the admittedly somewhat arbitrary stand is taken that 50% of failures to reply on each of the three dimensions were, in fact, hidden unfavourable perceptions, it appears that a large minority of respondents took a gloomy view.¹ A large minority thought that people in Britain are relatively unhappy and yet only a quarter thought that Britain is less wealthy. Moreover, nearly 60% of immigrants believed that people in Britain are less nice than people in other countries.

Implications

How far does this throw light on the questions posed earlier? Were the immigrant respondents looking away from a country which they perceive as holding out to them few economic or social opportunities? Did non-white teenagers feel less 'at home' in Britain than Cypriots?

1. See Appendix A, Table A19.

Certainly, they saw Britain as a land of comparative affluence and economic opportunity. But whether they saw an opportunity for themselves is less certain. Perhaps Cypriots and Asians were more confident of their ability and opportunity to make their way and to succeed than West Indians. It may be that a close community spirit and an involvement in economic enterprise, the proceeds of which benefit everyone, prevents so sharp a sense of relative deprivation among Cypriots and Asians, as, it is suggested, West Indians feel. The latter are not, usually, so culturally united, nor so involved in private enterprise, so far as background information indicates. More often, they are employees at the mercy, as they often see it, of potentially exploitative management. The worst predicament of all, perhaps, and one from which many young West Indians currently suffer, is not to be exploited at all, to be unemployed.

It is probable that people who feel personally confident of success, would perceive people generally as happier. If this is so, then the data here indicate that Cypriots and Asians were more confident than West Indians and so perceived others as happy like themselves.

The disturbing consideration is that the immigrants saw people in Britain as not so nice as others. Was this just a reluctance to generalise or an ethnocentric reluctance to acclaim any people nicer than one's own? Or was it a reflection, more probably, of the way in which they felt that they are treated by people in Britain? If this is so, it would appear that, despite their perception of Britain as a land of economic opportunity, many of the immigrants could not envisage it as 'home', because they did not feel altogether at home among British people.

CHAPTER VI

ROLE AND STATUS IN EMPLOYMENT

Related Studies

Despite feeling ill at ease in Britain many of the immigrant respondents envisaged continuing their education here and sooner or later entering the market for jobs.

In this chapter their occupational expectations and aspirations are explored. What, we ask, do they see the next few years doing for them or to them? Where do they see themselves fitting into the occupational structure, if at all, and are their ideas realistic?

First we review some of the literature relevant to such enquiries and outline some of the recent occupational experiences of minority groups in Britain.

Occupational Choice of School-Leavers

There is a vast literature, theoretical and empirical, detailing the process of occupational choice by young people in modern industrial society.¹ Choice is perhaps a misnomer for the

1. A. Morrison and D. McIntyre, Schools and Socialization, London, Penguin, 1971, pp. 175-220.

way in which most school leavers find jobs. They are not in a position to be cool, conscious, objective and wholly rational decision-makers even when circumstances are most favourable; for many young immigrants they are most unfavourable.

The following summary of some of the tangle of factors, social and psychological, influential in the process of choice, serves two main purposes. Firstly, it places the data concerned with teenagers' ideas about what they want to do when they leave school firmly in context; it is a reminder that even fifteen and sixteen year olds have nebulous views and that what they state on paper as their ambitions may be very different from what they set out to do or find themselves doing. It is a reminder, moreover, that choice for the immigrant teenager may be more difficult; the shorter the time he has lived in Britain, the less familiar he is with British ways and the English language, the more encapsulated he is within his own ethnic community, the darker his skin, the more disadvantaged he is in competition for jobs.

Most young people of school leaving age differentiate between school subjects on grounds of their vocational relevance, (as they perceive it), and their 'pure' interest.¹ Many prefer subjects that they consider relevant to their occupational ambitions. Pilot studies clearly indicated this and support Veness' finding that future occupational roles are a salient dimension of school leavers' thinking, especially for boys.²

1. K.M. Evans, Attitudes and Interest in Education, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, pp. 116-124.

2. T. Veness, School Leavers, London, Methuen, 1962, passim and especially pp. 52-98 and pp. 135-65.

Teenagers do not, however, always choose subjects at school which will aid them directly in fulfilling their occupational ambitions; indeed, adolescence is a time when they change their ideas frequently and base choices of the moment on what adults may see as trivial grounds.

There is evidence, however, that people do try to pursue occupations which they think are relevant to their interests and there are fairly distinct differences, usually, between the interests and types of jobs girls and boys pursue. Often, young people derive an interest in a particular school subject because they performed well in it; they then try to find jobs which will allow them to continue in a line in which they found themselves able and interested. There is evidence, also, that different personalities find satisfaction in different types of job. A person who is generally sociable is one who might claim that he, (more often, she), would like a job 'working with people'.

But, of course, young people still at school are not in a position to understand the nature of many jobs which they state that they would like. Their ideas are vague, romantic, stereotyped. There was much evidence of this in the schools under investigation even though most of the respondents had been interviewed by the Youth Employment Service and by prospective employers in recent months.

There appear to be differences in what people of different social classes hope to get out of their future jobs. Pilot studies support previous research which indicates that middle class teenagers, for instance, expect intrinsic satisfaction from their jobs while working class ones are more likely to value security

and respectability.

Minority groups will evaluate jobs in the light of their own cultural standards which may be different from those of the host society. From impressions gained from pilot studies it appears that many white British working class boys aspired to no more than unskilled manual jobs. But West Indian boys of similar social class were keen to gain qualifications and skills that would place them in the skilled category. Asians, however, even when they might realistically expect no more than manual jobs, were often reluctant to consider what they considered to be demeaning occupations. Cypriots did not, generally, stigmatise manual labour and were more content to follow the family's traditional occupations.

Broadly, then, it might be expected that social class and ethnic group are important influences on the occupational ideas of teenagers. Family tradition, parental advice, (or lack of it), willingness to approach the school for advice and the social ethos of the school itself are all class and ethnic variables which may influence how the young school leaver makes up his mind about the future. In general, working class teenagers lack support, encouragement and expert advice from home and school more than middle class ones; it is likely that many immigrants are at a similar disadvantage. For any youngsters, immigrant or not, who are left to 'choose' very much for themselves, the range of local employment available and what their classmates and friends decide to do are likely to be major factors

influencing them.¹

Empirical studies on the occupational choices of school leavers point to no one factor as being a major influence.² The job a school leaver is likely to choose will usually be one that is traditional for his social class or family but this is less true in times of job-scarcity and inter-generational mobility. Unemployment was high at the time of this investigation and school leavers stood at the end of the queue for the jobs available. On the other hand, the mixing of social classes in comprehensive secondary schools had broken down some of the more rigid ideas of what jobs were appropriate for different social classes; many teenagers were more expansive in their ideas and ambitions than their parents. If this was so for white British teenagers, it was probably even more so for young immigrants.

Many of the respondents, we discover below, were unclear, uncertain and inconsistent in their ideas about their immediate futures. They could look only to the day when they left school. Beyond that was the distant prospect of money in the pocket and independence of home. How this was to be achieved was, for most, an unreal question. For many immigrant teenagers trying to span the gap between Britain and a home overseas, trying to make sense of a new environment and social structure, choice is a term hardly applicable to the way in which they enter the market

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1. A.O. Haller and C.E. Butterworth, "Peer Influences on Levels of Aspiration", Social Forces, Vol. 38:4, 1959-60, pp. 289-95.
 2. A.H. Halsey, J. Floud and C.A. Anderson, (Eds.), Education, Economy and Society, New York, (The Free Press, 1961), The First Free Press Paperback Edition, 1965.

for jobs.

Occupational Status

It was noted above that many Asian and West Indian respondents gave the impression that routine manual work was beneath them. One East African Asian boy showed clearly that he regarded such work as of inferior status and believed white Britons do also:

... if you're well-educated then they respect you. Colour's got nothing to do with it. If you've been working on a farm like a peasant you shouldn't come to this country...

In this chapter we explore the respondents' perceptions of social status in Britain as defined by occupational roles.¹ Even within the same society, different people and different groups may evaluate occupational status differently.² It is more than likely, therefore, that teenagers from different ethnic backgrounds will evaluate the status of jobs differently.

There have been a number of empirical studies attempting to identify the various dimensions of social status in Britain and exploring how people perceive occupations in terms of prestige.³

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1. H.H. Hyman, "The Psychology of Status", Archives of Psychology, Vol. 38, No. 209, 1942, pp. 1-94, shows that occupational status is only one of a number of status dimensions.
 2. H.H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social-Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification", Class, Status and Power, R. Bendix and S.M. Lipset, (Eds.), Revised Edition, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967.
 3. J. Hall and D. Caradog-Jones, "The Social Grading of Occupations", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 1:1, 1950, pp. 31-5; A.F. Davies, "Prestige of Occupations", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 3, 1952, pp. 134-47.

Most of the studies on adults were pioneer efforts in this country and are now somewhat dated; very few deal specifically with adolescents.

One point that emerges from Martin's study is worth noting since it has relevance here.¹ He found that a person's evaluation of his own occupational status is not necessarily a guide to his objective social position; generally, people tend to upgrade themselves, indicating what has, for the most part, been taken for granted in studies of this sort, that there is a universal need for status, social esteem and approval from others. If, as seems likely, some immigrant teenagers are hyper-conscious of their low social esteem on racial and ethnic grounds they may well tend to upgrade their parents' jobs and their own expected jobs in order to win the social esteem they feel they lack.

Indeed, a high occupational status may well compensate an adolescent for low ethnic status, particularly in modern industrial societies where, as Chinoy maintains:

... occupation is the major determinant of status and the prestige hierarchy tends, on the whole, to parallel the occupational structure.²

Two studies on English adolescents indicate that they perceive the social structure and social status in adult terms. Twenty years ago Himmelweit found that the teenagers in her study rated

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1. F.M. Martin, "Some Subjective Aspects of Social Stratification", Social Mobility in Britain, D.V. Glass, (Ed.), London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954, pp. 51-75; C.A. Moser and J.R. Hall, "The Social Grading of Occupations", Ibid, pp. 29-50.
 2. E. Chinoy, "Status", New Society, 2nd November 1972, p. 265 ff.

occupations on a prestige scale almost identically to adults.¹ Occupation was for them a salient dimension of status even though they tended to evaluate a man's importance primarily in terms of external symbols such as dress and speech. Ten years ago Veness found that her school leavers also saw status in primarily occupational terms and evaluated it in adult terms.² They valued hard work and ambitiousness and were reasonably confident that they would achieve their occupational ambitions.

Have school leavers today grounds for similar confidence? Do immigrant teenagers share the ambitions and perceptions of social prestige of white Britons? In the next section we supply a background to these questions by outlining briefly the occupational situation of the immigrant communities in London.

Immigrants and Employment

Immigrants settling in Britain after the second World War mostly took jobs which were not wanted by the host community. Roy Jenkins, Home Secretary in 1968 in an address to a meeting of the Voluntary Liaison Committees, said:

Most of those (immigrants) who have come here in the last decade and a half... have come expecting to do only the most menial jobs, because they are better than no jobs at home.³

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1. H. Himmelweit, E. Halsey and A.N. Oppenheim, "The Views of Adolescents on Some Aspects of the Social Class Structure", British Journal of Sociology, Vol.3, 1952, pp. 148-72.
 2. Veness, op.cit., pp. 52-98 and pp. 141-8.
 3. Quoted in N. Deakin, Colour, Citizenship and British Society, London, Panther, 1970, p. 123. My parenthesis.

The Political and Economic Planning, (P.E.P.), Report on racial discrimination implied in 1967 that immigrants:

... now had a more realistic picture of employment conditions in this country and were better acquainted than they had been about the standards they must reach before they could reasonably expect to make progress.

Various studies before the late 1960's analysed the employment patterns of immigrants in terms of the skills (or lack of them) which they had to offer, the needs of the economy at the time of their arrival and the internal needs of their own ethnic groups.²

It was not, as Allen points out, until the publication of the P.E.P. Report in 1967 that it was officially acknowledged that racial discrimination was possibly an influence on the employment opportunities of immigrants, particularly non-whites.³

There was evidence from the 1966 Census to support these findings.⁴ It showed that immigrants were more vulnerable to unemployment than the host community and were subject, since 1961, to a depression in the average status of the employment which they secured.

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1. W.W. Daniel, Racial Discrimination in England, London, Penguin, 1968, p. 143.
 2. e.g. S. Patterson, Dark Strangers, London, Penguin, 1965, pp. 61-153; C. Peach, West Indian Migration to Britain, Oxford University Press for Institute of Race Relations, 1968.
 3. S. Allen, New Minorities. Old Conflicts, New York, Random House, 1970, pp. 131-52.
 4. Facts and Figures 1972, British Council of Churches' Community and Race Relations Unit and the Institute of Race Relations, 1972, pp. 18-19.

Cypriots

In Chapter Two it was explained that unfavourable economic prospects in Cyprus were probably influential in encouraging Cypriot immigration to Britain.¹ Most settled in areas where they could pursue semi- or unskilled jobs or utilise their skills as craftsmen. In north London they went into clothing, shoe-manufacturing, catering, hairdressing, laundering and retailing. Many are now self-employed, often catering for the needs of their own community. The Greek Orthodox Church runs educational and social services, though in the borough under investigation anti-Church Greek Cypriots are trying to provide independent educational facilities, particularly for teaching Greek. One Greek Cypriot asserted proudly at a meeting of local teachers that his people are ambitious and upwardly mobile.² This supports the investigator's impression that many Cypriots in business and in professions strive hard and are successful. Certainly, in 1966, the proportion of Cypriot males in London categorised as professionals, employers and managers and self-employed or skilled manual workers was very nearly the same as for the English male working population; and these statistics are for first generation Cypriots only.³

1. Chapter II above, pp.19-20.

2. Mr. Kitromelides, "The Greek Cypriot Family in the U.K.", The Varied Heritage: Cyprus, Unpublished papers presented at a seminar on Cyprus of teachers, organized by the borough's Community Relations Council, 18th March, 1972.

3. R.B. Davison, Black British, Oxford University Press (for Institute of Race Relations), 1967, pp. 70-72, also pp. 60-90.

Asians

The occupational experience of Asians in London is probably more fortunate than for those elsewhere in Britain where there is not the demand for such a wide variety and level of skills and where unemployment levels are generally higher. Certainly, despite cultural and linguistic difficulties, Asians have worked hard to learn skills and earn rewards in a variety of industries. In some areas certain industries and services depend on their labour. But there is evidence of discrimination when they seek promotion to supervisory levels or jobs which involve contact with the public. In London, however, in 1966, a high proportion of Indian- and Pakistani-born male Asians were categorised as professionals and employers and managers. This probably reflects the wider opportunities for employment in the medical services and for entrepreneurship as restaurateurs and tradesmen which the metropolis offers.¹ On the other hand, Pakistanis appeared to be over-represented, compared with the English population, in routine non-manual and semi- and unskilled manual jobs and under-represented in self-employed and skilled manual jobs.² Indians, however, were over-represented in routine non-manual jobs and under-represented in manual jobs; this may reflect their aversion to manual labour as well as indicating something of the skills they could offer.³

1. Davison, Ibid., pp. 70-72; see also G. Bowker, Education of Coloured Immigrants, London, Longmans, 1968, pp. 36-37.

2. Davison, op.cit., pp. 70-72.

3. loc.cit.

The investigator has found no documentation of the fortunes of the East African Asians who settled in London in 1968 but a recent survey of those throughout Britain reports that they had no difficulty finding work on arrival though some had taken jobs below their capacities and previous experience and aspirations.¹ In London, particularly, they worked mainly in factories, in communications or in trades such as carpentry, plumbing, masonry or motor repairs. There was no general evidence to suggest that a large proportion of them were shopkeepers and traders as the stereotype implies. Since 1968 there has been a definite improvement in the status of their occupations but, the authors warn, this is no reason for optimism for more recent Asian immigrants from Africa since they face a worse general employment situation.

West Indians

In 1966, over a third of first generation West Indian men in London worked on their own account or in skilled manual jobs.² This is nearly the same proportion as for the English male working population.

In semi-skilled manual jobs, however, West Indians were over-represented, nearly a quarter of them being in this category compared with only 15% of the English population.³ In part, this

1. A. Little and J. Toynbee, "The Asians: A Threat or an Asset?", New Society, 28th October 1972, pp. 205-7.

2. Davison, op.cit., pp. 70-72.

3. Loc.cit.

preponderance of West Indian men in the lower paid, least attractive jobs is due to the first generation's lack of relevant skills and a willingness to take jobs which English workers would not. It may also reflect the extent to which public transport depends on immigrant labour.¹ It is also, however, a measure of the difficulties which West Indians had at that time in obtaining middle range and routine white-collar jobs.² In 1966, only one per cent of West Indian men in London were employers and managers and only about 7% were in lower-grade non-manual jobs; this was a gross under-representation compared with the English population.³

Bowker assessed the situation, as he saw it in 1968, thus:

There is now overwhelming evidence which shows that many middle range openings in commerce and industry have been closed to coloured applicants, and opportunities for promotion have been denied to able workers by employers who are either prejudiced or fear hostility from other workers.⁴

In the year in which he wrote this, however, the Race Relations Act went some way towards outlawing institutional racial discrimination. The Act enabled the Race Relations Board

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1. According to estimates made by London Transport alone, nearly 16% of London's bus operatives in 1966 were 'coloured' immigrants - 7.4% of the drivers and 29% of conductors; Facts Paper on the United Kingdom, London, Institute of Race Relations, 1969.
 2. This is true also of West Indian women, most of whom go out to work; apart from their traditional professional skills in nursing, few were in a position to bargain for jobs other than routine non-manual or semi-skilled.
 3. Davison, op.cit., pp. 70-72.
 4. Bowker, op.cit., p. 37.

to institute civil proceedings against employers thought to be discriminating on racial grounds.

It was strongly criticised at the time for lacking 'teeth'. One point of criticism was that the 'racial balance' clause, allowing employers to discriminate in good faith to secure or preserve a balance of different racial groups in an undertaking, undermined the basis of the Act. Another criticism was that the Board lacked powers to investigate and that the onus of proving discrimination was put on the person who considered a wrong had been done to him; such a person would need social confidence and courage to ignore the possibility of victimization if he made formal complaint to the Board.

Cumulative evidence exists that these criticisms were justified. Until 1973, the Board had few complaints with which to deal, despite a certain sharpening of its 'teeth'; moreover, there grew up a feeling among immigrants that the Board was yet another instrument of white oppression. Though the Race Relations Act went some way towards creating a more favourable normative climate and has forced all employers to make at least nominal efforts towards equalizing opportunities for immigrants, it has not wiped out discrimination at an institutional level. Informal discrimination is more difficult to measure but few immigrants doubt that it exists, probably on a wide scale.

While this brief sketch of the most salient features of the employment situation of adult first generation immigrants in London does not do justice to the complexity of the scene, it does indicate what might be termed typical fortunes of the groups under investigation.

The pattern of employment of Cypriots conforms most closely to that of the English population. It is probably significant that they are white skinned 'European' immigrants. Despite suffering the disadvantages common to most immigrants, - different cultural styles and a lack of facility in English, - many, not just the professionals among them, appear to be upwardly mobile.

Apart from the professional Asians, it appears that most opt for routine white-collar work in preference to manual jobs and that those in manual jobs tend to be at the lower levels. East African Asians appear to be somewhat more advantageously placed than others, particularly Pakistanis.

West Indians tend to predominate in the skilled and semi-skilled manual jobs, with the exception of women in the nursing services. They are the most disadvantaged group at the professional, supervisory and routine white-collar levels.

This picture is based, of course, on statistics now nearly seven years out of date. A new picture may emerge from the awaited 1971 Census data.

The Second Generation and the Immigrant School Leaver

Low status jobs and non-white skins are not, of course, invariably linked where the adult population is concerned but for the younger generation there is a distinct possibility, as Allen puts it, that 'jobs offering higher wages, status and career prospects will become more exclusively the preserve of whites

than they already are.'¹

Educational disadvantages and unfavourable stereotypes of 'immigrant workers' combined with racial prejudice may be creating a vicious circle out of which immigrants, particularly Asian and West Indian immigrant youth, may find it difficult to escape. Wood and Downing, writing of their own West Indian people, write passionately of a 'self-fulfilling prophecy of inferior status and class.' They predict a hardening of racial attitudes.²

On an official level, also, similar fears have been expressed. The parliamentary report on 'The Problems of Coloured School Leavers' sonorously declared:

... the colour of a person's skin should not determine his position in society.

But predicted:

The second generation may be less patient in surmounting the difficulties that confront them than their parents have been. They will expect equal treatment with their white contemporaries. Unless they get this, the seeds of racial discord may be sown.³

More recently, the trade union movement has surrendered some of its previous indifference to racial issues at the shop floor level.⁴ For example, the general secretary of the foundry section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers felt the

1. Allen, op.cit., p. 131.

2. W. Wood and J. Downing, Vicious Circle, London, Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, 1968, pp. 60-64.

3. "The Problems of Coloured School Leavers", Report of the House of Commons' Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, Vol. 1, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1969.

4. Deakin, op.cit., pp. 204-9.

issue was important enough to raise at a conference in June 1973.

He said:

We now have coming onto the labour market the children of coloured immigrants. They have been fully educated in this country and have aspirations and expectations. If they do not get the kind of jobs their education fitted them for, they are not going to turn the cheek as their parents did.

He went on to urge trade unionists to encourage 'coloured' people into the unions to their mutual benefit. The conference unanimously condemned racialism.

Numerous recent empirical studies, not all of them, admittedly, objective and unemotional in their reporting, suggest that the parents of many young immigrants communicate to their sons and daughters a resentment at their low social status, a resentment which directs itself against the host society.² These attitudes are hardened when the second generation encounter discrimination or find that their educational attainments prevent them from obtaining the jobs that they would like. It is significant that most of these accounts are concerned with non-white immigrants.

West Indian youth attracted journalistic attention during 1972.³ These accounts appear to support the considered view of the Department of Education and Science that immigrants, West Indians particularly, may remain at the lower rungs of the

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1. "Warning on Attitude of Young Blacks", The Times, 23rd June 1973.
 2. e.g. D. Humphrey and G. John, Because They're Black, London, Penguin, 1971; P. Evans, Attitudes of Young Immigrants, London, Runnymede Trust, 1971.
 3. e.g. C. McGlashan, "Inside England's Oldest Ghetto", Observer, 13th August 1972; C. McGlashan, "England's Teenage Apartheid", Observer, 20th August 1972; "A Young Person's Guide to a Multi-Racial Life", The Times, 16th October 1972; N. Abdee, "Black in Butetown", Race Today, 4th November 1972, pp.362-3.

occupational ladder if they are not helped to overcome 'a complex of disabilities, social, educational and psychological.'¹

Education Survey No. 13 maintains that the West Indian is especially vulnerable and liable to build up resentment because he cannot turn to the comfort of a secure ethnic community as can the Asian or Cypriot.² If the young Asian, for instance, fails to gain status through occupational success, he has other dimensions of status within his community to which he can turn. The girls, anyway, are shielded from the full impact of competition for jobs because many parents still demand that their proper place is in the home, even if the girls themselves do not always agree.

It is generally the case that more Cypriots and Asians than West Indians find employment within the structure of their own ethnic communities, in the family firm or with friends. It is true, also, that Asians and Cypriots give the impression of valuing hard work as a means to success. Pilot items for this investigation, however, showed no startling contrasts between any ethnic groups in their evaluations of hard work and ambitiousness for 'getting on in life'; significantly, though, Asian and Cypriot respondents saw themselves as more determined to work hard and succeed than did West Indians.

Humphrey suggested recently that many young West Indians who

1. Education Survey No. 13, The Education of Immigrants, Department of Education and Science, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1971, p. 110.

2. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

cannot get jobs are giving up hope.¹ He extracted figures from the 1971 Census and compared them with those of 1966. He found ample evidence to show that West Indian youths aged between fifteen and twenty-four years were suffering disproportionately the effects of unemployment. While the rise in registered unemployed Asians between 1966 and 1971 was the same as for all young people in the age group, there had been a rise of 10% of West Indians registered unemployed. Whilst a figure based on registered unemployed may well understate the true situation it must also be noted that the figures account only for those born overseas; a proportion of these may well have arrived only recently in Britain and will not have been to school here. Humphrey attributed the plight of West Indian-born youth to racial discrimination and their own failure to adjust to British society.

Second generation West Indians have had all their lives to adjust yet other recent studies suggest that they are becoming increasingly resentful and restless in a society which, they feel, is not giving them equal opportunities.² Much publicity has been given to the alleged increase in anti-social violence by immigrant, particularly West Indian youth.³ Generally, no distinction is made

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1. D. Humphrey, "The Growing Danger of the Jobless Blacks", The Times, 23rd July 1972.
 2. e.g. "The New Britons", Observer (Supplement), 28th November 1972.
 3. e.g. C. McGlashan, "Mugging - Who are the Victims?", Race Today, 28th November 1972, pp. 377-9; P. Evans, "Blacks unite to Fight Crime Cases in London", The Times, 28th November 1972; D. Humphrey, Police Power and Black People, London, Panther, 1972.

between those born in Britain and those born overseas; unemployment and increasing alienation are common to both groups.

This was the background of tension when the Home Secretary announced on 17th November 1972 that he had accepted a recommendation of the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration to ask the Community Relations Commission to undertake an enquiry into the high rate of unemployment among immigrant school leavers.¹ He was prompted to do so on the basis of preliminary figures from the 1971 Census which indicated that over 16% of West Indian-born immigrants aged sixteen to twenty years were unemployed - a figure double the national average for the age-group. This enquiry will be welcome if it fills in gaps in the information available about job opportunities for young immigrants; for little can be done to improve matters if data are incomplete, piecemeal and localised.² Even on present information, however, it seems likely that most non-white immigrants, first or second generation, are likely to be disappointed if they aspire to any but the lower status jobs.

Aspirations and Expectations of Young Immigrants

Studies of young immigrants' attitudes towards their employment prospects are as localised and limited as those on their objective circumstances. The few recent studies that exist are not strictly comparable for they differ in methods of enquiry,

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1. J. Ezard, "Race Inquiry on Jobs for Youngsters", The Guardian, 28th November 1972.
 2. Immigrant organisations are objecting to this official inquiry at the time this chapter is being written.

ethnic groups and localities investigated. Not surprisingly, no general pattern of attitudes can be detected.

Beetham's study, in 1965-6 was one of the first of this kind.¹ He examined the aspirations of recently arrived immigrant school leavers in Birmingham. He concluded that the teenagers' aspirations were unrealistic in relation to their skills. There was no justification, however, for the Youth Employment Service to accept this thesis uncritically, as it did; still less to generalise it to explain away all the employment problems of non-white immigrant school leavers.²

Since then, the view that racial discrimination is a more important factor in the 'problems' of these school leavers has gained ground. Rex and Moore, for instance found that young people in Sparkbrook, Birmingham in the late 1960's were realistic about their employment prospects and probably under-estimated their abilities.³

As part of a psychological study of north London secondary school children in the late 1960's, Bhatnagar asked West Indian, Cypriot, Indian and English subjects (first and second generation), what jobs they thought they deserved and what jobs they thought they would obtain.⁴ Two factors detract from the value of his

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1. D. Beetham, "Immigrant School Leavers and the Youth Employment Service in Birmingham, London, Institute of Race Relations' Special Series, 1968.
 2. Deakin, op.cit., pp. 199-200.
 3. J. Rex and R. Moore, Race, Community and Conflict, London, Oxford University Press (for Institute of Race Relations), 1967, paperback reprint 1971, pp. 230-57.
 4. J. Bhatnagar, Immigrants at School, London, Cornmarket, 1970, pp. 142-3.

findings. Firstly, it is doubtful how meaningful such questions would be to the pupils as young as eleven, twelve and thirteen. Secondly, the use of the word, 'deserve', complicates an already complex dimension of occupational attitudes by introducing a connotation of moral worthiness. However, the study showed that a large proportion of immigrants in the sample 'deserved' skilled manual, clerical or professional jobs; but a smaller proportion of immigrants than English youngsters, immigrant boys particularly, thought they would in fact obtain the jobs they deserved.

Jackson conducted a survey of Asian and British secondary school children in the south of England.¹ He found that a large proportion of all pupils made unrealistic choices of jobs in relation to their abilities. (This may again be because such questions are inappropriate for younger pupils). Asians, however, were more unrealistic than the British pupils. While Bhatnagar predicted alarming psychological consequences if immigrant youngsters were frustrated in their ambitions, Jackson predicted political alienation.

Hilton's study of West Indian, Asian and English school children in Manchester painted a complex picture.² Immigrants who had been in Britain for many years had adjusted their occupational aspirations to their expectations. Girls of all groups both aspired to less and expected less than boys. Immigrant

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1. R. Jackson, "Occupational Expectations and Political Attitudes - a Cross-Cultural Survey", Unpublished paper for Conference on Political Socialization, University of Exeter, England, September 1971.
 2. J. Hilton, "The Ambitions of School Children", Race Today, March 1972, pp. 79-81.

boys were no less unrealistic than English boys in their expectations of obtaining favoured skilled manual jobs; many were ambitious to be motor mechanics and the author suggests that the influence of English peers on immigrants was strong in this respect.

Evans' survey of (mostly) first generation West Indian and Asian young men, aged sixteen to twenty-four, in London and elsewhere, documented their attitudes to jobs which they had had and involved a retrospective assessment of their own and their parents' expectations for them while they were still at school.¹ Such 'memories' must be treated with caution for present attitudes often 'colour' memories. Nearly half the West Indians and a quarter of the Asians thought the jobs they had experienced were not up to their expectations. The wording of the question was, 'Is your job the type that you'd hoped for?'² Some confusion as to the exact dimension of job-expectations measured is apparent. 'Hope' may include fantasy aspirations as well as more down-to-earth ones. Moreover, that a job was not as good as expected may merely mean that the respondent had false ideas about it when he took it or that educational deficiencies, which the report documents, prevented the young people from 'making good' in a job beyond their abilities, skill or experience. The fact that many immigrants

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1. P. Evans, "Attitudes of Young Immigrants", London, Runnymede Trust, 1971.
 2. The questionnaire may be read in the library of the Institute of Race Relations, 36 Jermyn Street, London, SW1.

obtained jobs 'less good than they expected', therefore, is misleading as support for the suggestion that immigrants may be frustrated in their jobs. Indeed, the 'fact' contains so many ambiguities that it is of little use as objective information.

Nevertheless, the author places much emphasis on the opinion of some of the respondents who were dissatisfied with their jobs that they would have had a better chance if they had been white-skinned. The survey did not bear out the idea that young immigrants lack persistence in trying to obtain employment if once or twice they fail. But the West Indians interviewed were more often dissatisfied with their jobs than Indians or Pakistanis.

Conclusions

From such a variety of small-scale studies, very little of a general nature emerges. It is probably the case that immigrants feel at a disadvantage in competition for jobs in comparison with white British teenagers. Whether they are so in fact is a question that cannot be answered until the 1971 Census is published and analysed and until some long term investigations are made. It would probably be of value if, in any longitudinal study, school leavers were matched for abilities, social class, types of school, interests and occupational ambitions so that the ultimate fortunes of the immigrants could be compared more vigorously with those of the white British youngsters. At present, it appears that Cypriots, being white-skinned, may have more or less equal opportunities to white British teenagers and that Asians and West Indians particularly may be at a disadvantage. Most of the studies reviewed

here certainly indicate that they feel at a disadvantage. These feelings, subjective and emotional though they are, are possibly as important as objective circumstances in influencing future attitudes and behaviour. They should not be ignored.

Research Findings

The Social Prestige of Occupations

In this section we ask what are the respondents' perceptions of occupational roles and statuses in the society which they are about to enter as adults. It is necessary to ascertain whether teenagers from different cultures and backgrounds have similar ideas about occupational roles and their relative prestige. It would be pointless to discover, for instance, that a boy is ambitious to become a bank clerk, and to infer from this that he is modest in his aims, if, in his own eyes, and possibly in the eyes of his ethnic group, a job in a bank is a most sought-after and prestigious one. If we have some ideas of how the respondents perceive the social structure in Britain and we know what jobs they aspire to and expect, we can form a picture of how they may relate to British society as adults.

An item on the questionnaire tested whether respondents from different ethnic groups shared ideas about the prestige which society generally accords to various jobs. It read:

We all respect or look up to some jobs more than other jobs. Below is a list of jobs. Tick the three jobs you think other people generally respect or look up to most.

The design of this item proved extremely difficult and extensive piloting was necessary. Three aspects were especially problematic: a choice of words instead of 'prestige' or 'status', which were not universally understood, the jobs to be listed, and a way of ranking them simple enough for all to follow.

The finalised list of jobs can be categorized on the Hall-Jones Scale of Occupational Prestige.¹ The jobs in the list representing the various grades were chosen after analysis of pilot tests on white Britons. Thus, the jobs represent evaluations of their prestige by teenagers from the host society rather than by adults.

Several of the listed jobs could figure in more than one of the seven grades. A factory worker, for instance, could be in grade five, six or seven, according to his level of skill. The respondents had to decide which three jobs only they thought society ranked most highly. Thus, the onus was on them to decide on what grounds a job is prestigious. The intention was to tap the respondents' perceptions of what for them were the most salient features of the jobs. No tight definition of the jobs, therefore, was necessary.

1. See Appendix B, p. 308.

The respondents used three criteria to evaluate the social prestige of jobs. These were social usefulness, the degree of responsibility involved and, less often, the remuneration they brought.

Table 6:1 sets out how the respondents evaluate the social prestige of occupations, (p. 178).

Table 6:1 indicates that, on the whole, the respondents evaluated the social prestige of jobs on similar lines to adults. For instance, 79% of all respondents chose a doctor as one of the three most socially prestigious jobs and this is ranked in Grade One on the Hall-Jones Scale; only 4% chose a cleaner which is ranked in Grade Seven on the Hall-Jones Scale.

There are two exceptions to this. A police Sergeant was ranked by the respondents among the three most prestigious occupational roles considerably more often than either a secondary school teacher or a bank clerk. The bank clerk, moreover, 'overtook' the teacher.

The respondents may have been encouraged to rank the police Sergeant relatively high on the scale of social prestige if they were impressed by his rank within the police force, a sergeant carrying more responsibility than a constable. It is important to note, however, that his elevated status is largely accounted for by the votes of white Britons. Votes for him by the minority groups, especially the non-whites, were considerably lower. This may reflect the low esteem in which many immigrants hold the police. Analysis by sex reveals that more girls than boys in every ethnic group accorded higher social prestige to the police Sergeant,

Table 6:1

% of Ethnic Groups attributing Social Prestige to Occupations

%	Doctor	M.P.	Secondary school teacher	Bank Clerk	Police Sergeant	Shop Assist- ant	Bus driver	Factory worker	Cleaner
Cypriots	71	53	24	35	41	14	13	15	12
Asians	78	53	25	40	25	20	13	17	2
West Indians	70	51	29	37	37	9	10	9	6
White Britons	86	76	28	35	62	1	3	3	2
All Groups	79	65	27	36	50	7	7	7	4

(Table B1). Boys, perhaps, have a closer and less happy contact with the arm of the law than girls and this may colour their views.

It is difficult to understand why all ethnic groups ranked a secondary school teacher relatively low down the prestige scale. Other data in pilot studies showed that most respondents valued their education and thought that they got on well with their teachers. Perhaps, therefore considerations of social usefulness were subordinated to the criterion of remuneration, for, at the time teachers' pay was in the news.

The white Britons followed the general trend of evaluation of the social prestige of different jobs, except, that is, for the shop assistant who received a mere one per cent of their votes and was ranked lower than a bus driver, factory worker or cleaner.

Among the other ethnic groups, there was a relatively high vote for categories 5a to 7, especially by Asians and Cypriots. Since many of their parents were in similar occupations, the teenagers may have been influenced by their ethnic groups' idea of what constitutes a worthwhile job.

Analysis of the data by occupations reveals a range of between 5% to 37% in the frequency of votes accorded by different ethnic groups. There is relatively little difference, (5%), in the range of votes for a teacher and a bank clerk, a wider range for a factory worker, (12%), a doctor, (15%) and a shop assistant, (19%); the widest range is for a Member of Parliament (M.P.), (25%), and a police Sergeant, (37%),

There is some indication that there was a systematic variation by ethnic groups in the prestige accorded to the various jobs. White Britons accorded prestige far more often to a doctor, an M.P. and a police sergeant than did any other group. Less dramatically, the same applies in reverse to votes for a shop assistant, bus driver and factory worker. Immigrants accorded these roles social prestige far more often than did white Britons. The range of votes for teachers and bank clerks between hosts and immigrants was narrower, indicating, perhaps, a greater degree of consensus between white Britons and immigrants on the social prestige of these jobs. There was also a fair consensus that a cleaner should be ranked low down the scale, though a surprisingly high number of Cypriots disagreed.

On the whole, it appears that the respondents shared the perceptions of British adults on the prestige of various occupational roles, though there were some interesting variations between ethnic groups, especially between white Britons and the others.

Personal Evaluations of the Prestige of Occupations

The following item on the questionnaire read:

Now look at the jobs again. Do you respect or look up to the same jobs as other people, or different ones? Tick the three YOU respect most...

Table 6:2 tabulates the respondents' personal grading of the

Table 6:2

% of Ethnic Groups attributing Personal Prestige to Occupations

%	Doctor	M.P.	Secondary school teacher	Bank Clerk	Police Sergeant	Shop Assistant	Bus driver	Factory worker	Cleaner
Cypriots	74	33	41	35	36	4	5	19	4
Asians	73	32	55	42	38	13	5	10	3
West Indians	65	26	34	36	24	7	11	10	5
White Britons	87	39	43	23	63	4	9	4	4
All Groups	79	35	42	29	49	6	8	7	4

various jobs listed. Besides the three general consideration, usefulness, responsibility entailed and remuneration, some respondents were ideologically committed to egalitarianism. Some commented or wrote on their questionnaire some such remark as, "I could not choose because I think everyone is equal." Others with the same views felt compelled to list the three jobs which in their view are least socially respected, as the ones which they personally respected most. These cases, however, do not obscure the general pattern of voting.

The general trend of personal votes on occupational prestige was similar to that for social rankings. But the fact that there were some marked differences in the relative social and personal rankings of certain jobs by particular ethnic groups indicates that the distinction between, "How I see things" and "How other people see things" was a valid one for these teenagers.

The greatest contrast, where the overall ranking of jobs was concerned, was the relatively low proportion of personal votes accorded to an M.P., (35%), compared with a high vote for social prestige, (65%). There was a similar, less marked, contrast in the bank clerk's rankings. The reverse was the case for a teacher who received a higher proportion of personal votes than social. The other occupations, however, received a similar proportion of personal and social votes.

There are some interesting differences between ethnic groups. The pattern of votes for a doctor was similar on both rankings

but a slightly lower proportion of West Indians and Asians voted personally for this job. The overall fall in votes for an M.P. on personal ranking was accentuated by the very sharp fall in the proportion of white Britons and West Indians voting for him. Whilst all groups assessed a teacher's prestige more favourably than they thought society did, there was only a small rise in the proportion of personal, as opposed to social, votes by West Indians. Asians, on the other hand, ranked the teacher very much higher than any other group and very much higher on personal, as opposed to social, prestige.

The police sergeant again proves an interesting case. The overall trend of ranking was similar to that for his social ranking, (Table B1). White Britons and Cypriots, both boys and girls, followed the general trend of ranking. But the contrast between West Indians and Asians is remarkable. A far higher proportion of Asian boys, (46%), personally esteemed the police sergeant's job than thought it was socially esteemed, (22%), but the reverse was true of West Indians, both boys and girls; while 37% thought the job socially prestigious, only 24% personally esteemed it highly.¹

The pattern of personal votes for a shop assistant's job followed the pattern of votes on social prestige. The most interesting difference is the fall in the proportion of personal votes by Cypriots and Asians. This may be an indication of a

1. M. Adeney, "Black Rogues - or Unfair Cops?", The Guardian, 9th August 1972, mentions that Asian youths are more favourably inclined towards the police than West Indians, even to the extent of considering joining the force.

desire for upward mobility. Many may have reasoned that jobs in retailing were valuable and worthwhile to their parents' generation seeking to establish themselves in Britain but that they themselves wanted to fly higher. Two quotations taken from a questionnaire item asking about occupational expectations illustrate this point. They read:

I expect to get a good job. After all you can if you get good passes on examinations.

(Cypriot boy)

and,

I expect to get a job where I start at the bottom and work up.

(Asian boy)

With some interesting exceptions, then, it appears that these teenage respondents from a variety of backgrounds perceived the social prestige of occupations very much in the same way as adult Britons. On the whole, also, they personally evaluated status as they thought society does, although there were some discrepancies of view about the jobs of police sergeant, M.P. and secondary school teacher.

Attitudes to School

We have seen that there may have been some confusion among some of the respondents as to the social status of a teacher and that most personally accorded the job high prestige. Many also were ambitious for the future. It is pertinent to ask, therefore, what they thought generally of their school experience. They

were asked:

First I'd like your views on school life.
How much. ON THE WHOLE. do you like school?

Table 6:3 below tabulates the responses to this question.

Table 6:3

%	<u>Attitudes to School</u>		
	Like School	Neutral	Dislike School
Cypriots	54	40	7
Asians	66	34	2
West Indians	46	50	3
White Britons	44	45	12
All Groups	48	44	8

The overwhelming majority of the respondents either liked school or were neutral in attitude. Only 8% disliked it. Cypriots and Asians more often stated that they positively enjoyed school than did West Indians and white Britons. Girls were exceptional, (Table B2); but they may merely have been replying more cautiously than boys since more girls expressed a neutral view. But it is important to note that those who expressed least favourable attitudes towards school were the white British boys.

Table 6:4 indicates what the respondents thought of their relationship with their teachers.

Table 6:4Personal Relationship with Teachers

%	Favourable	Unfavourable	No Answer
Cypriots	74	15	12
Asians	84	12	5
West Indians	65	22	15
White Britons	78	16	8
All Groups	75	16	10

Again, the vast majority of respondents had a favourable view of their relationships. Girls tended (more often than boys) to think they got on well with their teachers and West Indian boys seemed to be most dissatisfied, (Table B3). It is clear, however, that, whatever the teenagers' plans for their futures, with regard to a choice between some form of further education and training or starting a job, their main consideration in making the choice would not usually be the fact that they disliked their school experiences. The majority found school at least tolerable and, perhaps, enjoyable.

They were then asked:

When, if all goes well, do you want to leave school?

Table 6:5 reveals their replies to this question.

Table 6:5

Attitudes towards Time of Leaving School

% wanting to leave school	As soon as possible	After C.S.E./ O Level	After A Level	No Answer
Cypriots	8	53	37	2
Asians	5	28	63	4
West Indians	5	57	27	12
White Britons	15	49	33	5
All Groups	11	49	35	6

The questionnaire was administered in the last term of the school year when the respondents were making decisions about their futures in consultation with teachers and the Youth Employment Service. Some fifth formers in one school were to follow a modified sixth form course for the last few weeks of the term if they decided to stay on into the sixth form. Fourth formers who were old enough were deciding whether to leave school or to stay on into the fifth. If they chose the latter, their attention was usually focused on the General Certificate of Education, (G.C.E.), at ordinary level or on the Certificate of Secondary Education, (C.S.E.), for which they had probably started studying already. Some, however, were deciding to stay on after the statutory leaving age without taking public examinations. One recent study of multi-racial schools points out that twice as many immigrants as others in their sample schools stayed on for a fifth year but many were unlikely to take examinations; those who stayed on into the sixth

year often followed only ordinary level courses.¹ The authors interpreted this as showing that many immigrant parents have a high regard for the English educational system and urge their children to continue at school. It also means, of course, that many immigrants leave school later than their white British contemporaries and with fewer qualifications so that they are at a disadvantage in the job-market.

White Britons were the most often eager to leave school as soon as possible, according to Table 6:5 above. On the other hand, nearly half of them intended to take at least ordinary level G.C.E. before leaving and a third wanted to take Advanced level courses in the sixth form.²

In contrast to the white Britons, only a very small proportion of all minority groups considered leaving school at the earliest opportunity. More than half the West Indians and Cypriots intended to take ordinary levels at school and, though only a quarter of the Asians intended to take examinations at this level, some perhaps in the sixth form, a higher proportion than for any other group, (63%), were ambitious to take advanced level. Approximately one third of the other groups were as ambitious as these Asians. Nevertheless, this means that between a third and

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1. H.E.R. Townsend and E.M. Brittan, Organization in Multi-Racial Schools, Slough, National Foundation for Educational Research, 1972, p. 56.
 2. It is possible that for all groups the proportions stating that they would take ordinary levels before leaving school are somewhat swollen by respondents who were not sufficiently confident to assume they would pass enough ordinary levels to enable them to continue to advanced level.

half of all respondents intended to stay at school to seventeen or eighteen years of age. Whether or not they were all to succeed in gaining the qualifications they desired is, of course, another matter.

It is noteworthy that West Indians, particularly the girls, were not especially eager to leave school as soon as possible; indeed, half of them wanted to take ordinary levels and a third to take advanced levels, (Table B4). This is surprising in view of the relatively negative attitudes which they expressed towards school. Perhaps a distinction should be drawn between an attitude towards a particular school and the gaining of qualifications. The latter obviously mattered to them despite their relatively unhappy school experiences.

On the whole there was not much to differentiate the intentions of boys and girls from the same ethnic group, (Table B4). West Indian boys were relatively undecided, (17%). And it appears that they were also less confident than any other group, including West Indian girls, in asserting their intentions to go on to advanced level. A small majority of the Asian boys intended to continue thus far also. But it is the Asian girls who cause the most surprise for over three-quarters of them stated that they intended to take advanced levels. It may be that some of them wanted to make themselves eligible as good marriage partners for educated men. Others may have felt that a longer education might give them an escape route from the traditional place of the Asian girl - in the home. But Cypriot girls are often confined in much the same way and similar reasoning cannot have held sway with them.

For, although the vast majority wanted to reach ordinary level standard, only a small minority intended, or had the confidence to state that they intended, to go on to advanced work. Could it be that they generally expected less than their brothers and so tailored their intentions accordingly?

In sum, however, it appears that a good majority of the respondents of every ethnic group saw some value in gaining educational qualifications. These data do not, though, indicate whether the respondents envisaged any further education or training after leaving school. It is possible, for instance, that some, (West Indian boys?), intended taking courses at further education centres.

After School Days

Table 6:6 summarises replies to a question asking what they intended to do after leaving school.

Table 6:6

<u>Intentions after Leaving School</u>					
%	Full-time Education	Job with Apprenticeship or Day-release	Evening Classes	Job with no Study or Training	Something Else/No Answer
Cypriots	42	35	8	15	2
Asians	32	20	32	9	9
West Indians	16	37	38	7	4
White Britons	21	40	21	16	4
All Groups	24	36	24	13	7

To judge by the fairly high level of ambition shown on the previous item, it might be expected that few teenagers were keen to get a job without further education or training. This was in fact the case, though it is somewhat puzzling that over a third of the Cypriot girls stated their intentions of getting jobs immediately after school, (Table B5). Ordinary level, it appears, was as far as they were prepared to go.

More than a quarter of the girls and nearly half the boys intended to get a job with apprenticeship or day-release. Another quarter intended to continue with full-time education after leaving school and yet another quarter intended to go to evening classes or study in their spare time. In general, therefore, the respondents had a positive attitude towards education and training after the minimum school-leaving age.

Cypriots, both boys and girls, intended more often than any other ethnic group to continue with full-time education. A large minority of the boys wanted to obtain an apprenticeship. This wish may mirror the opportunities for learning hair-dressing and tailoring in the local Cypriot community. Very few Cypriots considered evening classes or private study.

Nearly a third of the Asians were attracted to full-time education and another third were willing to consider evening classes. More girls than boys opted for evening classes, perhaps because fewer of them considered apprenticeship as suitable. On the whole, however, Asians showed themselves highly motivated

towards education or training.

West Indians, though, had different ideas. A small minority only wanted full-time education; the boys favoured apprenticeship most and the girls a job with evening study. It appears, then, that West Indians valued further study less highly than the other minority groups. Or is it rather that they had low expectations of success and adjusted their intentions to suit?

White Britons also showed themselves keen on apprenticeship and moderately keen on full-time education. Fewer girls than boys wanted an apprenticeship but more were willing to study in their spare time. A higher proportion of white Britons than others wanted a job with no more study or training, (except, that is, for the Cypriot girls). Even so, it was only a small minority who were not ambitious to continue their education.

In general, the conclusions drawn from the previous item are supported here. Cypriots and Asians, it seems, intended to continue in full-time education longest, though the proportion of Cypriot girls wanting to continue in full-time education after leaving school was much higher than the proportion wanting to stay at school for advanced level work. This may mean that they hoped to take lower level courses after leaving while the boys envisaged a post-advanced level education. In view of certain discrepancies in the Cypriot girls' stated intentions, it may be that they were simply uncertain or even confused. West Indians and white Britons opted for vocational training more often than for general further education.

The differences in intentions between girls and boys are reasonably explained by reference to their sex-roles and their knowledge of the traditional opportunities open to them. Girls, for instance, are keener on evening classes than boys. This may reflect the narrower opportunities for girls to become apprentices or to continue into higher education. It may also reflect the fact that many girls envisage office work or some form of secretarial training in the evenings.

The fact that a third of the girls and a quarter of all respondents recorded an intention to attend evening classes or continue with private study supports the view that, even when they thought other openings are barred, these teenagers valued education and training highly. Of course, though, once they started work many of them might not translate into practice their intentions to continue part-time study.

There were no dramatic contrasts in intentions between respondents in different social classes, (Table B6). True, only in social classes one and two did over a third of the respondents record an intention to continue in full-time education after leaving school. Nevertheless, a fifth of the lower classes also did so despite the fact that it has traditionally been more difficult for the working classes in Britain to gain access to institutions of further and higher education. It appears that respondents of all social classes shared an esteem for further education and that their expectations had been raised by the

philosophy of social equality. Again, respondents of all social classes stated intentions of becoming apprenticed, though, as might be expected, more did so from classes three, four and five where fathers were in manual jobs. A fairly even spread of intentions to continue studying in the evenings again indicates the esteem in which the respondents held education and training. No respondent in class one stated that he would go straight into a job after leaving school and only a small minority of the others did so.

Of course, what teenagers expect to do after leaving school may differ from what they actually do and from what they would most like to do. Moreover, for those who stay on for two or three years after the age of fifteen, any statement of intentions or expectations is bound to be conditional; life after schooldays is still in the remote future. Nevertheless, there has been some indication that respondents of all social classes and ethnic groups expected much from life; more, perhaps, than their parents expected for themselves or, in many cases, actually obtained. Further support for this comes from an item on the questionnaire which asked the respondents to compare their own chances in life with those of their parents, (Table B7). Only 3% thought their own chances were inferior and only 14% thought that their chances equalled their parents. Eighty-three per cent thought that they had better chances and there was very little difference in judgement between ethnic groups. More West Indians than any others showed some slight hesitation about comparing their chances favourably. While the difference was small it is, nevertheless,

somewhat puzzling since West Indians were the least often inclined to leave school as soon as possible or to go straight into a job with no more study or training; a good proportion of them, boys and girls, stated that they wanted to gain skills in one way or another. It may be that they judged that less luck would come their way or that their ambitions might be thwarted, perhaps by social handicaps. Nevertheless, it remains true that the vast majority of respondents, including West Indians, showed themselves highly optimistic of having better opportunities in life than their parents' generation did.

Occupational Aspirations and Expectations

Despite a fair degree of optimism about their future educational and occupational opportunities, the teenagers were by no means ignorant of the current difficulties of obtaining jobs. This was apparent from informal conversation and an item on the questionnaire supports it. When asked, in a political context, which of six pressing social problems they thought the government should tackle as a priority, 64% of the teenagers chose unemployment, (Table B8). There is reason to believe that many immigrant teenagers were keenly aware of their disadvantage in the job-market. Nevertheless, the vast majority rated their chances in life as better than their parents. This may be merely an indication of youthful optimism, including an expectation that unemployment always happens to other people. But many teenagers had recent immediate experience of unemployment in their families

so that this seems unlikely. Follow-up interviews suggest that the respondents understood 'chances in life' in a general sense meaning, to have luck, to have the opportunity to 'get on', to achieve a good standard of living. The majority of immigrant teenagers questioned believed that they would stand a better chance in Britain, even if they found themselves unemployed, than they would in their countries of origin. Few believed that racial discrimination would affect their own lives to the extent that they became pessimistic.

The respondents' most ambitious aspirations were recorded in answers to a questionnaire item which read:

Please describe carefully the sort of job you would
MOST LIKE to do, if you had the chance.

These jobs will be called their ideal jobs.

The jobs that they expected to get were recorded in answers to the question which followed:

What sort of job do you most EXPECT to get?

These jobs will be called their expected jobs.

Despite rigorous pre-testing these items proved difficult to codify. The original intention was to classify the ideal and expected jobs on the Hall-Jones Scale of prestige rankings but these distinctions proved too fine for the purpose, many of the respondents failing to give a sufficiently detailed description of their ideas. Indeed, follow-up interviews revealed that their knowledge of the details of different jobs, and often of their own chosen jobs, was vague and sketchy; many, also, were, as one boy wrote, 'undesided' (sic). A few examples illustrate the problem

of classifying the answers.

I cannot say yet as one person tells me this
and another tells me that. I am mixed up.

This girl eventually decided that she expected to be:

... probably in a shop behind a counter, working
for £7 a week!

Some answers were cautiously vague:

I would expect to get a in between job in
between good or bad.

Few of the respondents were as straightforward and specific
as this boy:

Banking is my career and looking forward to it.

Many girls envisaged office work but at what level it was
difficult to determine:

I want to do in the office as a sacktray (sic).

A great many boys wanted to be motor mechanics but few indicated
the height to which they hoped to soar, though some intended
becoming the boss of a motor manufacturing firm.

Most were able to distinguish between the jobs that they
would most like to do and the jobs that they expected. Some were
confident of achieving their ideal:

I expect to get the job that I want and do what
I want to do.

Some were confident that they would get:

A good paying job I enjoy.

Others were more cautious:

I have not raised my expectations to the greatest,
because I may be disappointed.

There was a fairly high level of 'No Answers' and 'Don't Knows', particularly for expected jobs and particularly among West Indians. The level is swollen also, due to the difficulty of classification even under the cruder typology of the Registrar-General's five social classes which was eventually found more useful than the Hall-Jones Scale.

It is reasonable to suppose that the respondents would be more ambitious about ideal than expected jobs, since most of them would be aware of the educational, social and economic hurdles which they must meet. Tables 6:7 and 6:8 support this supposition in general.

Table 6:7Ideal Jobs x Social Class of Ideal Jobs

% of ethnic groups stating ideal jobs	in	Social Class	1-2	3	4-5	No Answer, Don't Know, Not Ascertained.
Cypriots			37	44	8	12
Asians			54	30	4	15
West Indians			25	46	5	25
White Britons			40	38	7	18
All Groups			38	40	5	18

Table 6:8Expected Jobs x Social Class of Expected Jobs

% of ethnic groups stating ideal jobs	in	Social Class	1-2	3	4-5	No Answer, Don't Know, Not Ascertained
Cypriots			26	37	10	29
Asians			32	30	9	30
West Indians			15	48	6	31
White Britons			25	46	8	22
All Groups			24	44	8	26

The disparity between ideal and expected jobs is seen most sharply for class one-two. Only 24% expected jobs in this class though ideally 38% wanted them.

The proportion of expected jobs for class three was probably conflated by those who ideally wanted class one-two jobs but who expected class three jobs.

There was little disparity between the proportion of respondents who aspired to class four-five jobs and those who expected such. The proportion was very low for both. Interestingly, the proportions tally almost exactly with the proportions of the minority groups who wanted to leave school at the earliest opportunity, (though, of course, the data do not suggest that the same individuals opted for lower grade jobs and early school leaving).¹ For white Britons, however, the picture is different; 15% wanted to leave school as soon as possible but only 8% expected a semi- or unskilled job. While it would be unjustified to place too much emphasis on what is only a small difference in proportions, it does indicate that white Britons may have shown themselves less realistic about their opportunities at this end of the occupational ladder than the immigrants.² Moreover, since success in the ordinary level General Certificate of Education and the Certificate of Secondary Education do not lead automatically to 'good jobs', it appears that many of the 49% of respondents hoping to leave school after the fifth form, even with a number of passes of a good standard, were optimistic in expecting jobs above class three-four.

1. See above, p. 187 ff.

2. See above, pp. 170-171.

This may be the case, particularly, for the 57% of West Indian youngsters who wanted an ordinary level standard of general education. There was a marked bunching of West Indians wanting ideal jobs in class three. This was not matched by a fall in the proportion expecting jobs in class three. It may be, therefore, that many would like, and hope to train for, jobs in class three but should expect disappointment.

The Asians were outstandingly the most ambitious to name ideal jobs in class one-two. Over half of them aspired to jobs in that class and nearly a third expected them also. Over a third of white Britons and Cypriots also aspired to jobs in class one-two and a third of each group expected to obtain them. But if Asians appear ambitious and white Britons and Cypriots are comparable in their aspirations and expectations, West Indians had less lofty aspirations and their expectations at this level were severely depressed; only a quarter of them aspired to jobs in class one-two and a mere 15% expected to realise such ambitions.

¶

These data tend to support the stereotypical images of the ambitious Asian, aspiring to wealth and status, the integrationist Cypriot, willing to fit in with British occupational norms and the working class (or below) West Indian. They also support the view that these stereotypes may be self-actualizing.¹

1. See this chapter above, p. 170 ff.

While there was certainly some adjustment downwards to class three from class one-two when aspirations were adjusted to expectations, there was very little adjustment downwards from class three to class four-five. This was the case for all ethnic groups. Disappointment, therefore, was most likely at the borderlines of skilled and semi-skilled manual work rather than at the borderlines of higher and lower grade white-collar work.

Tables B9 and B10 indicate no great contrasts between the expectations and aspirations of boys and girls. Fewer boys and girls of each ethnic group expected to get a job in class one-two than would have liked one ideally, though Cypriot boys seemed somewhat more optimistic about attaining their ideal jobs than any others. White British girls adjusted their expectations in much the same way as boys but, Asian and Cypriot girls, as might be surmised, were far more modest in both aspirations and expectations than the boys in those groups. Interestingly, the reverse was true for West Indians, more girls than boys aspiring to and expecting jobs in class one-two. But this was offset by the higher proportion of West Indian boys aspiring to and expecting jobs in class three. One explanation may be the fact that West Indian boys opted for apprenticeships for skilled work which falls into class three while many girls, ambitious to rise in the nursing profession, came into class one-two.

With Asians, however, it was the boys who aimed high and the girls who aspired more often to jobs in class three; over a third of the Asian girls aspired to and expected jobs in class three but

only a quarter of the boys did so. Cypriots of both sexes appeared to conform to the pattern set by the white Britons.

There were few contrasts between the aspirations and expectations of boys and girls in class three. The greatest was among white British girls, far more of whom expected jobs in that class than aspired to them. It seems that they were far more often inclined to adjust their aspirations downwards from class one-two to class three than were girls from other ethnic groups. More Asian and Cypriot girls adjusted downwards from class three to class four-five when stating ideal and expected jobs but even so a very small proportion of any group of either sex expected jobs in the lowest social classes.

Generally, we might expect to discern an association between the social class of the family and the child's occupational aspirations and expectations.¹ Of course, the picture is more complicated where immigrants are concerned. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to suppose that most respondents would aspire to and expect jobs of at least the same, if not a higher social class than their fathers'; for, as we have seen, the respondents showed themselves very optimistic about their chances in life compared with their parents'. Moreover, 35% of them stated an intention to continue education after advanced level, even though a much smaller proportion of the age-group currently gain access

1. The association between family background and educational and occupational achievement is well-documented. See, for example, O. Banks, The Sociology of Education, 2nd Edition, London, Batsford, 1971, pp. 33-98.

to higher education. It seems, then, that they were ambitious.

The measuring instruments are not so fine as one would wish here. To categorise occupational ambitions by five social classes obscures differences in perceptions of prestige between occupations, differences which might well be relevant to an attempt to decide whether, subjectively, a respondent perceives himself as achieving 'a better job' than his father. There is no way, for instance, of distinguishing between the boy who aspires to become a managing director of a large firm and his father who owns a street corner confectioner's. Nor, moreover, is it altogether satisfactory to compare jobs by social class across the sexes. However, despite the inadequacies of the measuring instruments, there appears to be some evidence to support the suggestion that the respondents were, at least in intention, upwardly mobile.

Table 6:9

Expectations of Occupational Mobility

% of respondents expecting jobs	in class	1-2	3	4-5	Don't Know
from classes					
1-2		41	31	5	25
3		21	50	7	24
4-5		20	49	11	21

Table 6:9 indicates that, apart from about a quarter of the respondents who gave an inadequate reply or none at all,

more from social class one-two, (that is, 18% of the total), expected a job which would allow them to remain in that class than expected one which would down-grade them. Half the teenagers from class three, (that is, 37% of the total), expected to remain in this class; over a fifth of them expected to rise to class one-two. Similarly, only 11% of those in class four-five, (that is, 38% of the total), expected to remain there; nearly half of them expected to rise to class three and a fifth to class one-two.

It is feasible to suggest, therefore, that there was considerable expectation of upward occupational mobility. One or two caveats, however, must be made. First, the cautions about categorising the social class of young people by the occupational grade of their fathers must be repeated. Secondly, a desire for occupational mobility does not necessarily imply a desire for different social status; many teenagers may not perceive the finer distinctions of social status between occupational groups or even between different grades of the same jobs as do adults. Thus, it would be an error to assume that the ambition of, say, the son of a clerk, to become an accountant, mirrors a subjective desire for higher social status. Though the objective observer may infer that the son's social class will be higher than the father's, the son himself may merely be interested in arithmetic. Moreover, he may not be aware of the type of work involved or grade of qualification or skill which his father's job requires, even if he knows its name.

Tables B11-14 analyse the data from Table 6:9 by comparison of ethnic groups. As far as respondents in social class one-two are concerned, a large minority of all ethnic groups, except West Indians, expected to stay in that class. (The data for West Indians is complicated by the fact that the numbers in class one-two were small and 38% of them were not classified). A higher proportion of Cypriots and West Indians than of Asians and white Britons in this class expected to move downwards to class three or four-five.

Of those in class three, over half the West Indians and white Britons and just under half the Cypriots expected to stay in class three. The lower proportion of Asians expecting to stay in class three was offset by a higher proportion expecting to rise to class one-two.

Of those in class four-five, the overwhelming majority in all ethnic groups expected to rise; West Indians and white Britons expected a rise more often to class three, Cypriots and Asians to class one-two and three. This may be interpreted, however, not so much as 'soaring ambition' as a reduction in the proportion expecting jobs in class three being offset by a higher proportion of 'Don't Knows'.

In general, therefore, it seemed that most of the respondents were optimistic about their life-chances in terms of occupational mobility, particularly those in the lowest classes. An exception to this general picture must be made in the case of some Cypriots and West Indians in class one-two who were less optimistic of staying in that class than were Asians, or, to a lesser extent, white Britons. (And, of course, it may be that some of these

teenagers actually value jobs in class three more highly than ones in class one-two). Another exception must be made for the relatively high proportion of Cypriots in class three who, surprisingly, expected a drop in occupational status compared with their fathers.

No general pattern of job-expectations emerges from Tables B15-18, which analyse the data according to the length of time the teenagers in minority groups have spent in Britain.

Of those born in Britain, a large minority of Cypriots and West Indians and a quarter of Asians expected jobs in class three. Fifty per cent of the Asians expected jobs in class one-two, but the numbers involved were very small. Twenty-two per cent of Cypriots expected high status jobs but only 7% of the West Indians did so. The latter group had a very high non-response rate. Generally, it appears that the second generation immigrants expected jobs at least of class three level but only a few West Indians expected jobs at a higher level.

The same pattern emerges for respondents who had lived in Britain all their school days. Exceptional was the small proportion of Asians who expected jobs in class three and the relatively greater proportion expecting lower level jobs. Eleven per cent more West Indians expected jobs in class one-two than did those born in Britain but nearly half of them and 40% of Asians did not name a job-expectation at all.

Of those living in Britain from five to ten years, that is, for a good deal of their school days, the proportion of Asians and

Cypriots expecting jobs in class one-two and three was fairly evenly distributed. West Indians expected most often to get jobs in class three.

The pattern was similar for immigrant teenagers who had been in Britain for five years or less. A very small proportion expected jobs in class four-five, apart, surprisingly, for 25% of Cypriots. Does this mean that these teenagers were particularly conscious of their lack of facility in English?

There was, of course, a high non-response rate, so that the data must be assessed with caution. But it does seem that the immigrant teenagers, particularly Asians and West Indians, did not expect to have to accept lower status jobs just because they arrived only recently in Britain. There appears to be some similarity here with Beetham's findings among newly arrived immigrant youth in Birmingham, who, he believed, were unrealistic and liable to be disappointed in their ambitions.¹ This, however, was not true of Cypriots in this study; newly arrived teenagers were unaccountably pessimistic.

Implications

What, then, are the implications of these findings? It was established that these young people had a good idea of the way adult British society sees the prestige of occupations; moreover,

1. See above, p.

they themselves had perceptions of the status of occupational roles similar to those of adults. There was evidence to suggest, also, that the immigrant teenagers evaluated the status of various jobs in much the same way as white Britons. It is fairly safe to assume, therefore, that they understood the occupational structure and status hierarchy of the host society as well as white British teenagers and that when they stated their occupational expectations and aspirations they were aware of where they were locating themselves in the British class structure.

But, though the immigrant teenagers understood or had assimilated British ideas about occupational roles and their social implications, they may not necessarily have accepted becoming a part of adult British society. By taking jobs they inevitably integrate to some extent. Yet no teenager explicitly stated that he or she would opt out of assuming an occupational role. They accepted as a matter of course that they would be taking jobs after completing their education, and this despite their ideas about emigrating.

Most, indeed, were pragmatic. They saw education as a means of obtaining a 'good' job and most were willing to study or train to that end. There was some evidence to suggest that many saw education as a means of upward occupational mobility. The immigrants generally were not, it appears, content merely to fit into the occupational structure of British society, they wished to succeed within it.

They were no more unrealistic in their expectations than white British teenagers. Almost all moderated their expectations in the light of the difficult employment situation and their own qualifications. Lack of realism showed itself among poorly qualified white Britons and West Indians hoping for skilled jobs and in over-confidence that mere ordinary level or advanced level successes could lead to desirable white collar jobs. This was especially so for Cypriots and Asians but they certainly appeared willing to work hard for the fruits which they believed attainable. Some Asians and Cypriots were willing to believe that they could achieve their ambitions through hard work and despite the social handicap of being immigrants; others appeared to believe that they would be given a fair chance in an increasingly egalitarian society. An Asian girl expressed vividly what others intimated less lucidly; she was asked if she thought people in Britain treated her people fairly or unfairly on the whole. She hesitated and then replied:

Some do, some don't - like the skin heads and that.

Asked about the government, she said:

No, they're usually fair, except Enoch Powell.

There was more evidence, however, of somewhat depressed expectations on the part of West Indians. Many were unable to state what jobs they expected and in interviews some admitted that they feared they would be unemployed on leaving school. They were less confident than other teenagers that they would do better than their parents and appeared to value less, (or were afraid to value more), a higher level of general education.

Certainly, there is not enough evidence to suggest that immigrants generally were highly conscious or resentful of unequal opportunities. Some who did feel at a disadvantage were resentful but others were resigned, at least in front of the investigator. Whether this hid resentment or despair is difficult to judge.

But those who expected to get some type of job did not expect to remain on the lowest rungs of the occupational ladder, whatever their ethnic group. The pattern of their occupational expectations may be seen in the light of the traditional values of their respective ethnic groups with regard to education and employment and the social class influences of the host society.

Both the Greek Cypriot and the Asian communities, for instance, traditionally value education highly both for its own sake and for the social success it confers; Cypriot and Asian teenagers conformed to traditional values in their respect for a 'good' schooling and for white collar jobs. There was some evidence also that the girls from these groups were trying to claim equality with their brothers.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS

In Chapter Five we saw that many of the immigrant teenagers lacked a whole-hearted identification with Britain. Chapter Six, however, revealed that the vast majority of them valued their education in Britain and that their plans for occupational training and achievement were not dissimilar from those of their white British peers.

Thus, although many did not feel at home in Britain, they have had practical reasons for remaining in a country where they can carry out their educational and occupational plans. Some of them acknowledged this explicitly. As a Cypriot girl put it:

My father's going back to Cyprus after all the family's educated.

And an Indian girl:

I came here mainly for my education. My father is educated.

But most accepted implicitly that an industrialised Britain had more to tempt them materially than most of the countries from which they originated. Very few were as adamant as this West Indian girl talking of life in Britain:

I can't do anything to make life better. I'll go back to my country to build and build it.

Most of them, however, will not be in a position to emigrate in the short term over the next few years; but they will be eligible

to vote. Whether they like it or not, they will thereby become citizens in Britain. For this reason alone it is important to establish what specifically political orientations the teenagers have, what their ideas of citizenship are and what sort of citizens they are likely to become.

In this chapter we explore their political orientations to indicate more explicitly than hitherto where their loyalties lie. We ask how far, if at all, they are aware of the political world, whether they are interested in politics and on what dimensions, whether they have positive or negative feelings towards the political authorities, what political issues they find important and at what level, if at all, they are likely to become participants in the political process.

We do not take for granted that all the respondents, even the white Britons, are inevitably becoming involved in the political life of the country. Some may be incurably apolitical, others may feel politically incompetent or more involved in the political life of another country.

This enquiry continues in a tradition pioneered in the United States of America in exploring the expressed political attitudes of young people.¹ It investigates respondents' political orientations at the formal, institutional level. But this does not mean that these are the only possible levels at which political

1. F.I. Greenstein, Children and Politics, (Revised Edition), New Haven, Yale University Press, 1969; G.A. Almond and S. Verba, The Civic Culture, Boston, Little, Brown and Co., (paperback edition), 1965.

consciousness may be explored.¹ Political activity, group competition for scarce resources, may occur in ostensibly non-political contexts like the cultural society or the youth club. Nevertheless, there are serious methodological problems involved in this sort of approach. Moreover, it was necessary to limit the scope of the enquiry to the formal, more easily identifiable level of political life since politics for most teenagers, pilot studies revealed, meant only, 'the government', 'running the country', 'political parties' or even, 'the Prime Minister'. The major aim was to tap the respondents' attitudes at this level and as simply and concretely as possible. It must not be forgotten that, particularly on the written tests, many were operating in a language in which they were not thoroughly at home.

It is not highly likely, anyway, that politics is a central theme in the lives of fifteen and sixteen year old school children. At school they are excluded from formal participation in political life. Though they may discuss politics with family and friends or belong to organisations with political interests, they may not vote or join a political party. They have yet to assume adult

1. See, for example, F.I. Greenstein and S. Tarrow, "Political Orientations of Children: The Use of a Semi-Projective Technique in Three Nations", Sage Professional Paper, Comparative Politics Series, No. 01-009, Vol. 1, 1970, pp. 479-554, for a stimulating use of semi-projective techniques where the respondents were not alerted to the fact that they were being tested for explicitly political attitudes. Such techniques were utilised widely in pilot work for this study in order to test for the salience of politics for adolescents of different ages and to discover what themes and concepts they perceived as being central. The scale of the enquiry precluded this approach for the main survey.

roles and responsibilities and their attitudes will reflect their inexperience. Indeed, there is some validity in the criticism frequently levelled against studies of the political attitudes of children and adolescents that they try, in the words of Crick:

... to discover with quantitative immaculateness what are the attitudes of children to certain concepts and issues put to them, but which¹ are in fact simply predigested adult concepts.

It is unlikely that many respondents will have thought out deeply their own political values even if they can articulate some attitudes when questions are put to them. The same goes for their ideas about topical issues. They may never have given them a thought until they were asked for their views in the questionnaire or interview. But to state that their attitudes are off-the-cuff or second-hand is not to state that they are unimportant. Generally, these young people will find most salient to them those issues which they perceive as relevant to their own lives and will express opinions which, though second-hand or ill thought out, are the ones which they are imbibing from the society around them.

It is, of course, likely that their outlooks may change as they adopt adult roles. Indeed, late adolescence in the western world is probably a critical period for the formation of some political attitudes.² It is important, here, therefore, to

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1. B. Crick, "A Case for Politics", Times Educational Supplement, 15th September 1972, p. 69.
 2. D. Easton, "The Theoretical Relevance of Political Socialization", Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol.1, 1968, p. 126; O. Brim and S. Wheeler, Socialization after Childhood: Two Essays, New York, Wiley, 1967, especially the second essay.

remember that firm predictions about the respondents' future political attitudes are unwarranted since major changes in their role and status may affect how they perceive political life.

One further consideration leading to a decision to limit the scope of the enquiry to the formal, easily identifiable level of political life was that of the psychological maturity of the respondents. Extensive evidence supports the view that between the ages of eleven and fifteen most normal adolescents in the western world are able to comprehend abstract political concepts in much the same way as adults.¹ But the peak of development varies with the individual and cultural factors may hinder or help the rate of development. Generally, the fifteen year old should be capable of the abstract conceptualization necessary to sophisticated political thinking, including reasoning from cause to effect and from allocentric viewpoints.²

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1. For an account of the psychological ideas on which such research is based, J.H. Flavell, The Development Psychology of Jean Piaget, Princeton, V. Van Nostrand, 1963. For a more specifically political account, M.J. Hawkins, "Age, Cognitive Development and Political Socialization", Unpublished paper for Conference on Political Socialization, Exeter University, England, September 1971.
 2. Various recent studies trace the development of conceptual ability from childhood to adolescence; see, for example, J. Adelson and R.P. O'Neil, "The Growth of Political Ideas in adolescence", Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 4:3, 1966, pp. 295-306; J. Adelson, B. Green and R.P. O'Neil, "The Growth of the Idea of Law in Adolescence", Developmental Psychology, Vol. 1:4, 1969, pp. 327-32; J. Gallatin and J. Adelson, "Individual Rights and the Public Good", Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 3:2, 1970, pp.226-42. For a British study replicating the findings of American research that youngsters learn about concrete political objects before abstract ones, R. Jackson, "The Development of Political Concepts in Young Children", Educational Research, Vol.14:1, 1971, pp. 51-5.

But this could not be taken for granted, particularly in a cross-cultural study. It was this consideration which reinforced the decision to limit the enquiry as far as possible to the simple, the personal and the concrete.

Related Studies

The following pages summarise some of the research findings of recent years where they are relevant to this study. Where possible references are to British findings since the proliferation of research conducted in the United States is of limited application to the British scene. No attempt is made to review all aspects, both theoretical and empirical, of the burgeoning literature on the political learning of young people for its scope is very wide. Empirical studies tend to be piecemeal and therefore lack comparability though theoretical work, which has produced some interesting operational concepts, lacks a universally useful basis.¹

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1. For an indication of the scope of the field, H. McClosky, Political Inquiry, Toronto, Macmillan, 1969, p.40 ff; for a review of the earlier research, mainly American, H.H. Hyman, Political Socialization, New York, The Free Press, (1959), paperback edition, 1969; for review and discussion of recent research, R.E. Dawson and K. Prewitt, Political Socialization, Boston, Little, Brown and Co., 1969; M. Rush and P. Althoff, An Introduction to Political Sociology, London, Nelson, 1971, especially chapters I and II, p. 9 ff.; J. Dennis, "Major Problems of Political Socialization Research", Midwest Journal of Political Science, Vol. 12, 1968, pp. 85-114; Almond and Verba, op.cit., passim, for empirical research based on a theoretical model.

Political Socialization

This is a study of the political orientations of young people who have been exposed to different cultural influences. It is likely that the process and content of their political learning will vary not only for individuals but for different ethnic groups. There have been many attempts to define this process from psychological and sociological angles. Easton's definition properly distinguishes between attitudes and behaviour, which are not necessarily linked; political socialization involves:

those developmental processes through which people acquire political orientations and patterns of behaviour.

The definition leaves open the question of whether it is the learner or his environment which is the more active in the process but introduces, somewhat problematically, the ideas that political learning is developmental.

Almond and Powell emphasise the importance of individual political socialization to political stability and change; it is, they write:

... the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed. Through the performance of this function individuals are inducted into the political culture and their orientation towards political objects are formed. Changes in the political culture also come about through political socialization.

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1. Easton, op.cit., p. 125.
 2. G.A. Almond and G.B. Powell, Comparative Politics, Boston, Little, Brown and O., p. 64.

Predictions about the effect of these youngsters' political attitudes on the quality and stability of the wider political culture would be unwarranted in a small scale survey. The questions raised by this definition are important, however, and would merit further enquiry.

Rush and Althoff's definition avoids both these complications:

Political socialization is the process by which an individual becomes acquainted with the political system and which determines his perception of politics and his reaction to political phenomena.

They comment:

Political socialization is extremely important as the process by which individuals may become involved, to varying degrees, in the political system.²

This definition allows that some may not become involved, at least at the level of the 'system'. If people do not feel that they belong, they are unlikely to participate fully in formal political life.³

This enquiry does not explore the relative influence of the variables which may affect political learning. Nevertheless, a brief summary of some of the factors involved will give substance to the research findings which follow.

1. Rush and Althoff, op.cit., p. 13.

2. Loc. cit.

3. R.E. Lane, Political Life: Why People Get Involved in Politics, New York, The Free Press, 1959, p. 165.

Sex

Men, at least in the western world, are usually more politicized than women.¹ The opportunities for women to participate in life outside the home have been limited by cultural norms and their sex roles though this has changed much in recent years. Almond and Verba's findings on the politicization of women in five nations including Britain supported earlier research findings. They found that women in contrast to men were apathetic, parochial, conservative and sensitive to the personality, emotional and esthetic aspects of political life and electoral campaigns.²

The interesting point for this enquiry was that the more educated the women and the more they participated in organizational activity outside the home, the more politicized they were. This may indicate that Asian and Cypriot girls who are confined to the home may not develop political orientations unless they manage to gain access to education which might redress the balance. Potentially, also, they may be less politically influential as adults within their own families than white British girls or those immigrant girls who mix in the wider society. Moreover, some immigrant teenagers of both sexes deliberately cut themselves off from the host society in their social lives. This in itself could lead to a high degree of intra-ethnic politicization among young people and hold up the development of a homogeneous political culture in the

1. Lane, op.cit., p. 209 ff.

2. Almond and Verba, op.cit., pp. 324-335.

next generation in multi-racial Britain.

Only one British study, to the investigator's knowledge, has investigated differences in politicization between boys and girls. Dowse and Hughes studied Exeter school children aged eleven to seventeen.¹ They found no great differences between the sexes irrespective of age, though middle class girls were more politicized than working class girls. Educational differences were probably important again.

It is not surprising that English boys and girls show less differences in politicization than adults. Young people have not yet assumed adult sex-roles and both boys and girls are equally exposed to whatever political education their schools provide. Moreover, the education of boys and girls in this generation is less markedly differentiated by sex than it was for those who are adults today. The interesting area of research for the future will be the differences in politicization between girls of different cultures and the relative influence of the, possibly differing, political education which they receive at home and in British schools.

Class and Ethnicity

Social class is probably an important variable in the political socialization process. As in many other respects, people of different social classes often perceive political

1. R.E. Dowse and J. Hughes, "Boys, Girls and Politics", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 22:1, 1971, pp. 53-67.

life differently and vary in their ability to command political resources. Generally in Britain people with higher incomes, levels of education and occupational status tend to participate more in political life.¹ There is a similar association between people's perceptions of their social status and their political attitudes and behaviour.²

Immigrants who have been in Britain for some time may well assume the political attitudes and behaviour of the social class in the British population with which they have most contact or come to identify with in other ways. More recent immigrants, however, and those who have minimal contact with the host society, may develop political attitudes and behaviour which are distinctively ethnic rather than class-based. Generally, those political issues which most concern the interests of a particular ethnic group will be most salient to members of that group. And political participation is likely to be associated with the group's sense of competence in dealing with issues that affect it. Their success will often be determined by how well they learn the political language and culture of the host community.³

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1. H. Durant, "Voting Behaviour in Britain, 1945-64", R. Rose, (Ed.), Studies in British Politics, London, Macmillan, 1967, pp.122-8; Almond and Verba, op.cit., pp. 315-24. For American studies, Lane, op.cit., pp. 220-34; L.W. Milbrath, Political Participation, Chicago, McNally Rand, 1965, passim.
 2. W.G. Runciman, Relative Deprivation and Social Justice, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966, p. 171.
 3. Lane, op.cit., pp. 204-16 and pp. 235-251, discusses ethnic issues in American political life.

In Britain, till recently, the more important social groupings for political attitudes and behaviour have been social class and regional groups. As a greater variety of ethnic groups have entered the country since the Second World War and as ethnic and racial issues have become politically relevant it is likely that the interaction between the political culture of the host community and that of immigrant groups will be more dynamic. In areas of ethnic concentration the ethnic vote may also count for more in the democratic process.

It is through contact and identification with specific groups in a society that a person is influenced by more diffuse groups like his social class and ethnic group.¹ Children learn attitudes and behaviour through their families, friends and schools but the degree and modes of influence of these will vary between cultures.

The Family

Almost every young child's initial contacts with others are made through members of his family. In Britain, mother, father and siblings, in that order, are most influential. In West Indian society, grandmother, aunts and older sisters are often more influential than mother and almost always more so than father. The influence of the family structure on the young child's learning also varies across cultures. In Britain, the nuclear family is normal; in the minority groups the extended family is more prominently involved in child-rearing.

1. Dawson and Prewitt, op.cit., pp. 99-103.

In western societies it is rare for family members deliberately to cultivate political attitudes and behaviour in their children. Political education is informal, part of the wider socialization process.¹ However, the family is usually the earliest and the most continuous mediator between the young child and the wider world. Latently it influences how the child relates to his national, religious, class and ethnic membership groups long before he is aware of the meaning of these categories. Most research in America and Britain supports the unsurprising thesis that the family is an important source of early political learning.² The first signs of political awareness occur as early as the pre-school years. Children often form emotional attachments before they understand political concepts. Even very young children have basic political loyalties and a sense of identification; they can identify concrete symbols such as the flag, the national anthem, the queen and 'my country'.

The relationship between the family's authority patterns and the political understanding of young children has received much attention particularly in the United States of America. It is generally agreed that young children perceive authority through

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1. J.C. Davies, "The Family's Role in Political Socialization", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 161, September 1965, pp. 10-19.
 2. Greenstein, Children and Politics, passim; D. Easton and J. Dennis, Children in the Political System, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1969; R.D. Hess and J. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Chicago, Aldine, 1967, especially pp. 93-115. For British studies, R. Jackson, "The Development of Political Concepts in Young Children", Educational Research, Vol. 14:1, 1971, pp. 51-55; F.I. Greenstein, "Queen and Prime Minister: A Child's Eye View", New Society, 23rd October 1969, pp. 635-8.

specific, concrete symbols of authority such as father or the policeman or the queen. It is probable that the young child transfers his perceptions of authority figures in the home onto the political world; if father is protective and kind or strict and authoritarian, then political authorities are seen thus also.¹ With time, however, the youngster may learn to distinguish the office-holder from his office and to qualify such generalised perceptions.

There is also some support for the view that the structure of authority within the family influences the child's political learning.² He will acquire different attitudes and behaviour according to whether, for instance, the family is organised along authoritarian or democratic lines, or whether authority is wielded by adult males or females, or whether children are given responsibilities or a say in decision-making. Langton's study of adolescents in Jamaica provides some suggestive findings. He found that families where the father was absent contained children, especially boys, who showed very little political interest and had

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1. D. Easton and R.D. Hess, "The Child's Political World", Midwest Journal of Political Science, Vol. 6, 1962, pp. 229-46; D. Easton and J. Dennis, "The Child's Image of Government", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 361, 1965, pp. 40-57; for a dissenting view, R.S. Sigel, "Image of a President: Some Insights into the Political Views of Schoolchildren", American Political Science Review, Vol. 62, 1968, pp. 222-32.
 2. e.g., D. Easton and J. Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy", American Political Science Review, Vol. 61, 1967, pp. 25-38.
 3. K.P. Langton, Political Socialization, Oxford University Press, 1969, especially pp. 21-51.

little sense of political effectiveness. While of course it is unwarranted to universalise the findings of one study it is important to note that the absence of a father is a feature of many homes, but more particularly immigrant homes, in Britain. Indeed, migrant families are often weakly structured and disoriented for various reasons. Authority patterns may be eroded and changed. The adults may be indifferent to British politics and the children may learn what they do, and this may not be much, from other sources. The children may in turn become apathetic or develop a political culture of their own which may or may not be consistent with familial values.

But there is controversy about how crucial early learning is for political life.¹ There is some evidence to support the view that basic loyalties, or, as Geertz aptly terms them, 'primordial sentiments', are resistant to change in later life.² If this is so, then the implications are important in a cross-cultural context.

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1. Most authorities agree that learning occurs throughout life; but some argue that childhood learning persists and colours later attitudes; e.g. F.I. Greenstein, "Political Socialization", International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 14, 1968, pp. 551-5. For one example of the view that adolescent and adult learning is more important, M. Kent Jennings and R.G. Niemi, "Patterns of Political Learning", Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 38, 1968, pp. 443-67.
 2. C. Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civic Politics in the New States", Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa, (C. Geertz, (Ed.)), New York, The Free Press, 1963, pp. 105-57; R.A. Levine, "Political Socialization and Basic Culture Change", Ibid., pp. 280-303.

Even for white British youngsters differences of background, class and region may influence their feelings towards the political system. For instance, a child brought up in a disadvantaged family where adult attitudes are tinged with disappointment, resentment or hostility may well acquire similar attitudes early in life.¹ It is difficult to imagine, is it not, that many children growing up in Northern Ireland in recent years could easily acquire ideas of political authority as benevolent, protective and benign? The families of immigrant children will have restricted knowledge of the British political system for cultural and linguistic reasons. Their feelings towards the British political scene will be influenced by their experiences of other regimes and by their roles and status in Britain as minorities. If the role of the family and of early political learning is crucial and persistent then the implications of multi-racialism and multi-culturalism for political culture in Britain are vast. Even more than in the past it will be unjustifiable to assume that inside the territory we call Britain, there is only one society with one tradition.²

However, as the child grows up, the monopolistic influence of the family is reduced. The child becomes more psychically and

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1. D. Jaros, H. Hirsch and F.J. Fleron, "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture", American Political Science Review, Vol. 62, 1968, pp. 564-75.
 2. M. Oakeshott, "Political Education", Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays, London, Methuen, 1962, pp. 111-36; R. Rose, Governing without Consensus, London, Faber, 1971, pp. 42-73, gives excellent material in support of this view.

socially independent and interacts with politically significant others.¹ Experience of authority at school is but one example of another source of political learning. It is one which may be important for the immigrant child who has to learn the ways of a new society possibly without much help from his elders at home. He will acquire knowledge and attitudes from peers, school and the media. He may even teach his parents through bringing home information learnt at school or by 'translating' television or radio programmes for non-English speaking parents.

There is some evidence from both America and Britain that the political party preferences of adolescents and children are strongly related to family views.² However, if parents are uncommitted or the children do not know their parents' views, as pilot studies suggest was the case for many immigrant families, it may be that the youngsters will grow up without strong political party preferences.

In other politically relevant ways, however, it is likely that where the family does not reinforce and reflect prevailing

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1. M. Kent Jennings and R.G. Niemi, "Patterns of Political Learning", pp. 443-67; M. Kent Jennings and R.G. Niemi, "The Transmission of Parental Values from Parent to Child", American Political Science Review, Vol. 62, 1968, pp. 169-84.
 2. For a British study, P. Abramson, "The Differential Political Socialization of English Secondary School Students", Sociology of Education, Vol. 40, 1967, pp. 246-69. For a review of earlier American studies, H. Hyman, Political Socialization, op.cit., pp. 72-4.

political attitudes of the host society or even remains hostile to them, adolescents may come under cross-pressures.¹ The youngster may try to identify with his peers whose values seem more consistent with the world in which he lives. This of course often happens especially in times of rapid social change and mobility. Generational clashes are nothing new but they may be especially acute in a multi-racial society.

For teenagers born overseas and recently arrived in Britain, or though born in Britain, isolated from British life within an ethnic community, it may be difficult to learn to identify with Britain as 'my country'. These immigrants may be less firmly committed to British political symbols than their white British contemporaries and feel less politically competent than others who have had more chance to learn the political culture. Jackson, for instance, comparing the attitudes of English and Asian eleven to sixteen year olds in schools in the south of England, found that the English pupils were more positively oriented towards Britain, her government and laws than were their Asian classmates.² Phizacklea, investigated the political attitudes of second generation West Indians in full-time education in London and Birmingham and obtained similar findings for the fifteen to

1. Dawson and Prewitt, op.cit., pp. 81-97.

2. R. Jackson, "Occupational Expectations and Political Attitudes - A Cross-Cultural Survey", Unpublished Paper for Conference on Political Socialization, Exeter University, England, September 1971.

seventeen year olds.¹ Among West Indians, she found that the more a person was positively oriented towards Britain, the more he was likely to feel politically competent. But this did not hold for the English teenagers. Commenting on the findings with regard to West Indians, she stated:

As was predicted black adolescents are less efficacious than their white peers. These differences increase with the length of time spent in Britain, indicating an increasing sense of alienation from the main stream white society and its² institutions, which they perceive as largely rejecting.

It is probably that teenagers brought up in an ethnic community where their parents' generation at least has strong attachments to their country of origin or ethnic political values, will experience conflicts of loyalty and of identity. At school these youngsters will learn about British customs and institutions. Teenagers are also liable to be influenced by their peers and to rebel, at least for a time, from parental authority and values. Taylor's valuable five-year study of Asian youths in the north of England supports this view, though he was not concerned with specifically political attitudes.³ Adolescent Asians expressed intentions of discarding some parental values and customs but had not done so after some years. Taylor attributes their eventual

1. A. Phizacklea, "Race and Efficacy: A Study in the Attitudes of Second-Generation West Indian Adolescents in Britain", Unpublished Paper for Conference on Political Socialization, Exeter University, England, September 1971.

2. Ibid. p. 9.

3. J.H. Taylor, "A Tradition of Respect", New Society, 5th October 1972, pp. 26-8.

conformity to traditional respect for parents:

Almost all the young Asians in Newcastle were at one in observing a central norm of respect for their father and mother. They were therefore in this important respect not culturally assimilated... Just as there was little conflict between the generations, so I found among my respondents little crisis of identity.

But it is likely that teenagers from different cultures will perceive politics differently from white Britons in some important respects. Even between British children of different social classes there are differences of political knowledge and attitude, how much more likely that children from different ethnic groups will have different understanding and sentiments?² Cross-national studies have indicated that British youngsters tend to be individualistic.³ They would obviously think differently from people brought up in a more communally oriented group. British teenagers have been shown to be deferential towards political authority.⁴ Yet would the same be true of people from a state with deeply divisive political views? British teenagers tend to conceive of government as a disinterested referee enforcing the rules of the game.⁵ While this may be an idealistic view, how much more may it be so for an East African Asian whose family has fled from harassment by an Africanizing regime or for a Pakistani who lived

1. Ibid., footnote, p. 28.

2. D. McQuail, L. O'Sullivan and W.G. Quine, "Elite Education and Political Values", Political Studies, Vol. 16, 1968, pp. 257-66; P. Abramson and T.M. Hennessy, "Beliefs about Democracy among British Adolescents", Political Studies, Vol. 18, 1970, pp. 239-42.

3. Gallatin and Adelson, op.cit.

4. Greenstein and Tarrow, op.cit.

5. Adelson, Green and O'Neil, op.cit.

through the Bangladesh crisis.¹

Peers

The family is an important and persisting influence on political learning but as the child grows older it is likely that his friends and acquaintances of the same age and status will be increasingly influential.² Peers may be within the family or outside it: cousins and second cousins, or school-friends or friends at clubs, at work or on the street. Generally, political socialization is an incidental, informal, minor and largely unrecognised part of the wider socializing function of peer groups in Britain and particularly for school-age adolescents.

Indeed, for many teenagers at school it is doubtful if politics is of spontaneous or central interest. But this may not be true for some immigrants; they may belong to cultural societies which assume political functions. A Society originally

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1. Sub-national differences in politicization create difficulties for nation-building programmes: Geertz, (Ed.), op.cit., passim; A. Inkeles, "Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Countries", American Political Science Review, Vol. 63, 1969, pp. 1120-41; D. Koff and G. Von Der Muhll, "Political Socialization in Kenya and Tanzania: A Comparative Analysis", Journal of Modern African Studies, No. 5, 1967, pp. 13-51.
 2. Dawson and Prewitt, op.cit., p. 106 and pp. 127-42. M. Sherif and C.W. Sherif, Reference Groups, New York, Harper and Row, 1964, passim; J.S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society, New York, (The Free Press, 1961), First Free Press Paperback Edition, 1971; D. Cartwright and A. Zander, "Group Pressures and Group Standards: Introduction", Group Dynamics, Research and Theory, D. Cartwright and A. Zander, (Eds.), New York, Harper, 1960, p. 169 ff.

set up to pass on the Greek language, for instance, may become involved in local politics in acting as a pressure group for educational facilities.

For West Indians there is an attractive peer group with a conscious political orientation and a clear message. Twelve year old West Indians proudly sported Black Power badges in the class room. Parents may or may not agree with it. Some West Indians suggested that their parents did not understand what Black Power stood for or were hostile to it. Such conflicts between generations can force the teenager to make distressing choices between loyalty to his family and to his peers.

It may be, also, that some immigrant teenagers are more conscious of certain aspects of politics while they are still at school than their white British peers. Race and immigration are political issues which have personal, often painful relevance for them and they are associated with other issues such as unemployment and housing. If immigrants perceive themselves, individually or as a group, as threatened or vulnerable, they may be politicized at a young age.

It is important to remember that the political influences of an ethnic or racial minority will be diluted if the young person identifies also with peers from other groups. Attitudes and values will be exchanged across group lines. If peer groups are ethnically isolated political attitudes may polarize. The respondents in this study mixed to a fair degree in school though

friends outside school tended to come from the same neighbourhood or ethnic group. This means that when academic activities are the frame of reference, the teenager is likely to use as its authority a peer group which is dominantly white British in composition; where social activities which the teenager perceives as unconnected with school are concerned, reference groups are likely to be ethnic

School

The role of the school in the political socialization of secondary school children in Britain is problematic, for, unlike in the United States of America where much research has been done, the British school has no formal, explicit and identifiable role in political education.

Most recent studies in Britain are small-scale and lack comparability in that they define political learning differently or investigate different aspects of it. Very few studies have been specifically concerned with multi-cultural aspects. Here, we select for discussion, only those aspects of this vast field which may have relevance to political education in a multi-cultural school.

Post-war educational thinking has accepted that family background and social class are important influences on children's educational achievement. Studies of political attitudes among English school children support the view that, on the whole, the main role of the English school system is to reinforce the influence of family and class on children's political learning.¹

1. P. Abramson, op.cit.; E.R. Tapper, "Education and Political Role Socialization", Unpublished Paper for Conference on Political Socialization, Exeter University, England, September 1971.

Till recently, the state-school system of secondary selection, along with the public schools, tended to select children from and into social classes and they imbibed the political attitudes of those classes. The public schools have explicitly educated elites who were to become leaders. One study of the political attitudes of public school boys found that they were politically knowledgeable and efficacious.¹ Various studies of maintained schools support the view that, generally speaking, grammar schools reinforce the values of middle class homes and secondary modern schools tend to reinforce the influence of working class homes.²

The selective system has been somewhat eroded in recent years by comprehensivization. One of the arguments for establishing comprehensive schools was egalitarian: to abolish selection into social classes via the schools. The schools under investigation are all-in schools and contain a cross-section of social classes in the neighbourhood.³

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1. T. Baggs, "The Political Socialization of Public School Boys", Unpublished Paper for Conference on Political Socialization, Exeter University, England, September 1971.
 2. R.E. Dowse and J. Hughes, "The Family, the School and the Political Socialization Process", Sociology, Vol. 5, January 1971, pp. 21-45; T.J. Nossiter, "Family, Class and School-children", Unpublished Paper for Conference on Political Socialization, Exeter University, England, September 1971; D. McQuail, L. O'Sullivan and W.G. Quine, op.cit.; Almond and Verba, op.cit., pp. 380-1.
 3. C. Benn and B. Simon, Half Way There: Report on the British Comprehensive School Reform, (2nd Edition), London, Penguin, 1972, pp. 38-55.

But the neighbourhood is predominantly working class and, moreover, selective and non-maintained schools exist in the area which parents may choose instead if they do not wish their children to mix socially and can afford to educate them privately. Thus the comprehensive schools cater mainly for working class and lower middle class pupils a good proportion of whom are immigrants. It would appear, then, that they would inculcate political and other values consonant with the neighbourhood and that all pupils, including immigrants would be inducted thereby into the working classes.

To some extent this may be so. But certain factors lessen the possibility. Firstly, of course, it must be remembered that the type of school a child goes to is only one of many possible influences on him. A middle class home, for instance, may be a countervailing force. Secondly, the schools themselves tend to foster an image which reflects that of the middle class grammar schools. For the sake of attracting a 'good' staff and 'good quality' pupils in future years, no school goes out of its way to promote a 'secondary modern' image and certainly does not advertise that it has high numbers of immigrants. Instead uniforms are encouraged, academic achievement is highly praised and publicized, the prefect system is sometimes continued.

Almond and Verba record strong evidence to support the view that the higher a person's educational level, the more politically

aware, interested and participative he tends to be.¹ McQuail's study of English schoolchildren discovered that pupils who stayed on at school after the compulsory period tended to be highly politically interested and efficacious, whether they were in grammar or public schools.² No studies of the political influence on its pupils of the comprehensive school have yet been done but it would appear that if they encourage a general raising of educational levels, both in terms of length of schooling and the quality of achievement, their pupils may also become more highly politicized. Whether or not comprehensive schools as such will encourage the formation of any particular political culture, working class, middle class, homogeneous or divisive, is another matter.

In any case, comprehensive schools operate and are organised in various ways though they share the same name. Just as the authoritarian or democratically structured family may educate its young politically in different ways, so the different ethos and organization of schools may affect political learning.³ All schools investigated here had elements of democracy and oligarchy, authoritarianism and laissez-faire, elitism and egalitarianism,

1. Almond and Verba, op.cit., pp. 380-1. Dawson and Prewitt, op.cit., pp. 175-8, summarises similar American findings.

2. McQuail, O'Sullivan and Quine, op.cit.

3. A. Morrison and D. MacIntyre, Schools and Socialization, London, Penguin, 1971, p. 166.

competition and co-operation. School councils exist alongside a hierarchy of offices; assemblies emphasise the community and house badges, competition; academic and sporting elites are recognised on speech days. True, the formal rituals of the schools and their social activities are not so overtly manipulated to inculcate civic values as in some countries but this does not mean that they have no latent influence on political learning. It is how to measure that influence that is the problem.

It is somewhat easier, of course, to measure the influence of the curriculum on political learning. But, as Tapper observes, in contrast to American schools:

in the United Kingdom, once the initial selection process has taken place, the (political) socialization process within the schools is subtle and implicit. There are few courses in formal civics training; the closest equivalents are studies in contemporary affairs, modern history and the British constitution. The latter is a fully fledged G.C.E. option and has a strong bias toward teaching the formal, legal framework of government... Political socialization has been taught through the indirect route of R.I. (religious instruction), history, geography and English literature.

This describes well the situation the schools under investigation.

In America where civic education is formal and explicit the curriculum has been found to have little independent effect

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1. Tapper, op.cit., p.4. (my parenthesis); for a fuller discussion, W. Gardner, "Political Socialization", The Teaching of Politics, D.B. Heater, (Ed.), London, Methuen, 1969, pp. 40-9 and passim.

on political studies.¹ One or two British studies suggest that the same goes for British curricula though, of course, there are few formal courses which can be directly evaluated. Lister analysed sixth formers' understanding of twenty key political concepts; he found that:

... most pupils have little command of the concepts necessary to analyse political problems.²

This was despite the fact that they were able pupils with ten or more years' education in history behind them. He suggested also that teaching politics through the British constitution approach is not a helpful one: British constitution, he asserted:

tends to be descriptive, rationalizing, trivial, parochial, culture-bound and to take the people out of politics.³

Mercer came to similar conclusions about the worthwhileness of the Modern Studies course for political education.⁴ In particular,

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1. K.P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the U.S.", American Political Science Review, Vol. 62, 1968, pp. 852-67; E.Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms and Political Indoctrination", American Sociological Review, Vol. 28, 1963, pp. 60-75.
 2. I. Lister, "Political Socialization and the Schools, with special reference to Knowledge of Political Concepts of English Sixth Formers", Unpublished Paper for Conference on Political Socialization, Exeter University, England, 1971.
 3. Ibid.
 4. G. Mercer, "The Impact of Formal Political Education in Adolescent Political Learning: the Case of Modern Studies and Political Efficacy among Scottish School Children", Unpublished Paper for Conference on Political Socialization, Exeter University, England, 1971.

it did not encourage political participation. Holcombe analysed the contents of civics texts for ordinary level General Certificate of Education level and below; he was particularly critical of the lower grade texts:

They fail in helping the future citizen towards the objective of electing the best man or ... conjure up an unrealistic perspective in which the mass party machines find it difficult to operate. They may assist in making the voter active, but hardly furnish him with sufficient information or means of evaluation to permit him to act rationally.¹

Test books, he thought, tend to encourage deference and do not encourage critical appraisal of the status quo.

No systematic evaluation of the political content of para-political school courses, such as history, current affairs and geography has yet been attempted in Britain, nor of the possible political content of ostensibly non-political courses such as the physical sciences. The Politics Association is, however, actively pursuing the matter.² In particular, it is attempting to stimulate educators into thinking out what the objectives of political education should be and how it should be taught. Certainly, the feeling is growing that political education is too important to be ignored, too important, perhaps, to be left, in Lister's words, to the 'hidden curriculum' of

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1. B. Holcombe, "Civics Texts and Civics Culture: An Experimental Approach to Content Analysis", Unpublished Paper for Conference on Political Socialization, Exeter University, England, September 1971.
 2. The Politics Association publishes Teaching Politics and Grass Roots. Its Honorary Secretary is A. Porter, 7 Hornbrook Grove, Solihull, Warwickshire, England.

the school; he asserts:

The "hidden curriculum" of the school - the way it is organized, the conduct of the teacher in the classroom, the power of the headmaster - is far more effective than the explicit curriculum in transmitting political values.

But even if it is agreed that political learning in schools should not be a haphazard process, it may not be agreed what the objectives of political education should be.² In the context of a multi-racial society, however, one, possibly uncontroversial, objective might be to disseminate knowledge of how the British political system works, not just in theory, but rather in practice, to newcomers to this society. There is some slight evidence from America that 'civics' courses were more influential with students who felt that they could not gain the information they proffered from elsewhere, than with others.³ Many immigrant teenagers are particularly reliant on the schools for information about the host society. For this reason alone it is important that course objectives should be thoroughly worked out in the light of the needs of all pupils and the society in which they are growing up.

But the teacher needs help in doing this for his role in

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1. Quoted in P. Wilby, "Classroom Politics", Observer, 11th February 1973.
 2. For criticism of current approaches to political education and views on curricula objectives, D.B. Heater, (Ed.), The Teaching of Politics, op.cit. passim; H. Entwistle, Political Education in a Democracy, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971.
 3. Langton and Jennings, op.cit.

society creates problems for him where controversial matters of political belief are concerned. On the one hand, he is an agent of society and might reasonably be expected to disseminate information and attitudes consonant with its basic values. But no teacher would wish to indoctrinate his pupils. On the other hand, if he encourages a spirit of critical appraisal of the status quo, he might be labelled a dangerous revolutionary, not fit to be in charge of young people. In consequence of this dilemma politics is generally kept out of the classroom or else the teacher imposes on himself the invidious and impossible role of neutral chairman of discussion.¹ In a multi-racial school, it is argued here, there is a strong case for a more positive approach to political education.

Dimensions of Political Participation

This enquiry centres on those aspects of the teenagers' political thinking which are relevant to the theme of citizenship, for their ideas and feelings about this today are the launching pads from which they will leap into the adult world tomorrow.

As a preliminary we investigate what group, nation or region was politically most salient to them and then turn to the extent and quality of their political interest and attitude

1. Invidious and impossible, because, whether he likes it or not, the teacher, by the very fact of his personal relationship with pupils cannot help being a moral influence; P. McPhail, J.R. Ungood-Thomas, H. Chapman, Moral Education in the Secondary School, London, Longmans, 1972, p. 89.

towards participation. There are, of course, various levels at which people may participate in politics. At one end of the continuum are the activists holding or seeking political office and power. Some may belong to political parties and attend meetings of political or quasi-political organisations. Others may occasionally attend a public meeting or demonstration. Even those who never do any of these things may discuss or take an interest in politics. Even if they have little interest they may participate to the extent of voting at general elections. At the extreme end of the continuum are the wholly apathetic.

It is obviously inappropriate to explore all these dimensions of participation where school children are concerned. Instead, we explore those areas at the extreme ends of the continuum which they perceive as central to participation; voting and the holding of political office. We also explore their general political interest including their knowledge of political figures and their perceptions of how often they discuss politics with family, friends and teachers.

In Britain, traditionally, political activism has been confined to the social elites.¹ Only a very small percentage, (about 0.01%), of the electorate succeeds in holding political or high administrative office and only 10% actually belongs individually to political parties.² On the other hand, about 75%

1. W.L. Guttsman, The British Political Elite, London, MacGibbon and Kee, 1967.

2. Rush and Althoff, op.cit., p. 94.

of the electorate turns out for general elections in the post-war era. If we examine the respondents' views on these dimensions we can infer whether they are likely to conform to the typical pattern of political behaviour in contemporary Britain.

It must not be assumed that political participation at one level means a person is likely to participate at others. For instance, a person may read the political columns of a newspaper, write to his M.P., attend public meetings and yet fail to vote. The opposite is probably more likely: for many people voting is the only political activity in which they indulge.

It is clear from interviews and pilot work that many respondents held an image of the ideal voter consonant with theories about the rationality of political man in a democracy; he examines the records and promises of candidates and parties and in the light of his own values, he votes with deliberate, unemotional calculation. Asked why she thought people ought to vote, one girl summarized the views of many respondents with:

... so they can have a say in things... choose the best man for the job.

Electoral studies conducted since 1945 have exploded the myth of the rational voter. Many of the teenagers, nevertheless, believed that it is a civic duty to vote.¹ As one boy said:

It's no use complaining afterwards (after the election) if you didn't bother to say what you wanted.

1. R.S. Milne and H.C. McKenzie, "The Floating Vote", Studies in British Politics, (R. Rose, (Ed.)), pp. 145-52.

It was clear that many respondents, both hosts and immigrants, subscribed to the democratic ideology which has it that voting is both a right and a duty and that the voter had ultimate control over political leaders. Some felt that they were not (yet) fully competent to understand political issues and so to vote 'rationally'; others intended to vote but without enthusiasm because, "It's no use wasting a vote". Others more cynically intended to opt out because, "It doesn't do any good". No teenager questioned the basic assumption that democracy on the British model was a good thing.

To know that a teenager intends to vote is, of course, only a crude indication of his participatory orientation. He may vote, for instance, because he believes this is the way to promote his own values or because he thinks it is his duty to do so though he is cynical about his effectiveness.

On the whole, though not invariably, political interest and participation tend to be related to people's sense of competence or efficacy and a positive attitude towards the political system.¹ On the other hand, people who feel personally ineffective and cannot influence political decisions often lack political interest and do not participate. It is often the case that people of high occupational, educational, social or ethnic status are participative and those of low status are the opposite.

1. Almond and Verba, op.cit., pp. 137-67 and pp. 244-65;
L.W. Milbrath, op.cit., passim.

Of course, we must remember that lack of interest or apathy may be associated with contentment; a person may see no good reason for activity since he is content with things as they are. But more often apathy is associated with negative attitudes to political life. These may range from mistrust or cynicism to anomie or alienation.¹

In this enquiry we investigate how trustful or cynical the respondents are about formal political life. Cynicism is used here to specify a generalised mistrust towards British political life.² If a person is cynical it may mean that he feels incompetent to influence political decisions and so becomes uninterested. A cynical person is likely to feel that the authorities do not care about the ordinary man, that they care only for themselves and their own group and are not responsive to the individual's wishes and needs. This dimension is classified here as political distance.

A National Opinion Poll Survey in 1968 suggested that cynicism among British adults was widespread.³ Yet, while between 55% and 78% of the sample were politically cynical, over 70% turned out to vote in elections. Studies of young people, however, have found in the main that they are less cynical than adults but tend to become more so in adolescence and if the political

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1. Rush and Althoff, op.cit., pp. summarise theoretical literature on anomie and alienation and relate it to empirical findings.
 2. R.E. Agger, M. Goldstein and S. Pearl, "Political Cynicism: Meaning and Measurements", Journal of Politics, Vol. 23, 1961, pp. 477-506.
 3. Rush and Althoff, op.cit., p. 93.

climate in which they move is particularly cynical.¹ Cynicism, then, may be seen as a development from naive trustfulness in children towards a greater 'realism' in adolescents as they 'tune in' to the adult world. It may also indicate that some adolescents will become hostile, even alienated from political life later on. But, of course, it would be unjustified to infer much about their political behaviour as adults from their generalised attitudes as adolescents who are both inexperienced and inarticulate about political life.

We turn now to consideration of the research findings.

Research Findings

Basic Orientations

Since most of the respondents, at least implicitly, envisaged starting their adult lives in Britain, it would seem that the political life of Britain rather than of their countries of origin would be most salient to them. But this was not taken for granted. The questionnaire put to them three questions related to this.

In a political context they were asked:

Do you ever talk about how other countries are getting on?

1. e.g. Jennings and Niemi, op.cit.

Only a third of all respondents never talked about the outside world, (Table C1). But a higher proportion of Asians, (80%), and Cypriots, (76%) did so than did white Britons, (64%), and West Indians, (63%). White British and West Indian boys were least often inclined to do so of all groups. It seems, then, that Asians and Cypriots were more outwardly oriented than white Britons and West Indians though all groups were aware of the world outside Britain.

But was this awareness connected with the world at large or with the countries from which respondents originated? A tentative answer to this comes from an item on lessons which might interest young people. One of the lessons suggested was;

Poverty and Development (Rich and Poor Countries
and how they grow, etc.)

Only a quarter of all respondents expressed an interest in this topic, at least as an intellectual exercise, (Table C2). Asians again showed a more frequent interest than any other group, (35%), and Asian and West Indian girls were more often interested than the boys; West Indian boys, indeed, showed interest the least often of all, (17%). It may appear, then, that, even if these young people would like to leave Britain, they are not particularly interested in learning about the economic and social problems of the Third World.

A third item tapped the direction of their political interest at the same time as giving some indication of the level of their

political knowledge. The item read:

Now, I'd like to ask what you think about politics.

Some politicians like Ted Heath, (Prime Minister), Harold Wilson, (Leader of the Opposition), and Richard Nixon, (President of the U.S.A.), are always in the news.

Can you name any OTHER politician who catches your attention when you hear about him or her?

The three names suggested as examples were chosen because pilot tests revealed that the first two were those (predictably) most often mentioned by respondents; Nixon was the most frequently mentioned foreign politician; a foreign name indicated that the respondents were free to name a politician from any part of the world.

Table 7:1 tabulates their responses.

Table 7:1

% of Minority Groups naming a Politician connected with their Countries of Origin.

1

%	m	f	m & f
Cypriots	22	4	16
Asians	22	15	19
West Indians	10	7	9
All Minority Groups	17	7	13

Of the 52% of immigrants who were able to name a politician, (Table 7:5), only 13% spontaneously named one connected with their country of origin. Again Asians and Cypriots appeared more outwardly-oriented than West Indians and boys generally more so than girls,

1. See also Table 7:5, p. 257 below and Appendix C, Table C3.

though Asian girls were relatively outward-looking.

Examples of politicians classified as 'ethnic' included Makarios for Cypriots, Bhutto, Indira Ghandi, Kenyatta and Kaunda for Asians. For West Indians the definition of a politician was fairly wide; it included Mohamed Ali, Martin Luther King, George Jackson as well as George Wallace. The inclusion of black American heroes and anti-heroes is interesting. It may indicate that some West Indians identify with 'black brother' in any country and that they see their own future in Britain, possibly, in terms of a black brotherhood in a white society. Whether this is so or not, West Indian affairs were less salient to them than American.

Of course, we must take into account that the context in which the questionnaire was completed may have encouraged some respondents to name British politicians. In a British school, faced with an English interviewer, the youngster anxious to please may decide that the name of an ethnic politician would be unsuitable. At home or among peers of his own ethnic group the political frame of reference might well be more ethnically oriented. But at school at least British political figures were most salient despite the fact that for Asians the current Bangladesh crisis might well have heightened the relevance of Asian leaders for many from there. This conclusion was supported by interview data for almost all teenagers assumed without question that when we talked about politics it was Britain we were discussing.

Dimensions of Political Participation

An early item in the questionnaire suggested to the respondents that political affairs are concerned with how governments are run since interviews showed that this was indeed how many perceived politics:

It's the government.

It's laws, governments, prices.

Some personalised it:

Edward Heath.

It's about the Prime Minister and that lot.

Very few were as sophisticated as this white British girl:

It's the conflict between the political parties
- running the country.

Or this West Indian boy:

What's going on in the country now. Politicians
trying to change things.

Political Interest

Various items tapped political interest on different dimensions.

At the most general level, political interest was measured by:

How interested in politics would you say you are?

Table 7:2

%	<u>Interest in Politics</u>			
	Very Interested	Moderately Interested	Not Interested	No Answer
Cypriots	9	45	41	6
Asians	15	57	29	0
West Indians	9	41	39	12
White Britons	16	46	44	1
All Groups	10	46	42	4

Table 7:2 indicates that only a small minority were very interested, nearly half showed some interest and just under half were not interested. These data are comparable with those collected by Abrams for a survey conducted in 1960 with a large representative sample of British voters which revealed 15% as very interested in politics, 37% as interested, 33% as not really interested and 15% as not at all interested.¹

Asians were more interested than any other group, nearly three-quarters of them showing some interest compared with just over half of the other groups. Generally, as might be expected, girls were somewhat less interested than boys, (Table C4). Again, as might be expected, political interest was somewhat greater among the higher social classes, (Table C5).

But in an educational context respondents reduced their enthusiasm. Asked if they would be interested in lessons on political affairs, only 22% of all groups stated that they would be, (Table C6). But given that the overall level of interest was low, Cypriots and Asians again showed most, particularly the boys, and West Indians showed least. Again, boys were more interested than girls, though West Indian boys again had as low a level of interest as West Indian girls.

This low level of intellectual interest in politics may have been related to the respondents' idea of politics as a

1. M. Abrams, "Social Trends and Electoral Behaviour", Studies in British Politics, R. Rose, (Ed.), Studies in British Politics, pp. 133-6.

mundane, humdrum affair, simply:

Running the country.

Or,

Strikes and Trade Unions and that sort of thing.

For many it was an arid, meaningless topic, understandable only to the initiated:

I won't vote. You don't know enough at eighteen.

And,

Politics doesn't mean nothing to me.

Only when they could see some personal relevance were many interested. This may explain why Asians affected by the Bangladesh crisis and Cypriots by the internal strife in Cyprus or refugees from East Africa showed more interest than West Indians who appeared to know little about the internal affairs of their islands.

Another reason for the low level of intellectual interest may be the fact that political issues were low-key in the class-room. Table 7:3 shows how often the respondents claimed that they discussed politics with teachers.

Table 7:3

<u>Discussion about Politics with Teachers</u> ¹			
% discussing politics	Often/ Sometimes	Rarely/ Never	No Answer
Cypriots	49	39	14
Asians	31	57	14
West Indians	31	45	26
White Britons	40	57	5
All Groups	39	52	11

Only a minority of respondents claimed some political interchange between their teachers and themselves. A fairly high proportion of the minority groups, particularly West Indians, gave no answer or were unsure. Cypriots and white Britons claimed to discuss politics with teachers more often than Asians and West Indians and it is tempting to ask whether there was some racial inhibition here, particularly as Asians showed themselves more politicized than others on different dimensions.

On the whole, then, the respondents did not perceive that they had much political discussion with their teachers. To judge by informal talks about this which the investigator had with teachers, the data probably give an accurate picture of the situation. Generally, teachers did not believe politics was an appropriate matter for the class room unless in the guise of British Constitution, general studies or current affairs. But of course we must remember that the data reveal the respondents'

1. See also Appendix C, Table C7.

perceptions of the situation. Their ideas about what a political discussion might be may well differ from their teachers'. Some teachers, moreover, would have more opportunity or inclination to discuss politics with the pupils with whom they interact than others.

Since politics was not a highly salient matter within an educational context, did the respondents perceive themselves as politically-oriented among families and friends? Table 7:4 suggests that, on the whole, they did not.

Table 7:4

Discussion about Politics with Family and Friends

% discussing politics	with	Family		Friends	
		Often/ Sometimes	Rarely/ Never	Often/ Sometimes	Rarely/ Never
Cypriots		37	51	27	65
Asians		59	32	47	44
West Indians		33	42	25	45
White Britons		41	55	27	69
All Groups		41	49	28	59

About the same proportion talked at least sometimes with their families as with their teachers, (40%), but only 28% had politicized friendships. As might be expected boys tended to talk with friends about politics slightly more frequently than girls, (Table C9). But the reverse was true within the family, (Table C8). Asian girls, perhaps in virtue of their relative restriction within the home, tended to be more politically oriented within the family.

In general, then, it seems that these respondents were only moderately politicized, probably no more so than the host community at large.

Asians of both sexes showed themselves consistently most interested in politics apart from their apparent lack of political communication with their teachers. Current Asian issues may have heightened their interest but it was also the case that Asians tended to be more oriented than other groups towards intellectual life in general; political interest may have been one specific aspect of a more generally positive orientation towards intellectual achievement.

White Britons also showed a moderate level of political interest. Almond and Verba found that 29% of Britons in their sample, never talked about politics with other people, 70% did so from time to time, none did so weekly or daily.¹ Although the format of the questionnaire items and the methods of scaling are not exactly similar to those used in this enquiry, it does appear that the young white Britons in these schools were considerably less politicized than the adults in their sample.

Cypriots and West Indians generally showed less interest in politics than other groups. School rather than the family or peer group seemed to be a medium of political communication for Cypriots. Girls showed no exceptional pattern of interest relative to boys on most dimensions.

1. Almond and Verba, op.cit., p. 79.

The measures of political interest used here reveal how important is the context within which interest is examined. Measured at school and among friends, political interest was low; measured within the family it was higher, particularly for girls. Nevertheless, the findings on political interest suggest that many of the respondents, particularly Cypriots and West Indian boys, were apathetic.

Political Knowledge and Awareness

In an age of mass communication people may acquire political information without necessarily being interested in politics. Pilot studies revealed that the respondents' level of political knowledge on various dimensions was generally rather low despite their avid viewing of television. Political personalities, parties and their ideologies could generally be identified but understanding was superficial.

Table 7:5 supports these observations where the teenagers who participated in the main survey were concerned.

Table 7:5

<u>% Naming a Politician</u> ¹					
% naming	Ethnic	Powell	Other	All	No Answer
Cypriots	16	18	23	57	44
Asians	19	12	25	56	45
West Indians	9	20	20	49	54
All Minority Groups	13	17	22	52	49
White Britons	-	33	38	71	29
All Groups	-	26	31	58	38

1. See also Appendix C, Table C3 and Table 7:1, p. 249 above.

A large minority of all groups and half the immigrants could not name any politician whose name was noteworthy to them. Almond and Verba found that 42% of their British respondents were able to name four or more party leaders but 20% could not name even one.¹ Similarly, Abrams cites a pre-1959 British general election finding that 30% of respondents surveyed could give five correct names of party leaders but 20% could not name even one, notwithstanding a very generous definition of 'leader'.² Despite their youth and the less stringent requirements of this test, therefore, these teenagers did not compare unfavourably with adults on this type of political information.

Thirty-eight names were given in all. Many were topical, including Bhutto, Ian Smith, Bernadette Devlin, Reginald Madlein (sic), Mrs. Thatcher 'milk snatcher', and the quasi-politician, Vic Feather. Twenty British names represented all three main political parties and included leaders such as Jerimy Thrope (sic) and the M.P. for the borough. Of non-British names, apart from the ethnic ones already discussed, the American Kennedy family were often given; Chairman Mao and Vietnamese leaders of north and south also figured.

Enoch Powell

The most dramatic finding, however, was that 26% of all respondents mentioned Enoch Powell, the right wing Conservative M.P.

1. Almond and Verba, op.cit., p. 58.

2. Abrams, "Social Trends and Electoral Behaviour", Studies in British Politics, R. Rose, (Ed.), Studies in British Politics, pp. 133-6.

Moreover, a third of white Britons named him compared with 17% of immigrants. Follow-up interviews revealed that the main reason for the salience of Enoch Powell as a political figure was his connection, in the eyes of these young people, with the issues of race and immigration. As one Asian girl said:

They should stop it (immigration). They shouldn't stop any particular country coming. Just lessen it down. It's overpopulated. I don't agree with Enoch Powell though.

These are some of the reactions when asked specifically why they had named Enoch Powell:

Associated with the colour problem. (White British boy).

He stands for coloured people. (White British boy).

Powell, I'd shoot him. (West Indian girl).

I don't agree with him. (Cypriot boy).

They don't take no notice of him any more. (West Indian girl).

I respect Mr. Powell for the job he is trying to do.
(White British girl).

He should be P.M. He's right. Too many people.
I've got nothing against them. (White British girl).

He doesn't hide what he believes in. (West Indian boy).

A comparison of the frequency with which the minority groups named Powell with the frequency with which they named ethnic politicians reveals that for Asian girls and Cypriot boys Powell was less salient than ethnic politicians but for West Indians he was more salient, (Tables C3 and Table 7:1). Indeed, they mentioned him as often as they mentioned any other British or any non-ethnic politician. And the same was true of white Britons and Cypriots.

1. My parenthesis.

Table C10 indicates an interesting though slight trend for immigrant teenagers to mention Powell more often the longer they had lived in Britain. This suggests that, as ties with their countries of origin, physical and emotional, diminish and as, with adolescence, they seek to understand the wider world, issues which affect them as social beings in Britain become more salient to them.

But the most remarkable feature of this finding is that Powell was highly salient relative to other politicians for white Britons, Cypriots and West Indians, but not to Asians. All groups perceived him as a symbol of racialism. It is suggested that some white Britons, who were mainly lower class, may have found in his message a sense of security, a reassurance against threats by outsiders. Cypriots were conscious of his racialism but tended to play down the possibility that it was directed against them as a white-skinned group. West Indians, similarly, were conscious of his hostility but tended to laugh him off as a joke. The Asians acknowledged quite openly his threats to their community but tended to feel more secure because of the psychological comfort and support they derived from their ethnic links. West Indians, on the other hand, were without this support and some reluctantly admitted that Powell worried them. They were aware of the pressure that Powell was putting on them to return to the West Indies. One boy's comment gives the flavour of this:

I was pleased you could write down a politician's name, Colin. Could you read it out to me?

Enoch Power (sic).

Oh, why him?

He's always on about us.

Who's us?

Us West Indians.

Whatever these young people's attitude to Powell, it is certain that he has succeeded in making his name a household word. The high proportion of respondents who mentioned him is remarkable in view of the fact that only a small majority of them could name any politician at all. Since they associated his name first and foremost with race and immigration it seems that the conclusions of Chapter V find support here; racial issues were salient to these youngsters, perhaps more so than the tests in that chapter revealed.

To return to the main purpose of the test requiring the teenagers to name a politician. Approximately the same proportion of respondents named a politician as expressed moderate and great interest in politics, (Table 7:2). In general, this finding supports the earlier conclusions that political interest, even when personalised, was not more than moderate. White Britons, as might be expected, showed most political knowledge; among immigrants, Asians showed the most and West Indians the least.

Political Issues

If political interest with regard to national personalities was only moderate, interest in more abstract and abstruse matters was likely to be lower. Table 7:6 indicates that this was so

with regard to interest in the regime and its policies, party ideologies, local issues and personalities.

Table 7:6

<u>Discussion of Political Issues</u>						
% discussing	Country	Government	Conservative Party	Labour Party	Local Council	Local M.P.
Cypriots	53	56	25	22	15	4
Asians	45	50	19	32	7	5
West Indians	43	52	21	24	9	8
White Britons	66	66	25	25	23	10
All Groups	57	60	23	24	17	8

The Regime and its Policies

The respondents were asked:

Do you ever talk about how the country is being run?

And,

What the government ought to be doing?

Even on these very broad themes a large minority claimed that they never talked about such matters. The proportion who did corresponded closely to the proportion who claimed an interest in politics, (Table 7:2).

Party Ideologies

Interest in ideologies was tapped by the questions,

Do you ever talk about... what the Conservative Party stands for?

and

... what the Labour Party stands for?

Only a quarter of the respondents claimed to talk about the ideologies of the main political parties, including, surprisingly, approximately half the Asian girls, (Table C11). Pilot studies revealed much confusion and cynicism on this dimension. Generally the teenagers perceived the Conservative Party as the rich man's friend and the Labour Party as the party of the poor.

Local Affairs

Only a small proportion of the respondents discussed local affairs. The local council was of slightly greater import in their lives, it seems, than the local M.P.

In general, as we might expect, national political affairs were more salient to the teenagers than local ones, concrete policies more than abstract ideologies.

Political Problems

What social problems, then, did they perceive as of political priority?

They were asked:

Here are some problems teenagers say there are in Britain today. Which three would you say should be solved first?

Of six problems listed 64% of the teenagers thought unemployment should receive the most immediate attention, (Tables 7:7 and C12). Half the teenagers saw pollution, overcrowding and overpopulation, and rising prices as pressing problems. Just under half of them thought the conflict in Northern Ireland one of the three most important problems.

Table 7:7

	<u>Problems Worthy of Priority Treatment</u>					
%	Unemploy- ment	Pollution	Over- crowd- ing & over- popul- ation	Rising Prices	North- ern Ireland	Immig- ration
Cypriots	62	48	49	56	48	12
Asians	75	44	45	60	44	12
West Indians	60	43	34	61	33	20
White Britons	64	57	57	41	51	23
All Groups	64	51	50	49	46	20

In view of the high proportion of teenagers, particularly white Britons, who named Enoch Powell, it may seem surprising that only 20% of all groups and 23% of white Britons viewed immigration as one of the most important problems. Several factors may explain this. Firstly, it may be that, as one white British boy said, they take Powell's pronouncements on such issues with a pinch of salt. Secondly, it is possible that an item asking them to identify race relations within Britain as a major problem, may have produced a greater positive response than that of immigration into Britain. And thirdly, we must bear in mind that all six problems from which they had to choose the three they considered most urgent were the six which pilot studies revealed teenagers considered important. Thus, immigration was an important issue, but in the eyes of these teenagers it was relatively less important than other matters. For city-dwellers and school-leavers it is understandable that such matters as pollution and unemployment

should be important since they have personal meaning. Moreover, some of the immigrant teenagers may well have reasoned that if they subscribed to the view that immigration was an important issue demanding an immediate political solution they would be implicitly agreeing that there should be a clamp down on future immigration. Some of their own relatives and friends would be at the receiving end of such a move.

There was little evidence to suggest that issues such as unemployment and overcrowding were seen by white Britons as primarily the fault of immigrants. Only one boy indicated that he thought they were linked. He wrote in on his questionnaire:

I have not ticked unemployment because if the immigrants problem was solved there would not be so much unemployment.

Probed on this, most of the respondents thought that immigrants contributed only marginally to what were much more deep-seated and long-standing problems.

It seems, therefore, that a fairly high proportion of all ethnic groups agreed that unemployment was the major problem of the day. Immigrants were more often concerned about rising prices than white Britons who were more often concerned about pollution and overcrowding and overpopulation. Strangely, West Indians, who might be thought to experience over-crowding somewhat more than others, listed this as an urgent problem least frequently of any group. Northern Ireland did not figure high on the list of priorities of immigrants despite the gravity of the situation. Interviewed about this many thought that it was a problem remote from their concern, or that it was one that should be left to the Irish to solve or that it was insoluble anyway.

Voting Intentions

Pilot studies revealed that for fifteen and sixteen year olds like these, political participation in the future was not a salient matter. Very few of them would choose to read the political pages of a newspaper in preference, say, to the sports page or the cartoons. As they are as yet under the voting age, actual political participation is, on the whole, confined to incidental viewing of political programmes on television and discussions within the family.

Most of them were aware of their right to vote at eighteen and most of them could name the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Labour Party, though not all by any means would be too certain which political party holds the majority at present.

Since it seemed that very few of the teenagers envisaged becoming political activists in the sense of joining a political party, voting intentions are taken as the measure of their probable future political participation at the formal and constitutional level. Pilot studies showed that many saw the citizen's role in the political process as limited to voting in the general elections. Many felt they knew too little about politics to vote 'wisely': as one Cypriot girl put it:

If I know enough about it I'll vote but I know nothing at present.

We have already seen, however, that few have much desire to learn more, at least while still at school.

Nevertheless, the idea that voting forms the basis of democracy was often voiced:

It's your duty to know about politics. (White British boy)

It makes a difference to vote for poor people.
(Asian girl)

It's no use wasting a vote.
(West Indian boy)

I feel I should take part in it. It may
help the country.
(Asian boy)

Tradition and the influence of parents' voting behaviour was
often strongly represented:

I'll vote. My parents do. Haven't really thought about
it myself. Wrong really.
(Asian girl)

Scepticism about the importance of the right to vote was
widespread:

I won't vote. There's no difference between bad
parties.
(West Indian girl)

I wouldn't vote even if I knew enough about it.
(White British girl)

Partisanship, however, was often evident:

I'll vote for Mr. Wilson. He's got a fatherly face.
(West Indian girl)

I'll vote for Mr. Wilson. He's working class too.
(White British girl)

I'll vote Labour, not Conservative. They're all against
coloured people.
(Asian girl)

I'll vote Conservative but I don't know anything about it.
(White British boy)

Many were undecided whether or which way to vote:

It depends on what they've got to offer.
(West Indian girl)

Some emphasised the importance of using a vote:

It's important for everyone to vote. It might do some good.
(White British girl)

You might as well use your vote if you're going to be ruled by someone anyway.

(West Indian girl)

Table 7:8 tabulates the results of a questionnaire item which asked the teenagers how or whether, when they reached the age of eighteen, they intended to vote.

Table 7:8

	<u>Voting Intentions</u>			
%	Will vote	Will not vote	Undecided	No Answer
Cypriots	30	28	35	10
Asians	37	15	39	10
West Indians	42	22	25	13
White Britons	49	25	25	3
All Groups	44	24	28	6

Somewhat less than half the teenagers would definitely participate in constitutional politics as adults to the extent that they intended to vote for a political party. Only a quarter claimed they would definitely not vote and another quarter were undecided.

White Britons and West Indians intended more often to participate than did Asians and Cypriots. On the other hand, more Asians and Cypriots were undecided and the proportion of Asians who claimed that they would not vote was the lowest of any group.

Table C13 shows that the Labour Party was by far the most popular political party with all groups. This was probably because of the identification of the Labour Party as the poor man's friend,

the majority of these teenagers coming as they did from far from affluent families.

Usually males are more politically aware and active than females. But Table C14 shows that the girls in this study were potentially only slightly less participatory than the boys.

Table C15 shows that some of those (16%) who claimed an interest in politics would not vote and that 32% were undecided whether or now to vote. Cypriots and Asians were more hesitant than white Britons and West Indians. Interviews suggested that many who were interested in politics also felt that voting was inefficacious; but few suggested that they might become activists in an extra-constitutional way.

Table C16 demonstrates a slight trend for the higher social classes to be potentially more participatory than class four-five. However, the proportion of teenagers who were undecided was higher the higher the social class. Table C17 analyses the voting intentions of the various ethnic groups by social class. The same relationship between social class and political participation is apparent for all ethnic groups except the West Indians more of whom intended to vote in the lower social classes than did in classes one-two and three.

Table C18 indicates that among the minority groups West Indians were again the exception when length of residence in Britain is taken into consideration. While, as is reasonable, Cypriots and

Asians in Britain a longer time were more often sure they would vote, and for a particular party, paradoxically, the shorter the length of stay by West Indians the more sure of their partisan allegiance they appeared.

Political Activism

Only about a quarter of the teenagers intended definitely not voting when they reach the age of eighteen. The majority of them, therefore, will probably participate in politics in Britain at least at this minimal level. The large proportion who could not make up their minds whether or how to vote makes it impossible to come to any firm conclusions as to whether there are any dramatic differences in the likely level of political participation between different ethnic groups.

In order to assess how far the teenagers felt they could participate in politics to the extent of making it a career, they were asked to agree or disagree with the following two statements:

I would probably not stand a chance of becoming a politician.

and,

I would probably like being a politician.

Table 7:9 summarises their answers to the former question.

Table 7:9Estimates of Chance of Becoming a Politician

%	Stand a Chance	Do not stand a chance	No Answer
Cypriots	23	64	15
Asians	19	62	20
West Indians	15	62	28
White Britons	16	80	6
All Groups	17	71	13

A large majority believed that they did not stand a chance of a political career, and a fifth of the minority groups did not answer. Table C19 shows that girls were even less optimistic of their chances in politics than boys.

Table 7:10 summarises the teenagers' responses as to whether they would like a career in politics.

Table 7:10Attitudes towards a Political Career

%	Would like	Would not like	No Answer
Cypriots	12	68	22
Asians	10	75	15
West Indians	22	55	25
White Britons	9	85	8
All Groups	12	75	14

Only a small minority of all groups stated that they would like a career in politics.¹ This may be connected to the fact that only a third of them thought an M.P.s job is prestigious, (Table B2).

Predictably, more girls than boys disliked the idea of a career which has been a male preserve until recently, (Table C20). West Indians of both sexes reacted more favourably than other groups to the idea of entering politics. White Britons reacted most often against the idea.

We shall see in the next section that the teenagers' attitudes towards entering politics was consonant with their attitudes towards the political life in general. One or two quotations from interviews give the flavour of the teenagers' comments on these items.

An Asian boy declared that he would not want to be a politician. He assumed that there would be:

... too much learning of laws and this and that.

An English boy claimed that an M.P.'s job involved:

... governing the place. It'd be too time consuming though you would be able to do things.

Finally, this statement by a white British boy sums up graphically the feelings which many respondents expressed:

Yes, I would like to be a politician but there's no chance. I'm working class not upper class. They forget about us. I haven't got what it takes, like the right school and that.

1. Almond and Verba, op.cit., p. 210 and p. 247, report that of 30% of British respondents interested in out-going activities only 2% were interested in civic-political activities. 3% were members of civic-political organizations.

Trust and Cynicism

Three items tapped the respondents' political trust or cynicism. They were asked whether, on the whole, they thought these three statements were true or false:

Politicians do more harm than good.

Politicians talk a lot but don't do much.

Politicians are interested in serving themselves and their own sort.

Table 7:11 summarises their replies.

Table 7:11

Trust and Cynicism about Politicians

% thinking politicians	Do more harm than good		Talk a lot but don't do much		Interested in selves and own sort	
	Trust	Cynicism	Trust	Cynicism	Trust	Cynicism
Cypriots	36	48	19	67	28	55
Asians	40	35	17	69	23	49
West Indians	32	40	21	63	25	46
White Britons	42	43	15	76	25	60
All Groups	39	42	17	71	26	55

An overwhelming majority of respondents from all ethnic groups perceived politicians as talkers rather than doers; more than half of them perceived them as primarily self-interested and rather less than half thought that they do more harm than good. West Indian and Asian boys frequently failed to reply, (Tables C21-C25). But there seems to be no systematic variation between

1. For similar items, Inkeles, *op.cit.* (It appears that these items were somewhat loaded in a cynical direction)

the sexes on this dimension.

A score of cynicism was devised. The sum of the proportions of cynical answers by each ethnic group was divided by three.

This gave a composite score for cynicism as follows:

<u>Cynicism</u>	%
White Britons	60
Cypriots	57
Asians	51
West Indians	50
All Groups	55

The range of scores for cynicism between ethnic groups was a mere 10%, with the white Britons and Cypriots marginally more often cynical than Asians and West Indians. A corresponding measure of trust in politicians yields a score for all groups of only 27%. But given that about a fifth of the respondents failed to reply we can make no firm conclusions. It does appear, however, that there was fairly widespread mistrust of political figures, more so among the white-skinned groups than the non-whites. Part of the cynicism is accountable to the current political climate for unemployment and inflation were in the news at the time. Lower class people tend to be generally more cynical than middle class people. In this case, it is the item which suggests that politicians talk a lot but do little that appeared to stimulate cynical views far more in class five than in class one, (Table C24). But there was no systematic trend. Since the majority of white British respondents were lower class, perhaps

it is not surprising that they were cynical. Perhaps also the immigrants were being influenced by their lower class environment.

Deference

In view of the fact that a large proportion of the teenagers viewed political figures with mistrust, it would be reasonable to assume that they would not be willing to defer to the authority of those in leadership roles, even though, as the section on political participation showed, they accepted, for the most part, the ideology of democratic procedure implied in the act of voting.

To test whether they had a deferential attitude towards politicians, they were asked: if the following statement was true or false:

Politicians know what's best for the country.¹

Table 7:12

%	<u>Political Deference</u>		
	Deferential	Not Deferential	No Answer
Cypriots	26	55	22
Asians	30	55	15
West Indians	26	51	24
White Britons	17	68	17
All Groups	21	61	19

1. For a similar technique, Jaros, Hirsch and Fleron, op.cit., pp. 564-75.

Table 7:12 shows that 61% of all groups were not deferential towards politicians, even though at least 44% claimed that they would definitely vote when they are of age. White Britons were least often deferential. This is consonant with their attitude on the trust-cynicism dimension. Over half the minority groups were not deferential but the fairly high no-answer rate among West Indians and Cypriots makes it difficult to draw comparisons between them.

Table C25 makes it clear that white British girls were least often deferential of any group and that Cypriot girls were less often deferential than Cypriot boys. On the other hand, Asian girls were more often deferential than Asian boys. West Indians may be more often deferential than other groups, particularly the boys. But differences are small.

It seems, therefore, in general, that political cynicism was indeed matched by a lack of deference towards the wisdom of those with political authority.

Political Distance

Does this indicate that many of the teenagers felt that the politician's world is remote from their own and that politicians are not in touch with the grass-roots?

The teenagers were asked to state whether the following statement was true or false.

Politicians take notice of what ordinary people think.¹

1. Ibid., pp. 564-75.

Table 7:13Perceptions of Political Distance

% thinking politicians	Do take notice	Do not take notice	No answer
Cypriots	23	61	18
Asians	24	52	25
West Indians	25	48	28
White Britons	18	70	14
All Groups	21	62	18

Table 7:13 indicates that more teenagers of every ethnic group did indeed perceive a large gap between rulers and ruled. Again, white Britons and Cypriots reacted negatively far more often than Asians and West Indians but we must remember that a quarter of the latter failed to reply one way or the other.

The data analysed here suggest that many of these young people, particularly white Britons, were cynical about politicians, their motives, wisdom and concern for the ordinary citizen. In Chapter VI there was further support for this conclusion. Table 6:2 suggested that only a third of the respondents selected an M.P.'s job as one of three that they personally respected most even though they thought M.P.'s enjoyed high social status.¹

There were no dramatic contrasts between the social classes where cynicism and deference were concerned though there is some slight indication that those of lower social class were at once

1. Chapter VI above, p. 181.

more cynical, less respectful of politicians and yet more deferential, (Tables C24, C26, C28, C30). However, the analysis by social class cannot bear too much weight and should be interpreted with caution.

Implications

What, then, are the major themes running through this chapter on the political orientations of teenagers, all in London schools, but from different countries, backgrounds and ethnic traditions?

The political frame of reference for the vast majority of them, including immigrants, was that of the country in which they are now living, rather than that from which they originated or which they hanker after. Earlier it was suggested that their basic political orientations might be resistant to change; that the immigrants might have difficulty relating to or identifying with British political norms and institutions or, at least, experience conflict or division of loyalties. Few of the teenagers however, showed an inflexible and undivided loyalty towards their countries of origin on a political dimension and few questioned the assumption that it was the British political system about which they were being asked their views.

Asians and Cypriots were more conscious of the world outside Britain and of political figures connected with their countries of origin. Again, it was Asians and Cypriots who appeared least

likely to participate as voters in the British political process. This is initially, perhaps, rather surprising as far as Asians are concerned since they seemed to be more highly politicized than any other group on almost every dimension. But the crucial point may be that their political interest was generated primarily within the circle of family and friends. This may encourage ethnic homogeneity; political events in Asia and Africa would tend to draw the ethnic group together and stimulate political interest. There is the possibility that the teenagers would derive their political nourishment almost exclusively from the ethnic group in Britain and overseas.

But there are certain considerations which weigh against this. One is that they may, when it comes to the point, take more part in the electoral process in Britain than they intended. Much of their hesitation came from a sense of bewilderment, shared by teenagers from all groups, about what politics is about and particularly about the part played by the political parties.¹ The Asians earnestly desired to understand and if they do gain enlightenment they may well feel confident enough to play a more positive role. Moreover, they, more than any other group, indicated that they were involved with social problems of immediate and personal relevance, problems which demand political solutions.

The Cypriots showed greater potential for divided loyalties than the Asians. They were not as a group highly

1. (One is constantly struck, of course, by how like adults these teenagers are).

politicized and were relatively apathetic, especially the girls, towards participation in voting. Yet informal interviews indicated that they shared the Asians' familial involvement on a cultural level; they showed interest in the world outside Britain and the boys fairly often named ethnic politicians. On the other hand, the girls, particularly, were sensitive to racialism; many did not enjoy being identified as immigrants and accepted their British teachers as authorities on political matters. They showed motivation to learn about Britain and few appeared to know much about Cypriot political affairs.

In Chapter II it was noted that West Indians tended to be more assimilative than other immigrants.¹ But this is not wholly true of the West Indian youngsters in this enquiry, at least where political orientations are concerned.

Not wholly true, though in some respects they did conform to the norms set by the white Britons. Like them they tended to be relatively uninterested in the world outside Britain and, the boys at least, in the problems of developing countries. Moreover, they shared with the white Britons a concern about immigration as a political problem though they did not appear to be any more concerned about Powell than the other minority groups. In one important way they were more like white Britons than like other immigrants. The boys had relatively firmer intentions to vote than other immigrants and as a group they were almost as participative in intention as white Britons.

1. See Chapter II above, pp. 31-36.

But, in other respects, they were unlike white Britons. White Britons had more political knowledge than any of the immigrants and West Indians had the least. White Britons showed themselves consistently fairly interested in politics and willing to learn more at school. West Indians were the least interested and less willing to learn at school than any other group.

In some ways, indeed, West Indians were more like Asians and Cypriots than white Britons. All three minority groups were more positive in their attitude towards political life in Britain than white Britons. They were less cynical, less aware of political distance and more deferential towards the political wisdom of the authorities than white Britons. West Indians, moreover, took a somewhat more positive view of political activism than others.

West Indians were relatively apathetic towards politics as it was presented to them in this survey. They showed no great knowledge of or interest in the political life of the West Indies or of Britain. Their homes and friends were not politicized, at least on the dimensions investigated here. Many expressed feelings of political incompetence and ignorance, both in person and by failing to answer the political items on the questionnaire. For many, politics was simply irrelevant, they did not see it, in personal terms, as a method of gaining access to power and resources.

They were racially conscious, more so than their apparent nonchalance about Powell would suggest. Some, girls particularly, said that they would not vote in a racist country. Others said that they would not vote for the Conservative Party which was

openly associated with racialist politicians. Partisan allegiances were heavily biased towards the Labour Party as the party of the working classes and, to this extent, West Indians were implicitly assimilating with working class white Britons.

For all groups, and especially for West Indians, there was an apparent paradox in that political interest was relatively mild and intentions to vote relatively strong, although many respondents had not made up their minds about the political parties. In this the respondents conformed to a pattern typical of the British electorate. But why? Part of the answer lies, it is suggested, in analysis of the parrot-fashion, stereotyped answers teenagers of all groups gave to questions about why they would vote. Time and again they repeated phrases like, 'to have a say', 'to choose the best man for the job', or 'the best party'. For some it was simply a duty, a categorical imperative. Few showed any real understanding of the workings of the British form of democracy but most paid lip-service to the ideal. Indeed, political educators, text-book writers, the media, their own families and acquaintances had performed a most efficient operation in fitting them with ideological blinkers that prevented them seeing the possibility of good in any alternative political systems.

Yet as we have seen, the majority of the respondents, white Britons particularly, were negative towards political figures; they mistrusted and felt distant from them and did not relish the idea of political careers. It seems, however, that they did

not generalise this mistrust to the institutions of British political life. May it not be, then, that statements of intention to vote, to participate in a basic way in the British democratic process, were not indications of mere ritual or nominal involvement but rather, signs of positive attitudes, however lacking in discrimination, towards British political institutions as distinct from those who run them?

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

This has been an exploratory enquiry in one north London borough into the social and political orientations of secondary school pupils soon to leave school. The central interest throughout has been focused on the question, 'How far do the immigrant teenagers feel at home in Britain?' The question was pursued with reference in particular to their attitudes towards race, ethnicity and nationality, their attitudes towards the prospect of further education and training and of employment in Britain and their views on political life. The white British respondents' attitudes provided a yardstick against which to measure those of the immigrants.

At this point we draw together and summarise the findings of the survey on all three dimensions for each ethnic group in order to paint a composite picture of their attitudes towards Britain and their perceptions of their place as adults in British society.

Summary of Findings

White Britons

As might be expected, perhaps, racial, ethnic and national issues were not highly significant in the lives of the white British teenagers. The name of Enoch Powell was the only item which appeared to rouse emotions in them. Concomitantly, white Britons were less keen than immigrants to emigrate permanently and perceived the people and life of Britain with more favour than did immigrants. Many, though not all, appeared somewhat ethnocentric, a few were openly racist.

In comparison with the immigrant teenagers, white Britons seemed to value their own schooling with something less than total fervour and more of them than of the immigrants wanted to leave school at the earliest opportunity. Nevertheless, a good majority considered that it was essential to gain ordinary and advanced level qualifications or apprenticeship skills in order to obtain 'good' jobs. They appeared less interested in, or hopeful of, a full-time education after leaving school than Asians or Cypriots but their ambitions for apprenticeship training were consonant with the skilled manual and lower grade white-collar jobs which a majority of them sought. Many wanted, but did not expect to get, jobs in social classes one-two. Few wanted or expected to get jobs at the lower end of the occupational ladder though it is likely that many may find themselves there. Generally, their attitudes conformed to the traditions of the working class

from which the majority came though there was evidence that they wanted to take any opportunities for improving their life-chances.

Politics for white Britons meant British politics. Half of them stated categorically that they were not interested in such matters but, as might be expected, they were somewhat more interested and informed than any immigrant groups. They tended to be confused about the meaning of partisan politics, as indeed were all groups; they were also more cynical and less deferential than immigrants. But despite their relatively negative attitudes towards political life as they perceived it, they were more inclined to vote as adults than immigrant teenagers. It was suggested that their ideological commitment to British democracy was uninformed and uncritical and that they were unlikely to become participatory citizens in any deeply significant sense.

West Indians

West Indians were more sensitive to racial issues than any other immigrants, though less so to ethnic and national ones. Though many claimed to be 'English' they tended to opt for emigration more readily than other immigrants and a large minority were prepared to emigrate permanently. Over half wanted to return to the West Indies but a large minority preferred other countries. These facts may be linked with the finding that they perceived British people and the quality of life in Britain more unfavourably than other immigrants.

On the other hand, few questioned the assumption that they would be seeking employment in Britain. Indeed, they perceived the prestige of occupations on much the same lines as white Britons and had similar aspirations about the qualifications and jobs they wanted. Though fewer West Indians than other immigrants wanted or expected extended full-time education, few wanted to leave school as soon as they could. Most boys wanted apprenticeships which would fit them for skilled manual jobs in social class three. They did not, on the whole, expect to get jobs at the very top or the bottom of the occupational ladder. The attitudes of boys and girls to employment indicate the persistence of traditional West Indian and working class values. But, despite their apparent aversion to regarding Britain as a permanent home, these school children did not appear to be without optimism for their futures; some, it is true, lacked confidence that they could achieve their aspirations but few were so resentful, frustrated or without hope as other studies have shown young West Indian workers to be.

West Indians' political orientations were focused more towards Britain than the West Indies, though 'black' American affairs were salient to many, especially the girls. However, their interest in institutional politics in Britain was the lowest of any groups and they were remarkably ill-informed. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, they were somewhat less cynical than other immigrants and more inclined to agree that they would vote, particularly for the Labour Party. It was suggested that they conformed nominally

to British democratic norms and values but were essentially apathetic, perceiving politics, as presented to them, as irrelevant to their own lives.

It appears that most of the West Indians were optimistic enough to regard Britain as home on pragmatic grounds. Many were prepared to be 'English', particularly the second generation. Most wanted to succeed educationally and occupationally though some lacked confidence that they would do so. A few were resigned to staying in Britain for the next few years but were prepared to emigrate to find a more comfortable home where they felt accepted. Few looked to political participation as an important method of gaining access to resources.

Asians

Asians, like the black-skinned West Indians, were racially conscious but they tended to identify themselves far more than West Indians on ethnic and national lines. Like the West Indians, a high proportion of them wanted to emigrate and nearly half of them were prepared to emigrate permanently. Many wanted to go to Asia though they realised this was probably impossible. On the other hand, they thought highly of Britain as far as economic welfare went but were somewhat uncomplimentary about British people.

Not unexpectedly, Asians had high regard for their own schooling and for the benefits of education in general. They appeared somewhat overconfident that a long education would lead to

occupational success. A majority of them wished to gain advanced level qualifications, a third of them wanted a full-time education after leaving school and their job aspirations, especially the boys, were higher than any other group's. Many were aware, however, that they might not gain the professional and higher grade jobs which they wanted though most were confident of some type of employment within their own community.

Asians were the most politically aware and interested of any immigrants. They tended to be more oriented towards their countries of origin than West Indians but much less inclined to participate in British political life at the level of voting. They knew even less about British political parties than white Britons but tended to be less cynical and more deferential. Their political interest, it seems, was nourished within the ethnic group but they were receptive to information about British political life.

Asians differed from West Indians in their attitudes to Britain as home. Many, as refugees, were keen to grasp any opportunities to start life anew. Traditional esteem for education and industriousness gave them confidence that they could succeed in a competitive society. They showed less unhappiness about white racism than West Indians and a greater determination to succeed in British society whether or not it was comfortable for them as immigrants. The question of where they belonged mattered less since, even if white Britons rejected them, they had roots in their own communities and the confidence very often of a higher

social status.

Cypriots

As white-skinned immigrants, the Cypriots proved interesting. They were similar to Asians in the strength of their ethnic links yet they were less easily distinguishable as a minority group. As might be expected they showed little overt racial consciousness. Indeed, they tended to play down racial issues. They showed ethnic and national consciousness but some hesitancy about their loyalties to Britain or Cyprus. Similarly, they were less desirous than other immigrants of permanent emigration but those who did wish to emigrate wanted to go to Cyprus. They had more favourable perceptions of British life and people than the non-white immigrants. In these respects, therefore, they appeared to be more comfortably at home in Britain than Asians and West Indians but they still felt strongly the pull of cultural ties with Cyprus.

Cypriots generally seem to have enjoyed their schooling. Their ideas on what qualifications they wanted and the types of jobs they expected and aspired towards conformed most closely with the pattern set by the white Britons. But like the Asians, many could fall back, if necessary, on jobs within their own communities.

Politically, Cypriots were more outwardly-oriented than West Indians and somewhat less so than Asians, especially the

girls. Their interest in politics was similar to that of white Britons and they seemed to derive more political nourishment from their teachers than other immigrants. On the other hand, they were not highly participatory as far as voting went and were nearly as cynical as white Britons.

There was evidence to suggest that their white skins did help Cypriots to feel more comfortably at home in Britain than other immigrants and to avoid more easily embarrassing occasions when they might have to choose between loyalty to Britain and Cyprus.

Few generalizations can be made about the attitudes of such a diverse sample of teenagers to such a wide variety of issues. The most remarkable feature, however, was the broad similarity of attitudes of white Britons and immigrants, particularly with respect to their educational and occupational aspirations and to political life in Britain. Indeed, West Indian and Asian teenagers sometimes appeared to have more in common in these respects with white-skinned teenagers than with the 'black' communities to which they are presumed to belong.

As school children, shielded from the full impact of adult realities, all respondents, irrespective of race or nationality, exhibited a touching optimism about their life-chances. Most immigrants were aware of racial factors and almost all respondents were aware of social disadvantages which could affect their opportunities for success in a competitive society, yet only a

minority were defeatist, resigned, resentful or alienated as other studies have suggested is sometimes the case with young people who have left school, especially those, whether immigrants or white Britons, living in socially deprived areas.

Most respondents saw politics as meaningless, irrelevant and unimportant in their own lives, even though they paid lip-service to democratic participation to the extent of exercising the right to vote. In this, of course, they were not unlike the adult population but there is an unwelcome possibility that the racial consciousness, even hostility, of some of these school children, may be increased if they experience as adults social and occupational frustrations compounded by further political disaffection.

Research

At this point we must repeat the reminder that there is no justification for generalising the results of this survey, for, although the sample was a substantial one and the investigation was quantitative as well as qualitative, the findings are not widely representative. At the most, the findings may be typical of teenagers at school in predominantly working class, multi-racial suburban neighbourhoods.

Nevertheless, the findings place this enquiry in the mainstream of previous studies on related lines. Almost all the findings were predictable from past evidence and, even within the muted context of the school, they support the view that all

will not be smooth sailing for the next generation of young citizens in multi-racial Britain.

In the course of this enquiry it became evident that more research of a specific nature is needed if meaningful policies for multi-racialism are to be promoted. Apart from the continuing need for more reliable factual information about immigrants in general, there is a particular paucity of information on Turkish Cypriots as distinct from Greeks. This may be because they are few in number and so do not lend themselves to large-scale survey methods of investigation. But this fact should not deter research workers who may suspect, with some justification, that Turkish Cypriot children are often seriously disadvantaged, linguistically and socially, in British schools.

Since this enquiry was begun, Ugandan Asian refugees have added to the numbers of East African Asians in British schools. Here is an opportunity for a continuing, longitudinal study of their settlement and subsequent fortunes which should provide interesting information about Asians with a different background from those from continental Asia.

More longitudinal studies are needed which follow the fortunes of young immigrants from school into adult life. There are, of course, difficult problems of methodology and finance to be met here. And recently, moreover, it has become more difficult for white-skinned researchers to overcome suspicion and resentment among immigrants. An increase in the numbers of trained immigrant researchers would seem to offer possibilities here.

Immigrant researchers would also be better placed to search out more detailed information about the girls of their communities. Most studies hitherto have neglected to investigate specifically the attitudes and social situation of girls. Yet girls, particularly Asians and Cypriots, often have to make more painful and basic adjustments than boys if they are to function happily as individuals in Britain. Conflict with their parents may be severe and in the adult world they may have to compete with men in unaccustomed ways. Moreover, as wives and mothers, they will have influence over the next, possibly the third generation of immigrants. In this enquiry, there was some indication that West Indian girls may be more rigidly ethnocentric than boys and that white British girls may be more stridently racist. This calls for investigation.

Finally, there is need for enquiries into the variables which most importantly affect the rate and manner in which immigrant children of different ages adjust themselves (or not) to living in Britain. There was some evidence in this enquiry that second generation immigrants are less prone to identify with their ethnic communities proper than the first generation. Previous studies have indicated that second generation non-white immigrants are sometimes more resentful of rejection by the host community and are therefore more hostile and alienated. On the other hand, first generation immigrants may harbour unachievable ambitions and in turn may suffer frustration. It is far too simplistic to assume that an immigrant is no longer an immigrant after ten years. We need to know whether the distinction between being born in Britain or not really is crucial to adjustment,

assimilation and integration, and, if so, why. We need to know more about the influence of home, social background, education, language and the personality of the individual.

But above all, there is a need for systematic and co-ordinated research so that data may be comparable and policy soundly based. Nor should small-scale, in-depth enquiries be neglected in favour of large-scale surveys, for what may be significant statistically may be less so in human terms.

Action

In the past decade British policy-makers have moved some way towards recognising the need for positive action if Britain is to be a comfortable home for all who live here. The emphasis in educational circles has shifted somewhat from an over-riding concern with successful integration of immigrants in the interests of a stable society and towards a child-centred concern for the welfare of individuals regardless of race or nationality. This concern showed itself first at the primary level but in recent years attention has been paid to the linguistic needs of older immigrants and to the social education of all pupils to prepare them for a life in a multi-racial society.

There is evidence that immigrants are increasingly suspicious and resentful of official research and action in areas which affect them. But, in the opinion of the investigator, there is still much goodwill towards their teachers on the part of immigrant pupils and a high level of motivation to learn. If young people are receptive to education, there is cause for optimism that they may leave school well equipped to take their

place in the adult world.

But much needs to be done. This enquiry uncovered a great deal of ignorance and prejudice on the part of white Britons and immigrants about race, other cultures, occupational opportunities and political life. Individual teachers tried their best to improve matters and there are many agencies external to the schools with the expertise to help. The Youth Employment Service, of course, has long been in existence. More recently, the Schools Council has devoted attention to developing the curriculum in relevant respects. Its projects on race, on moral education and general studies are relevant here. The Community Relations Commission and others devote themselves to solving the problems of immigrants at school and the needs of a multi-racial society. The Politics Association tries to promote teaching methods which will develop a greater understanding of political processes.

The resources exist and the young people, on the whole, have the motivation to learn. Yet all too often, in these crucial areas, they fail to do so because they fail to see the relevance to their own lives of learning about race, about adult jobs, about political participation. Above all, therefore, attention must be devoted to the education of teachers, both on in-service courses and on initial training. Until teachers recognize the importance of education for citizenship in a multi-racial society and develop methods of increasing their pupils' understanding, they cannot capitalize on the receptiveness of young people in order to improve the quality of life of the

next generation. Resources exist, goodwill exists, only whole-hearted commitment is lacking.

APPENDIX A *Table A1

% of Minority Groups interested in Race Relations Lessons
x Place of Birth

%	Born in Britain	Born Overseas
Cypriots	30	32
Asians	(0)	38
West Indians	45	51

() = very small numbers involved.

Table A2

% of Minority Groups interested in Race Relations Lessons
x Length of Residence in Britain

%	Birth	More than 10 years	More than 5 years	Less than 5 years
Cypriots	30	36	(16)	(50)
Asians	(0)	(40)	44	34
West Indians	45	42	58	49

* All percentages are rounded up.

APPENDIX ATable A3

% of Ethnic Groups interested in Race Relations Lessons *
x Social Class

% Social Class	1-2	3	4-5
Cypriots	45	12	33
Asians	43	47	30
West Indians	(38)	49	55
White Britons	32	16	27
All Groups	43	41	40

* Omits those whose social class was not ascertained.

Table A4

Self Identification by Race, Nationality and Ethnic Group
x Sex

%	m	f	m & f
Cypriots	32	25	30
Asians	46	50	49
West Indians	59	74	66
All Minority Groups	47	55	50
White Britons	10	5	8
All Groups	29	24	27

APPENDIX ATable A5Self Identification by Race x Sex

%	m	f	m & f
Cypriots	12	8	11
Asians	28	12	20
West Indians	52	64	57
All Minority Groups	33	34	34
White Britons	3	3	3
All Groups	18	15	17

Table A6Self Identification by Ethnic Group or Nationality x Sex

%	m	f	m & f
Cypriots	20	18	20
Asians	19	41	29
West Indians	7	11	9
All Minority Groups	14	21	17
White Britons	7	2	5
All Groups	11	9	10

APPENDIX ATable A7

% of Minority Groups Identifying themselves by Race,
 Ethnic Group or Nationality x Place of Birth *

%	Born in Britain	Born Overseas
Cypriots	34	22
Asians	(0)	43
West Indians	46	71

* Omits those whose place of birth was doubtful.

Table A8

% of Minority Groups Identifying themselves by Race,
 Ethnic Group or Nationality x Length of Residence
 in Britain

%	Birth	More than 10 years	More than 5 years	Less than 5 years
Cypriots	34	36	8	13
Asians	(0)	40	44	48
West Indians	46	53	72	66

APPENDIX ATable A9

% of Minority Groups Identifying themselves by Race,
Ethnic Group or Nationality x Social Class

% Social Class	1-2	3	4-5
Cypriots	17	53	25
Asians	43	60	30
West Indians	50	60	59

Omits those whose social class was not ascertained.

Table A10

Choice of Home-Land x Sex

% choosing	Britain		Abroad		No Answer	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	34	33	52	61	14	8
Asians	25	19	49	71	28	12
West Indians	27	9	55	77	19	17
All Minority Groups	29	21	52	70	21	12
White Britons	56	45	34	47	12	10
All Groups	42	34	44	56	16	11

APPENDIX ATable A11

<u>Choice of Country - Short Stay</u>					
%	Cyprus	East Africa	India & Other Asia	West Indies	Other
Cypriots	34	-	-	-	66
Asians	-	24	12	-	60
West Indians	-	-	-	31	69

Table A12

% of Minority Groups choosing to make a Home in another Country
x Length of Residence in Britain

<u>%</u>	<u>Birth</u>	<u>More than 10 years</u>	<u>More than 5 years</u>	<u>Less than 5 years</u>
Cypriots	44	75	62	63
Asians	(25)	70	57	60
West Indians	52	53	79	69
All Minority Groups	46	66	63	64

APPENDIX ATable A13Perceptions of Niceness of People in Britain

% thinking people in Britain	Nicer	Not so Nice	No Answer
Cypriots	m 40	39	23
Asians	32	39	30
West Indians	18	45	38
All Minority Groups	28	42	32
White Britons	47	19	35
All Groups	38	29	33

Table A14Perceptions of Niceness of People in Britain x Sex

% thinking people in Britain	Nicer		Not so Nice		No Answer	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	32	50	50	18	18	33
Asians	34	30	37	41	31	30
West Indians	19	17	48	43	35	41
All Minority Groups	27	29	46	36	28	36
White Britons	47	47	23	16	31	39
All Groups	37	40	35	24	30	37

APPENDIX ATable A15Perceptions of Prosperity of People in Britain

% thinking people in Britain	Better off	Worse off	No Answer
Cypriots	73	11	16
Asians	59	9	34
West Indians	50	17	34
Minority Groups	56	13	29
White Britons	64	11	26
All Groups	62	12	27

Table A16Perceptions of Prosperity of People in Britain x Sex

% thinking people in Britain	Better Off		Worse Off		No Answer	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	70	75	10	11	20	15
Asians	64	52	10	8	28	41
West Indians	59	39	15	19	27	43
Minority Groups	64	52	12	14	25	35
White Britons	63	64	12	10	26	27
All Groups	64	60	12	11	25	30

APPENDIX ATable A17Perceptions of Happiness of People in Britain

% thinking people in Britain	Happy		Not so Happy	No Answer
Cypriots	54		17	30
Asians	48		15	39
West Indians	33		20	49
Minority Groups	43		17	40
White Britons	49		17	36
All Groups	46		17	38

Table A18Perceptions of Happiness of People in Britain x Sex

% thinking people in Britain	Happy		Not so Happy		No Answer	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	52	58	20	11	28	33
Asians	40	56	28	0	34	45
West Indians	39	25	25	13	37	64
Minority Groups	42	42	24	9	33	50
White Britons	55	44	20	15	27	43
All Groups	49	43	22	12	30	46

APPENDIX ATable A19

Unfavourable Perceptions of People in Britain + 50% of
No Answers (assumed to be hidden Unfavourable Perceptions)

% thinking people in Britain	Not so Nice	Worse Off	Not so Happy
Cypriots	51	19	32
Asians	54	27	45
West Indians	64	34	45
Minority Groups	58	28	37
White Britons	36	24	35
All Groups	46	26	36

APPENDIX BThe Hall-Jones Scale of Occupational Prestige for Males¹

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Occupation</u> ²
1 (Professionally qualified and high administrative)	Doctor M.P.
2 (Managerial and executive, with some responsibility for directing and initiating policy)	Secondary School teacher Bank Clerk (senior)
3 (Inspectional, supervisory and other non-manual) (higher)	Bank Clerk (junior)
4 (Inspectional, supervisory and other non-manual) (lower)	Police Sergeant
5a (Routine grades of non-manual)	Shop assistant (grocer)
5b (Skilled manual)	Factory worker
6 (Semi-skilled manual)	Factory worker
7 (Routine manual)	Factory worker Cleaner

-
1. J. Hall and D.C. Jones, "The Social Grading of Occupations", British Journal of Sociology, Vol.1:1, 1950, pp. 31-5.
 2. Compilation of the list of occupations to present to the respondents was severely restricted in that the Hall-Jones Scale is for males, while the occupations presented to the respondents had to be suitable for males or females.

APPENDIX BTable B1

% of Ethnic Groups attributing Social and Personal Prestige
to an M.P. and a Police Sergeant x Sex

%	M.P.				Police Sergeant			
	Social Prestige		Personal Prestige		Social Prestige		Personal Prestige	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	48	61	30	36	36	54	30	47
Asians	55	52	31	34	22	30	46	30
West Indians	49	54	20	33	35	39	24	25
White Britons	76	77	47	33	52	71	56	70
All Groups	63	68	36	34	42	58	43	55

Table B2

Attitude to School x Sex

%	Like School		Neutral		Dislike School	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	60	43	32	54	8	4
Asians	64	67	33	35	0	2
West Indians	49	43	47	56	5	0
White Britons	31	41	39	62	16	8
All Groups	47	49	42	46	11	6

APPENDIX BTable B3Personal Relationship with Teachers x Sex

%	Favourable		Unfavourable		No Answer	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	74	72	16	15	10	15
Asians	79	89	16	8	7	4
West Indians	57	75	27	15	17	13
White Britons	72	82	23	10	6	10
All Groups	70	80	22	11	9	10

Table B4Attitudes towards Time of Leaving School x Sex

% wanting to leave school	As soon as possible		After CSE/ O Level		After A Level		No Answer	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	10	4	38	83	48	15	4	0
Asians	10	0	34	24	52	78	7	0
West Indians	5	5	60	54	19	37	17	7
White Britons	15	15	49	49	30	35	7	3
All Groups	12	11	48	52	33	37	9	3

APPENDIX BTable B5

<u>Intentions after Leaving School x Sex</u>										
%	Full-time Education		Job with Apprenticeship or Day-release		Evening Classes		Job with no Study or Training		Something Else/ No Answer	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	46	33	42	18	6	15	6	33	2	0
Asians	34	30	28	12	25	41	10	8	4	5
West Indians	17	15	45	27	30	47	5	9	2	2
White Britons	15	26	53	31	14	27	16	16	2	2
All Groups	23	25	46	27	17	31	11	16	2	5

Table B6

<u>Intentions after leaving School x Social Class</u>				
% Social Class	Full-time Education	Job with Apprenticeship or Day-release	Evening Classes	Job with no Study or Training
1	36	30	24	0
2	35	22	19	19
3	21	45	19	15
4	25	38	26	10
5	20	35	29	18

APPENDIX BTable B7

% of Ethnic Groups estimating their own Chances in Life in
Comparison with their Parents' Chances

% thinking own chances	Better	Worse	The Same
Cypriots	82	2	15
Asians	84	4	12
West Indians	75	3	19
White Britons	87	2	12
All Groups	83	3	14

Table B8

% of Ethnic Groups perceiving Unemployment as a Priority
Problem x Sex

%	m	f	m & f
Cypriots	66	58	63
Asians	67	86	62
West Indians	59	62	60
White Britons	66	62	64
All Groups	64	62	63

APPENDIX BTable B9

		<u>Ideal Jobs x Sex</u>							
% stating ideal jobs in social class		1-2		3		4-5		No Answer Don't know Not Asc'td.	
		m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots		44	29	42	43	6	11	8	18
Asians		61	46	25	38	4	4	13	15
West Indians		17	35	52	39	5	5	27	23
White Britons		39	40	38	39	6	8	18	15
All Groups		38	39	40	39	6	8	18	17

Table B10

<u>Table B10</u>		<u>Expected Jobs x Sex</u>							
% expecting jobs in	social class	1-2		3		4-5		No Answer Don't Know Not Asc'td.	
		m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots		36	4	34	47	4	18	26	33
Asians		40	23	25	38	7	12	31	30
West Indians		7	25	55	39	7	5	32	33
White Britons		26	24	40	52	9	7	28	19
All Groups		25	22	40	48	7	9	29	24

APPENDIX BTables B11-14Occupational Expectations of Ethnic Groups x Social ClassTable B11White Britons

% in social class	expecting jobs in social class	1-2	3	4-5	Don't Know
1-2		42	28	6	26
3		22	51	9	20
4-5		20	54	8	20

Table B12West Indians

% in social class	expecting jobs in social class	1-2	3	4-5	Don't Know
1-2		25	38	0	38
3		15	55	5	26
4-5		17	55	10	20

APPENDIX BTable B13Asians

% in social class	expecting jobs	in social class	1-2	3	4-5	Don't Know
1-2			43	27	6	27
3			34	27	7	34
4-5			25	35	15	25

Table B14Cypriots

% in social class	expecting jobs	in social class	1-2	3	4-5	Don't Know
1-2			43	43	0	16
3			18	48	0	36
4-5			22	35	19	27

APPENDIX BTables 15-18Occupational Expectations of Minority Groups
x Length of Residence in BritainTable B15Minority Groups in Britain from Birth

% expecting jobs in	social class	1-2	3	4-5	Don't Know
Cypriots		22	40	5	35
Asians		(50)	(25)	(0)	(25)
West Indians		7	45	7	42

Table B16Minority Groups in Britain more than Ten Years

% expecting jobs in	social class	1-2	3	4-5	Don't Know
Cypriots		25	44	13	19
Asians		20	10	30	40
West Indians		18	30	6	48

APPENDIX BTable B17Minority Groups in Britain from Five to Ten Years

% expecting jobs in	social class	1-2	3	4-5	Don't Know
Cypriots		31	39	8	24
Asians		25	25	13	38
West Indians		15	58	8	22

Table B18Minority Groups in Britain less than Five Years

% expecting jobs in	social class	1-2	3	4-5	Don't Know
Cypriots		25	25	25	25
Asians		37	40	0	24
West Indians		20	52	3	26

APPENDIX CTable C1

<u>Discussion about Other Countries</u>			
%	m	f	m & f
Cypriots	76	75	76
Asians	82	79	80
West Indians	60	66	63
White Britons	58	70	64
All Groups	64	70	67

Table C2

<u>Interest in Lessons on Poverty and Development</u>			
%	m	f	m & f
Cypriots	28	22	27
Asians	31	41	35
West Indians	17	41	28
White Britons	27	20	23
All Groups	26	26	26

APPENDIX CTable C3

% of Ethnic Groups naming a Politician (other than one connected with their countries of origin) x Sex

% naming	Powell		Other		No Answer	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	14	22	22	25	40	50
Asians	16	8	30	19	34	60
West Indians	19	21	17	23	55	52
White Britons	37	30	39	37	23	34
All Groups	26	25	31	31	34	41

Table C4Interest in Politics x Sex

%	Very Interested		Moderately Interested		Not Interested		No Answer	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m & f	
Cypriots	10	8	48	36	36	54	6	
Asians	19	12	55	60	28	30	0	
West Indians	5	12	45	37	42	35	12	
White Britons	16	15	45	47	40	49	1	
All Groups	13	8	47	45	38	45	4	

APPENDIX CTable C5

<u>Interest in Politics x Social Class</u>				
<u>% of social class</u>	<u>Very Interested</u>	<u>Moderately Interested</u>	<u>Not Interested</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
1	12	65	18	6
2	12	57	33	0
3	10	44	45	4
4	10	40	50	1
5	9	55	36	2

Table C6

<u>Interested in Learning about Political Affairs at School</u>			
<u>%</u>	<u>m</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>m & f</u>
Cypriots	34	11	27
Asians	31	15	24
West Indians	19	17	18
White Britons	32	14	22
All Groups	29	14	22

APPENDIX CTable C7Discussion about Politics with Teachers x Sex

% discussing politics	Often/ Sometimes		Rarely/ Never		No Answer	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	40	64	44	29	16	8
Asians	31	30	58	56	13	15
West Indians	32	29	46	43	24	29
White Britons	41	39	54	59	6	4
All Groups	38	39	51	53	13	10

Table C8Discussion about Politics with the Family x Sex

% discussing politics	Often/ Sometimes			Rarely/ Never			No Answer		
	m	f	m & f	m	f	m & f	m	f	m & f
Cypriots	34	40	37	54	47	51	12	15	14
Asians	49	71	59	40	23	32	13	8	10
West Indians	30	37	33	44	39	42	27	25	26
White Britons	35	46	41	61	51	55	6	5	6
All Groups	35	46	41	53	45	49	13	10	11

APPENDIX CTable C9Discussion about Politics with Friends x Sex

% discussing politics	Often/ Sometimes			Rarely/ Never			No Answer		
	m	f	m & f	m	f	m & f	m	f	m & f
Cypriots	30	18	27	52	65	56	18	18	18
Asians	46	49	47	46	41	44	10	12	11
West Indians	24	27	25	49	41	45	29	33	31
White Britons	30	24	27	64	72	69	7	5	6
All Groups	30	26	28	57	63	59	14	12	13

Table C10% of Minority Groups who named Powell as Politician x
Length of Residence in Britain

%	Birth	More than Ten Years	More than Five Years	Less than Five Years
Cypriots	20	25	8	0
Asians	(0)	20	13	10
West Indians	21	30	22	12

APPENDIX CTable C11Discussion of Political Issues x Sex

% discussing	Country		Government		Conserv- ative Party		Labour Party		Local Council		Local M.P.	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	56	47	60	47	24	25	22	22	16	11	6	0
Asians	49	41	46	56	19	19	19	49	13	0	7	4
West Indians	45	39	57	45	20	21	24	24	14	3	10	5
White Britons	69	64	69	63	26	24	25	25	19	26	6	13
All Groups	59	55	62	57	23	23	23	24	17	17	7	9

Table C12Problems Worthy of Priority Treatment x Sex

% choosing	Unemploy- ment		Poll- ution		Overcrowd- ing & over- population		Rising Prices		Northern Ireland		Immigrat- ion	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	66	58	52	40	54	40	44	75	44	54	8	18
Asians	67	86	52	34	43	49	49	75	46	41	19	4
West Indians	59	62	42	43	39	27	65	56	38	27	20	19
White Britons	66	62	56	58	59	55	43	39	47	54	22	24
All Groups	64	64	52	51	52	48	49	49	44	48	19	21

APPENDIX CTable C13

%	<u>Voting Intentions - Party-preference</u>						
	Conserv- atives	Labour	Liber- als	Other	Undec- ided	Will not vote	No Answer
Cypriots	6	19	4	0	35	28	10
Asians	2	27	5	2	39	15	10
West Indians	2	35	0	4	25	22	13
White Britons	10	29	6	5	26	25	3
All Groups	7	29	4	5	28	24	6

Table C14

%	<u>Voting Intentions x Sex</u>							
	Will Vote		Will Not Vote		Undec- ided		No Answer	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	32	26	24	36	34	34	10	8
Asians	28	49	22	8	40	38	13	8
West Indians	49	33	15	29	25	25	12	15
White Britons	56	44	24	25	19	31	3	2
All Groups	47	38	22	25	26	31	7	6

APPENDIX CTable C15Interested in Politics x Voting Intentions

% interested who	Will Vote	Will not Vote	Undecided
Cypriots	39	16	47
Asians	39	18	44
West Indians	53	18	30
White Britons	60	15	27
All Groups	53	16	32

Table C16Voting Intention x Social Class

% Social Class	Will Vote	Will not Vote	Undecided
1-2	50	15	35
3	51	22	28
4-5	40	31	29

Table C17% of Ethnic Groups intending to Vote x Social Class

% Social Class	1-2	3	4-5
Cypriots	32	47	24
Asians	47	40	25
West Indians	38	38	52
White Britons	57	53	42
All Groups	49	48	38

APPENDIX CTable C18% of Minority Groups intending to Vote x Length of Residence in Britain

%	Birth	More than Ten Years	More than Five Years	Less than Five Years
Cypriots	46	25	(8)	13
Asians	(75)	20	20	42
West Indians	21	47	58	55

Table C19Estimates of Chance of becoming a Politician x Sex

%	Stand a Chance		Do not stand a Chance		No Answer	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	26	18	60	68	14	15
Asians	22	15	52	75	28	12
West Indians	19	11	54	64	29	27
White Britons	22	11	72	86	7	4
All Groups	22	12	64	79	16	10

Table C20Attitudes towards a Political Career x Sex

%	Would like		Would not like		No Answer	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	14	8	64	75	22	18
Asians	13	8	67	86	22	8
West Indians	24	19	54	56	24	27
White Britons	12	7	79	90	12	5
All Groups	15	9	69	82	17	11

APPENDIX CTables C21-25Political Trust and CynicismTable C21

% of Ethnic Groups thinking Politicians Do More Harm than
Good or the Reverse x Sex

% showing	Trust		Cynicism		No Answer	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	38	33	46	50	16	18
Asians	40	41	28	41	34	15
West Indians	29	37	42	37	30	27
White Britons	40	44	46	44	16	16
All Groups	37	41	43	41	21	18

Table C22

% of Ethnic Groups thinking Politicians Talk a Lot but Don't
Do Much or the Reverse x Sex

% showing	Trust		Cynicism		No Answer	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	18	18	66	72	16	11
Asians	22	12	61	78	19	12
West Indians	19	25	65	60	17	17
White Britons	18	13	74	78	10	10
All Groups	18	15	69	74	14	12

APPENDIX CTable C23

% of Ethnic Groups thinking Politicians are Interested in
Themselves and Their Own Sort or the Reverse x Sex

% showing	Trust		Cynicism		No Answer	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	22	36	64	43	14	22
Asians	19	30	46	52	37	19
West Indians	22	29	45	47	34	25
White Britons	29	23	55	64	17	15
All Groups	25	26	54	57	22	18

Table C24Political Cynicism x Social Class

% social class	thinking	Politicians do more harm than good	Talk a lot but don't do much	Are Interested in Themselves & Their Own Sort
1		47	59	53
2		41	76	55
3		44	72	54
4		43	70	55
5		37	81	66
All Social Classes		42	71	55

APPENDIX CTable C25Political Deference x Sex

%	Deferential		Not Deferential		No Answer	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	30	18	48	65	22	18
Asians	16	49	61	49	25	3
West Indians	30	21	52	49	19	31
White Britons	25	10	63	73	14	19
All Groups	26	17	58	65	18	20

Table C26Political Deference x Social Class

% Social Class	Deferential	Not Deferential	No Answer
1	18	65	18
2	24	63	14
3	20	63	18
4	23	63	17
5	25	58	18
All Social Classes	21	61	18

APPENDIX CTable C27Perceptions of Political Distance x Sex

% thinking politicians	Do take notice		Do not take notice		No Answer	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Cypriots	24	22	60	61	16	18
Asians	22	26	49	56	31	19
West Indians	17	35	54	41	30	25
White Britons	26	12	60	78	15	12
All Groups	23	18	58	67	21	16

Table C28Perceptions of Political Distance x Social Class

% Social Class	thinking politicians	Do take notice	Do not take notice	No Answer
1		24	59	18
2		22	67	13
3		21	64	17
4		21	62	18
5		24	61	17
All Social Classes		21	62	18

APPENDIX CTable C29Personal Evaluations of Prestige of M.P. x Sex

% viewing M.P.'s job	Favourably			Unfavourably			No Answer		
	m	f	m&f	m	f	m&f	m	f	m&f
Cypriots	30	36	33	56	65	58	14	0	10
Asians	31	34	32	64	63	64	7	4	5
West Indians	20	33	26	65	62	64	15	7	12
White Britons	47	33	39	48	66	58	6	2	4
All Groups	35	34	35	55	65	60	10	2	6

Table C30Personal Evaluations of Prestige of M.P. x Social Class

% in social class	1-2	3	4-5
Cypriots	43	30	32
Asians	48	34	15
West Indians	(38)	30	20
White Britons	44	40	37
All Groups	43	36	31

APPENDIX DQuestionnaire

1st Name..... Surname.....

School.....

Form

Boy or Girl

I would like to remember you if I come to your school again. So please write down a few things about yourself that will help me identify you next time we meet.

Don't spend long thinking, just write down the first things you think of. e.g. How tall you are.

.....

QUESTIONNAIRE on the OPINIONS of TEENAGERS

First, I'd like your views on school life.

12. How much, ON THE WHOLE, do you like school?

(Tick one)

I like it very much	....
I like it quite a lot	....
I neither like nor dislike it	....
I dislike it quite a lot	....
I dislike it very much	....

13. We are not all interested in the same things. Here are some
 14. subjects that other young people say they would like to learn
 15. at school.

Do any of them interest you?

(Tick any that interest you)

Ballet & Opera (Hdw to understand them, etc.)	....
Political Affairs (How governments are run, etc.)	....
Astronomy (Planets, stars, etc.)	....
Race Relations (People of different countries & colour etc.)	....
Yoga (A system of mind training, etc.)	....
Poverty & Development (Rich & Poor countries & How they grow, etc.)	....

Here are some things other teenagers say are important
 for getting on in life today. What do you think? Are they,
Very important, fairly important, not important? Or, don't
they matter either way?

(Tick under the column you agree with).

	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Important	Doesn't Matter
16. AMBITION				
17. <u>GOOD LUCK</u>				
18. GETTING ON with TEACHERS				
19. SELF-CONFIDENCE				
20. A GOOD ENGLISH ACCENT				
21. BRAINS				
22. A SUITABLE APPEARANCE				
23. HARD WORK				

Most young people have a good idea about themselves.

What would you say about yourself?

Look at each pair of sentences below and TICK THE ONE that comes nearest to how YOU feel about YOURSELF, on the whole.

- | | | | |
|--|-------|---|-------|
| 24. I am fairly lucky | ..... | I am not very lucky | ..... |
| 25. I don't really
work very hard | | I work quite hard | |
| 26. I am fairly brainy | ..... | I am not very brainy | ..... |
| 27. I am not very ambitious | ..... | I am fairly ambitious | ..... |
| 28. I have a fairly suitable
appearance | | I haven't really a suitable
appearance | |
| 29. I haven't much self-
confidence | | I have some confidence | |
| 30. I get on quite well
with teachers | | I don't get on very well
with teachers | |
| 31. I haven't really a very
good English accent | | I have quite a good
English accent | |

32. Now for some questions about what you want to do later.

When, if all goes well, do you want to leave school?

(Tick one)

- | | |
|---|------|
| As soon as possible without taking exams. | .... |
| After taking C.S.E. and/or 'O' levels | .... |
| After taking 'A' level | .... |

33. When you leave school, which of the following do you expect to do?

(Tick one)

- | | |
|--|------|
| a) Continue with full-time education | .... |
| b) Get a job and work full-time with no more
study or training | |
| c) Get a job and work full-time with apprenticeship
or day-release | |
| d) Get a job and work full-time but go to evening
classes or continue to study in your own time | |
| e) Something else. (Please say what)..... | .... |

.....

34. Most parents hope their children will have a better opportunity in life than they did themselves.

Do you think your OWN chances in life are better or worse than your parents' chances were, or do you think they are about the same?

(Tick one)

Very much better	....
Better	....
About the same	....
Worse	....
Very much worse	....

Here are some of the things that people your age say they think are important to them in the job they get.

How important are these things to you?

Are they very important, fairly important or not important?

(Tick under the column you agree with)

A JOB where I

Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Important
-------------------	---------------------	------------------

35. can meet people

36. have to use my talents

37. can have a good
standard of living

38. can be secure

39. am put in charge
of others

40. can do it without
thinking

41. can get right to
the top

42. have to use my
own ideas

43. Some people like to go in for the same job as their parents, some like to go in for something different.

Please describe carefully the sort of job your father does (or did).

.....
.....

44. If your mother has had a job, please describe the job she has had most recently, if you can.

.....

45. And what about yourself? Please describe carefully the sort of job you would MOST LIKE to do, if you had the chance.

.....

46. Some school leavers get the sort of job they most want to do, others do not.

What sort of job do you most EXPECT to get?

(Please describe it carefully).....

.....

47. Some young people get on well at interviews for jobs and some do not.

If you have an interview for a job, what sort of impression do you think you'll make? Would you say the people who interview you will like the look of you, or not, probably?

(Tick one)

- a) They probably will like the look of me
 b) They probably won't like the look of me
 c) I am unsure

- 48-56 We all respect or look up to some jobs more than other jobs. Below is a list of jobs. Tick the three jobs you think other people generally respect or look up to most.

	<u>Other People</u>	<u>Myself</u>
Bus Driver
Doctor
Cleaner
Member of Parliament
Police Sergeant
Shop assistant (grocer)
Factory worker
Bank Clerk
Secondary School Teacher

57-65. Now look at the jobs again. Do you respect or look up to the same jobs as other people, or different ones? Tick the three YOU respect most under the column labelled 'Myself'.

66. Some teenagers say they'd like to go abroad and see other countries and some want to stay where they are.

Have YOU ever been abroad ON HOLIDAY?

YES (Please say where)

NO

67. Have you ever lived in another country?

YES (Please say where)

NO

68. How about going to live in another country later on? Nobody can say for sure, but, on the whole, would you rather make your home in another country or in Britain?

In another country (Go to qu. 69)

In Britain (Go to qu. 71)

69. What other country would you most like to live in?

Name of country

70. How long would you like to live there, probably?

(Tick one)

Less than one year

A few years

Many years

Always

71. These days it's easy to travel about the world. Some people are born in one country and then go to another.

Where were you born? In this country or in another country?

(Tick one)

In this country (Go to qu. 73)

In another country
 (Please say where)

72. Can you remember how old you were when you came to this country?

(Tick one)

Were you:

- Between 0 and 5 years?
 Between 6 and 10 years?
 Between 11 and 16 years?

73. How about your family? Was anyone in your family born abroad?

- a) Father Country of birth
 b) Mother Country of birth
 c) Brothers Country of birth
 d) Sisters Country of birth

Most of us know about other countries from T.V. and books.

What would you say about people in THIS COUNTRY compared with people in OTHER COUNTRIES, on the whole?

74. a) Nicer OR a) Not so nice (Tick one)
 75. b) Better off OR b) Worse off (Tick one)
 76. c) Happier OR c) Unhappier (Tick one)

Now, I'd like to ask what you think about politics

77. Some politicians like Ted Heath, (Prime Minister), Harold Wilson, (Leader of the Opposition), and Richard Nixon, (President of the U.S.A.), are always in the news.

Can you name any OTHER politician who catches your attention when you hear about him or her?

NAME of POLITICIAN

78. Some people your age are interested in politics and some are not.

How interested in politics would you say YOU are?

(Tick one)

- Very interested
 A little interested
 Not interested

Do you ever talk about politics with any of these people?

(Tick one answer for each set of people)

79. Your family Often.... Sometimes.... Rarely.... Never....
 80. Your best friends Often.... Sometimes.... Rarely.... Never....
 81. Your teachers Often.... Sometimes.... Rarely.... Never....

How about these things? Do you ever talk about them?
(Tick the ones you do talk about)

- | | | |
|-----|--|------|
| 82. | How the country is being run | .... |
| 83. | What the government ought to be doing | .... |
| 84. | Your local council | .... |
| 85. | Your local M.P. | .... |
| 86. | What the Conservative Party stands for | .... |
| 87. | What the Labour Party stands for | .... |
| 88. | How other countries are getting on | .... |

Here are some problems teenagers say there are in Britain today. Which three would you say should be solved first?
(Tick three)

- | | | |
|-----|--|------|
| 89. | Rising prices | .... |
| 90. | Northern Ireland | .... |
| 91. | Overcrowding and Overpopulation | .... |
| 92. | Unemployment | .... |
| 93. | Immigration | .... |
| 94. | Pollution | .... |
| 95. | Most people sometimes have a newspaper around. What <u>daily</u> and/or <u>Sunday</u> newspapers would you say you <u>most often have</u> at home? | |

NAMES of NEWSPAPERS

Here are some things other teenagers say about politicians.

Do YOU think what they say is TRUE or FALSE, on the whole?

(Put a circle round the answer you think)

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|-------|
| 96. | Politicians are clever people | True | False |
| 97. | Politicians do more harm than good..... | True | False |
| 98. | Politicians know what's best for the country | True | False |
| 99. | I would probably like being a politician | True | False |
| 100. | Politicians talk a lot but don't do much | True | False |
| 101. | Politicians take notice of what ordinary
people think | True | False |
| 102. | I would probably not stand a chance of
becoming a politician | True | False |
| 103. | Politicians are interested in serving themselves
and their own sort | True | False |

104. When you are eighteen, what party do you think you'll probably vote for?

(Tick one)

Conservative	....
Labour	....
Liberal	....
Something else. (Please say what)	
It depends	....
I will not vote	....

- 105-6. Some young people vote the same as their parents, some vote a different way.

How did your parents vote in the last General Election?

	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Conservative
Labour
Liberal
Voted but I don't know what
Did not vote
I don't know

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP

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