RECRUITMENT TO THE PROFESSIONAL CLASS
A Study of
'Style of Life' and Socialisation
in Two Middle Class Groups

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ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the significance of 'style of life' in the informal organisation and perpetuation of two socio-cultural, privileged middle-class groups, one in Sierra Leone and the other in Britain. It focuses on the processes whereby socialisation in this 'style of life' facilitates the recruitment of members of these groups to the professional class.

The study is presented in six chapters. The Introduction poses the theoretical problem, that is, the way in which informal mechanisms affect the formal recruitment process. The instrumental significance of 'style of life' in articulating privileged status groups is explored within a general comparative context. This is followed by an analytical survey of the methods employed in the two studies and by a discussion of the sociological links between the two situations. 'Style of life' is first analyzed in terms of occupation and occupational mobility together with behaviour patterns, attitudes and group ideologies. It also covers marriage, husband-wife roles, kinship and social network generally.

The different criteria of 'style of life' are discussed in Chapter 1 for the Freetown setting and in Chapter 2 for the British setting. In both cases, professionals and non-professionals are treated separately: in the Freetown chapter there is further subdivision between Creoles and non-Creoles. The ways in which the attitudes and ideologies are transmitted and perpetuated through the socialisation process, both formal and informal, are then discussed.

Chapter 3 gives a description of the formal school system in Freetown and examines the informal processes which operate within this formal system. Attention is also paid to the role of other socialisation agencies, such as the family, the peer group and the church. Chapter 4 examines the formal and informal socialisation process in the same way, within the British setting.
The Conclusion contains a summary of the findings within both parts of the 'style of life' and places these findings in a wider social context. The mechanisms employed by each of these groups through their 'style of life' is compared with those used by other status groups. In particular it pays attention to the instrumental role played by women in maintaining the 'style of life' of these two groups.
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To avoid misunderstandings, I have changed personal names and place names.
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INTRODUCTION

I  THE PROBLEM: INFORMAL MECHANISMS IN THE PROCESS OF RECRUITMENT TO THE PROFESSIONS.

This is a study of recruitment to the professional class in two different socio-cultural settings. The first is Freetown in Sierra Leone and the second is Green Lea, a housing estate south west of London. In both settings the formal pattern of recruitment is the same. Within any formal system however, there are informal influences operating. These informal influences are expressed through a specific 'style of life'. The study therefore, concentrates on the 'style of life' of the professional class in both settings, or the 'style of life' of those aspiring to enter the professional class. There are differences in the mechanisms making the 'style of life' of both groups, but the overall aim of entry into the professional class, is the same in both.

'Style of life' therefore, is the common basis for analysis of both groups. A 'style of life' is a set of behaviour patterns characteristic of a status group. It becomes effective as a coordinating mechanism when the status group has privileges which it needs to protect. A common set of norms, beliefs and values serves to articulate and define the status group. It is through the transmission of these characteristics embodied in the 'style of life' that high status groups tend to become self-recruiting. Thus Porter (1965) showed that more than one in three of the economic elite had come from families already well established in the upper classes. Mills (1956) also, in writing of the power elite in the U.S.A., speaks of the unity which exists between members of the elite. This unity is embedded in a shared 'style of life'. 'They form a more or less compact social and psychological
psychological entity; they have become self-conscious members of a social class. They are more or less aware of themselves as a social class and they behave towards one another differently from the way they do towards members of other classes. They accept one another, understand one another, marry one another, tend to work and to think, if not together, at least alike (p.11). This shared 'style of life' assists in the perpetuation of the elite, with the result that in the U.S.A. the elite is recruited from the wealthier classes. A shared 'style of life' however, takes precedence over wealth alone in the recruitment process.

African Setting and Urbanisation.

Wealth however can be an indicator of 'style of life'. In both cases discussed in this study wealth is derived primarily from occupation. The significance of occupation for the 'style of life' of a status group is, therefore, considerable but it cannot account for it completely. 'Style of life', as the term is used here is a far more complex measure of status. It is a set of behaviour patterns encompassing, values, attitudes, ideologies, kinship, friendship, symbols and training.

Material relating to these diverse aspects of 'style of life', was collected in both Freetown and on the Green Lea estate. The Freetown material is presented first, as the presentation of the problem in the context of a small scale pre-industrial society has advantages for the understanding of the same problem set in a more complex industrial society such as Britain. The reasons for this are implicit in the process of urbanisation, industrialisation and social change. Most writers have analysed social change in terms, either of a continuum or of a dichotomy. In both there are two extreme,
contrasting poles. Durkheim for instance contrasted mechanical solidarity with organic solidarity, Redfield contrasted folk with urban and Tonnies contrasted Gemeinschaft with Gesellschaft. Frankenberg (1966) constructs such a continuum to provide a model of social change for British society. He builds on the work of previous theorists and presents a collection of characteristics representing the rural and the urban. Amongst the characteristics of the urban pole are a diversified economy, specialisation of labour, organic solidarity, loose-knit networks, alienation and estrangement. One major criticism of this model is that it leaves unexplained, the forces which bind people in modern society together.

There is evidence (see for example Porter 1965) that primary groups with face to face interaction continue to be important even in the analysis of industrial society. One of the earliest exponents of this view was Cooley (1964). The complexity of the Western urban situation is fully felt however, when one comes to identifying and studying these groups. For with present day systems of communication, primary groups no longer need a territorial base in order to function as face to face associations. There is, most frequently, a dividing line between home and work, so that those associations formed on the basis of occupation may well operate completely separately from neighbourhood ties. Also the high rate of geographical mobility frequently sever the kinship or other relationships from those based on common residence. Nevertheless these ties may continue to function although they will be difficult for a researcher to identify. These ties may well have latent functions as well as the manifest functions implicit in the organisation itself. An important factor in creating such ties is a shared 'style of life'.

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The methodological problems involved in studying primary groups in industrial society are, therefore, very great. If such groups are of professional status and if the purpose of the study is to discover the informal techniques which these groups employ for their own perpetuation, then the task is even more difficult. Any study of 'style of life' if it is to be comprehensive, must include a study of the process of socialisation, of the family and kinship relationships. The high degree of residential mobility which accompanies professional status was discussed by Watson (1964) when he introduced the concept of 'spiralling' into the study of occupational mobility. Watson's 'spirallingists' are generally living at some distance from the family of origin.

It is because of these methodological difficulties involved in the study of the 'style of life' of a particular group in Britain that I put the analysis of the professional group in Freetown before the analysis of the British group. In Freetown, the ramifications of the educational, kinship and social links of the group members can be traced and seen as part of the wider social context. The town is small and neighbourhood ties, kinship ties and ties created by a common educational background will often overlap. Another advantage to the study of a privileged status group in a pre-industrial society is that the confusion which surrounds the theoretical definition of such a group in industrial society can be avoided. In Freetown there is one privileged status group as opposed to the many which some theorists claim to exist in an industrial society like Britain. The absence of an entrepreneurial category also simplifies status ranking. The narrow range of occupational categories will be manned by those who...
attended the same schools, whose networks overlap and who share a similar 'style of life'.

FREETOWN.

In Freetown a professional class based on achieved characteristics, developed as early as the nineteenth century. This professional class consisted at that time of an immigrant group called the Creoles. These were the descendants of freed slaves who settled in the Freetown peninsula which corresponds roughly to that part of Sierra Leone known until recently as the Colony, distinguishing it from the rest of the country known as the Protectorate. The colony came under the direct rule of the British crown in 1807, whereas the Protectorate - the hinterland was not established until 1896. The Creole inhabitants of the Colony prospered in trade and developed a 'style of life' which bore great resemblance to that of the Europeans in the country who were at the top of the status hierarchy in the Colony. The 'style of life' of the Creoles went beyond a mere repetition of the consumption patterns of Europeans, evident in the style of housing, furnishing, clothes and food. It incorporated also values and beliefs similar to those held by Europeans. The majority adopted Christianity and Western education. In so doing they acquired the opportunity to compete for and to attain professional status. Thus a privileged status group based on a distinctive 'style of life' developed.

It was their 'style of life' which distinguished the Creoles from the indigenous population. Their privileged position was however, threatened by the inflow of immigrants from the Protectorate into Freetown. The schools were open to all. The formal mechanism which had helped the Creoles to achieve their professional status was now also available.
available to the non-Creoles. Another threat to Creole privileged status came from Legislative Reform. From 1924 to 1951, a struggle developed between the Creoles and the British administration over the number of Protectorate representatives who should be allowed to sit in the Legislative Council. By 1957 the Creoles had lost the battle altogether and were completely outnumbered by the elected Protectorate representatives. Political control passed from Creole hands to non-Creole hands.

Despite this loss of political power and the increased potentiality for non-Creoles to achieve professional status, the Creoles continue to dominate the Civil Service and the major professions. In order to understand this anomaly, I studied the 'style of life' of the Creoles since it was clear that their integration as a group as well as their distinctiveness was maintained through their 'style of life'. Both Creole professionals and non-professionals were included in the study. The sample of 42 intensive case studies was divided equally between professional and non-professional households. I felt that an investigation of the 'style of life' of the latter group might assist in distinguishing significant features in the 'style of life' of the professionals.

The sample includes also, non-Creoles. As opportunities for academic success are now available to both Creoles and non-Creoles, any study of recruitment to the professional class must include both categories. The 'style of life' of the non-Creoles will be compared with that of the Creoles. This will lead to a secondary consideration in the Freetown study, which is the problem of ethnicity. This comparison of life styles in relation to Creoles and non-Creoles involves, inevitably, a discussion of the extent to which an ethnic
group can be regarded as an informal interest group and, therefore, as a political group. Such a problem is discussed by A. Cohen in relation to a Hausa community in Ibadan (1969).

**GREEN LEA HOUSING ESTATE.**

'Style of life' operates as a mechanism for distinguishing and articulating a status group within British society too. The difficulty in Britain, because of the complexities in the social structure which I discussed previously, is in the identification of such a group. The setting for the British study is Green Lea, a housing estate, sixteen miles from the centre of London. It is a middle class housing estate, built in the 1960s in a predominantly working class area. Although the complexities of the occupational structure in Britain make strict boundaries between middle class and working class difficult to draw, the prices of the houses when built, indicated that the builders were aiming at a middle class market.

The Estate consists of 700 houses and a 10 storeyed block of flats. The majority of the householders are employed in executive positions in commercial concerns. The professionals among them outnumber the non-professionals. Nevertheless both categories aim at securing professional status for their children. Their main mode of achieving this aim is through the adoption of a specific 'style of life'. This 'style of life' is both a means of achieving privileged status and a mechanism for emphasising their distinctiveness as a middle class housing estate as against the working class surrounding area. Here again, as in the Freetown study, an analysis of the 'style of life' of a group of people will throw light on the process of recruitment to a privileged status group.
The choice of Green Lea as a basis for the study in Britain presents many advantages in the study of the process of recruitment. One such advantage is that the Estate is a compact territorial unit. This raises the question of whether Green Lea constitutes a community. There has been considerable controversy among sociologists, (see Frankenberg 1966) as to the definition of 'community'. The wider the basis for face to face communication, the more difficult it becomes to define community; The higher the status group, the wider the geographic horizons. Stacey provides corroborating evidence for this in her study of Banbury, when she says that 'the size of the geographic area within which relationships at the face to face level are maintained, also increases with social status' (1960, p.154). The social network of the middle class, with the more sophisticated means of communication at their disposal, such as telephones and cars, is therefore spread over a far wider area than the social network of the working class. For this reason, a middle class housing estate (which is in itself a post-war feature in Britain), which might provide a distinct area for face to face communication for a section of the middle class, provides a convenient field for this study of recruitment through 'style of life'.

Another advantage in using Green Lea is the age range of its population. The housing estate has an irregular age structure. Most families fall into the 28-42 year age span, with an average of 1.8 children per household. Not unnaturally therefore children feature prominently in estate life. Their education therefore, which will be their main channel for access to the professional class, is of great importance. As the Estate was established in
a largely working class area, the initial choice of schools available to estate residents was very limited. This forced estate residents to act together as an interest group to achieve educational advantages for their children. Another advantage of the narrow age range of the estate population is that it permits the researcher to investigate in some detail the pattern of socialisation. Socialisation is one of the most important parts in the study of the 'style of life' of the professional class.

The residents of Green Lea exhibit a 'style of life' which differentiates them from their working class neighbours. It is this 'style of life' which co-ordinates the activities of the residents who come from different backgrounds and different parts of Britain - and make them into a group. The 42 case studies conducted on the Estate, consist of professionals and non-professionals, so that it would be possible to see whether any differences existed in the 'style of life' of these two categories. Of the 18 professionals, 15 were employed by large organisations, and twenty of the twenty four non-professionals were employed as business executives. The four remaining case studies I termed 'borderline estaters' since their occupational status placed them in the lower middle class or upper working class brackets. I felt that a detailed study of these four cases would illustrate the extent to which the Estate had modified or changed the 'style of life' of its inhabitants.

I did not attempt here - as in the Freetown study - to obtain a comparative sample taken from the working class district surrounding the estate. This was only partly because of the limited time available for research, but mainly because of the
availability of considerable literature on the 'style of life' of
the working class from which comparative evidence may be drawn.

The Professionals.

These then are the two settings for my study of recruitment to the professional class. By professional class, I mean that privileged social group, of Western societies, which has achieved its high social status on the basis of merit. The minimum qualification for entry into this 'professional class' is a university degree or its equivalent. It is on the basis of this common qualification that I refer here to professionals both in Sierra Leone and in Britain as social groups. The professionals are bound together by a sense of common identity and by a shared 'style of life' which enables them to differentiate between members and non-members of the professional group. Watson alludes to this sense of common identity when he describes middle class career patterns. The middle class, he points out, 'enter into life - careers of an almost identical pattern, whatever the nature of their work and the considerable variation in salaries. This pattern is a progress up the ladder of promotion through competition for higher posts with greater responsibility and with higher salaries and prestige' (1964 pp. 144-5).

Class.

The professionals cannot be considered in isolation from the rest of society. Their position as a privileged group can only be seen in relation to other groups within the society. The distribution of privileges is the basis for the stratification of society. The principal unit used in the stratification of society
is social class. There appears to be little agreement by sociologists however, as to what constitutes a social class. The Marxian approach to class relationships is based on differing relationships to the means of production. Mackenzie (1972) outlines three features of Marx's class structure. 'Firstly, social classes are distinguished not by source or amount of income, but by access or non-access to property rights..... Secondly, it is the class struggle that is the prime agent or mechanism of social change or development.... Thirdly, Marx's analysis of social class - and thereby of social change - is not "economically determinist". Classes do not realize themselves until they develop a level of class-consciousness, and thereby begin to participate in political conflict as organised groups'.

There are many empirical studies which emphasise this importance of class consciousness to social stratification. One such study is 'The Black Coated Worker' by Lockwood (1958). This study describes the status situation of clerical workers. The work and market situations of this section of the labour force have been declining since the early part of this century as a result of increasing automation. Furthermore, there is a relative lack of universally accepted criteria for the standardisation of clerical skills and qualifications. The market situation has also been declining. Lockwood states that 'During the war and post-war years, differentials between manual and non-manual employment were gradually reduced so that by 1956 the mass of clerks were roughly on the same income level as the average manual worker. Even the aristocracy of black coated labour - the banking and insurance clerks - are no longer enjoying an economic status clearly distinct from the
wage-earning classes' (p.67). Despite the decline in the work situation and the market situation, the clerks see themselves as belonging to the middle class while the manual workers with comparable incomes will belong to the working class. The 'material concomitants of middle-class status—savings, house ownership and suburban dwelling' (p.129) are more representative of black coated workers than of manual workers, as are such symbols of middle class status as dress and speech, and middle class values such as smaller family size and an interest in education.

Such status inconsistencies as that of the black coated worker are not adequately explained by a system of stratification based on relations to the means of production. A more differentiated theory of social stratification is that presented by Weber in his system of stratification based on three dimensions: economic class, status and power. Within this system 'it is possible for both propertied and property-less people (to) belong to the same status group' (Gerth and Mills, 1946 p.180). It is only when the national level, arbitrarily defined social classes are broken up into status groups, that it is possible to arrive at the reality of social class.

Status and Style of life. (1)

In this study, I intend to focus on the status order. The sense of common status identity is expressed through a shared 'style of life'. Weber's definition of a status group is that it is characterized 'by the fact that above all else a specific 'style of life' can be expected from all those who wish to belong to the circle' (p.187). He also states that 'with some over simplification one might say that "classes" are stratified according to their relations to the production and acquisition of goods whereas status
are stratified according to the principles of their consumption of goods as represented by their special 'styles of life' (p.193).

However, as Weber himself showed in his study of the Chinese Literati 'style of life' is more than merely the consumption of goods. For it covers, among other things, norms, beliefs, attitudes and values which have developed over a long period of time. It is the mechanism through which membership of a status group is articulated. For a privileged status group, their 'style of life' is their organising principle in social life.

I have emphasised privileged status group since the higher the status group the more clearly defined is the 'style of life' which distinguishes it from lower status groups. Margaret Stacey in her study of Banbury (1960) comments that it is easier for people to move up within a class than between classes. This is mainly because of the barriers imposed by differences in the 'styles of life'. The techniques of acceptance or rejection are subtle. You must possess appropriate characteristics; occupation, home, residence area, income, (suitably spent), manners, and attitudes. You must know or learn the language and the current private 'passwords' of the group. You must be 'introduced'. If you fail in these particulars you will simply be 'not known'. Nothing is said or done. The barrier is one of silence' (p.143). Such is the power of 'style of life' in determining the status grouping of individuals.

It is this instrumental significance of 'style of life' in the articulation of a high status grouping which I have made central in my study of recruitment to a high status group in the two societies. The content and form of the respective life styles may
be different in different societies, but the function of the 'style of life' in maintaining the distinctiveness of the group, is the same in both. Through its 'style of life', a high status group will manage to retain its privileges in the face of competition from those outside the status group. Amongst the component principles of such a 'style of life' are myths of origin and claims to superiority, intermarriage, interaction and a close knit network.

The 'style of life' of a privileged status group was described by Weber himself in his study of the Chinese literati (1946). Here he illustrates the significance of 'style of life' in relation to the claim to superiority of a group. The literati were a status group of educated laymen. They were not a hereditary order and their status was based on knowledge of writing and literature, but not on birth. Their claims to superiority rested on a proficiency in learning and rituals. It was believed that the literati alone knew the correct forms of ritual. Entry to their ranks was by examination, but it was difficult for the uneducated to achieve the skills necessary for admission. As a result the inequality of talent between the literati and the uneducated, was very marked. Their 'style of life', with its emphasis on education, gave the literati charismatic qualities. At the same time the ritual which surrounded the status group, helped to sustain the mystique of the group and to unite it.

The 'style of life' of a status group displays symbols and behaviour which not only characterises the group but which at the same time serves to demarcate that group from others. The members of a status group will most probably share similar amounts of power, privilege and prestige. It would be stating the obvious however to
say that these attributes are not equally distributed between social groups. Some groups will command a higher degree of status honour than others. These inequalities have a tendency to become perpetuated through time. In the two socio-cultural groups which I discuss in this study, it is true that status is achieved rather than ascribed. Nevertheless no society has yet accomplished totally open role competition, so that there is still the tendency towards the perpetuation of unequal patterns of social stratification.

Elites

The uneven distribution of power, privilege and prestige is reflected in the existence, in most societies, of a minority who control a disproportionate section of these qualities. Every society has its privileged social group who assume social leadership and whose superior social status is recognised by other members of that community. The criteria for membership of these groups differ from one community to another. These privileged groups have been referred to in the literature as 'elites' although there is little agreement among scholars about the description and definition of the term elite.

Privileged groups can be divided into those which select their members on the basis of ascription and those which select them on the basis of achievement. Recruitment on the basis of heredity is the characteristic of ascribed privileged status groups and amongst examples of these are ruling castes in India and governing aristocracies elsewhere. Recruitment on the basis of merit forms the basis of achieved status groups. An important factor in determining the eligibility of an individual for access to a privileged status group based on the principle of achievement, in
Western society, is occupation. It is, however, only an indication of, but not an explanation for a 'style of life'. Nevertheless, occupation is useful as a general index in countries such as Britain or the U.S.A. Concomitant with the increasing importance of occupation as a determinant for entry into a privileged status group, is the emphasis on higher education which will qualify an individual for such an occupation. Most of the high prestige occupations demand a university degree as their minimum qualification for entry. Packard (1960) describing the position in the U.S.A. states that 'the boundary between lower and upper white collar groups is becoming sharp and formidable. (By upper white collar I mean the managers, professional people, etc.) It has become the great dividing line in our society. And it is becoming more formidable every year. The boundary is formidable because the ticket of admission is steep, a college diploma of some sort....Only rarely will a person who begins in a lower white collar job without a college degree be able to move across the line into the upper group' (p. 40). In Britain too, although selection for higher education does not follow the same pattern as in the U.S.A., entrance to the privileged status groups has grown, increasingly, to depend on high educational achievement.

In Freetown the pattern of recruitment to privileged status groups has been affected by colonial rule. In the traditional elite in Sierra Leone birth was formerly an important qualification for entry. Now achievement, in the Western sense of the term, has become a prerequisite for admission. The inhabitants of the colony of Sierra Leone were the Creoles. This group did not identify itself with the indigenous population but with European values and customs. The British established
schools in the colony and the Creoles availed themselves of the opportunities provided by these schools. Through the schools they achieved high occupational status, which gave them privileges and prestige. The character of the traditional elite in Sierra Leone has also changed and an increasing number are seeking admission to the privileged group, which I term in this study, the 'professional class', through education and occupation.

Education and occupation which are such important criteria for membership of the professional class in Britain and Sierra Leone are only two aspects of the 'style of life' which sustains actors in their roles within privileged status groups. They are the two primary symbols in the co-ordination of such groups. In determining status, other symbols, such as property, conspicuous consumption, birth, marriage, also have to be taken into consideration. However the ever increasing tendency towards urbanisation, suggests that occupation and education will increase in importance as indices of status.

The diversity of symbols contributing to the 'style of life' within different status groups is illustrated by Margaret Stacey when she describes two scales of status ranking in Banbury. Traditional Banbury assessed an individual's status by applying the test 'Who is he?' Family connections social background, in this context, mattered more than occupation. Non traditionalists had to be assessed by a different test - that of 'What is he?' For this category family background was not known, nor was it visible. A non-traditionalist had to be judged on his merits - especially in relation to his occupation. Stacey does state however, that social change is affecting the status evaluation of the middle class in general in Banbury, 'For an increasing number of people
in the middle class, Banbury no longer contains their goals. These are set by the hierarchy of industry or the Civil Service. For such non-traditionalists social status is not a matter of their total showing in the eyes of the town, but of their individual showing at work and socially in the eyes of their business associates, not all of whom are in Banbury and who for the most part are not involved in the town’s close-knit social structure (1963: p.163). With the ever increasing flow of people away from traditional or rural areas, into the cities, it would seem to follow that occupation, will be relied on more heavily as an index of social status.

**Plurality of elites or one privileged social group?**

The confusion surrounding the necessary attributes for membership of high status groups has led to considerable diversity in the definitions of elite given by elitist theorists. The pivot on which elitist doctrines are hinged is that in any society there is a minority which can both take decisions and assume social leadership. The main body of disagreement between theorists continues from this point. It is focused on the extent of the group and on its characteristics. Pareto and Mosca for instance, concentrate on the political and governing elite. Pareto used the term elite in the sense of the top people in each occupation or profession, whereas others have envisaged a more general group.

Other writers claim that in industrial societies with a high degree of occupational and economic differentation there exists a variety of elite groups, each with its own network and relationships. Writers such as Susanne Keller (1963) claim that industrialisation brings about a proliferation of elite groups.
Those elite groups which have a sustained social impact and whose judgements, decisions and actions have important consequences for many members of society, she terms 'strategic elites'. Members of these strategic elites are more specialised in their particular fields and only reach the top after spending a life long career in one activity. Dahl (1961) in his study of New Haven politics, also discusses the increase in the number of elite groups which correspond to the increasing diversification of New Haven society and economy. Another writer who expresses the view that modern societies are headed by a plurality of elites is Anthony Sampson (1962). He sees the British power structure as being dominated by many elites, which are not connected.

On the other hand there are those theorists who, while they accept the theory of elite proliferation, at the same time see an interconnection between these specialised elites. C. Wright Mills (1956) in discussing the power structure of American society points to the fact that there is considerable interchange of roles between members of various elites. He gives examples of presidents and directors of large business corporations in the U.S.A. who took up government posts and then, at a later date, returned to business. This points to a degree of unity in the elite which is expressed, he claims, through a shared 'style of life'. Mills challenges those political scientists who claim that the existence of a plurality of elites is a safeguard to democracy in the U.S.A. Elite power, he claims, is concentrated in the hands of a few and he points to the potential danger of such a situation by citing examples such as the bombing of Hiroshima and the American commitment to the Korean war.
There are also those writers who, while not pushing the argument to the same extremes as Mills, have also pointed to the interconnections between elites. In Britain, Lupton and Wilson (1959) traced the connections between financial, administrative, and political circles. They constructed 23 family trees and established family connections between directors of leading city firms, industrialists and leading Tory M.P.'s. Educational background also provided links between the same section. 66% of Bank of England directors had attended 6 major public schools and 43% of the directors of city firms had attended these same schools as had leading Tory M.P.'s. Added to these is the link provided by membership in a narrow range of clubs. This illustrates the potentiality for common values, thoughts and even actions by members of different elites. A study of the Canadian economic elite by John Porter (1965) using the same criteria of educational background, kinship connections and club membership, also established similar connections between elite members. The elite were linked by a common educational experience through which they acquired similar values and techniques. Early contacts through education were later perpetuated through shared membership in professional and social associations. He also emphasised that throughout this elite network there runs a 'thin, but nonetheless perceptible' thread of kinship.

This brief overview of conflicting elitist theories indicates the degree of confusion which surrounds the term elite. It is partly for this reason that, in this study, I use the term professional class, to indicate a wider grouping with the potentiality for social leadership. The cohesive feature of this class is its 'style of life'. The preceding paragraph discusses 2
studies, one by Lupton and Wilson and the other by Porter, which point to the importance of a shared social and economic background in integrating any elite group. For the professional class too these factors are extremely important. It is necessary that aspirants should acquire the 'style of life' appropriate to that class, which will not only ensure their acceptance but will also serve to integrate them within that class. The professional class therefore is a status group, entry to which is based on a higher educational qualification. It is through a shared 'style of life' that professionals can be termed a group rather than a category.

The Components of 'Style of Life'

The 'style of life' therefore, is a crucial element of status. It is however, vague and difficult to define, as the techniques of social acceptance or rejection are subtle. They also vary from one group to another, which makes both measurement and comparison difficult. Nevertheless, I have here attempted to construct a framework covering the analysis of 'style of life' in 2 different socio-cultural groups. It is divided into two parts. The first part pays attention to occupation and occupational mobility, which, although they do not form an intrinsic part of a 'style of life', nevertheless have a substantial effect upon it. Also in the first part, is a description of the behaviour patterns, attitudes and ideologies of each respective group, encompassing marriage, husband-wife roles, and the kinship and social network. The second part of this analysis of 'style of life' concentrates on the way in which...
these values, attitudes and ideologies are transmitted and perpetuated through the socialisation process, both formal and informal. Included in the formal process of socialisation is a description of the school system, first in the Freetown setting, followed in a consecutive chapter by a description of the school system on the housing estate setting. In the same order, informal processes operating within the formal school system, such as symbols of status, are examined. This section of 'style of life' also describes the role of other agencies in the socialisation process. The most important of these agencies is, of course, the family, but the roles of the peer group and the church are also examined.

**Occupation and mobility.**

Dahrendorf (1959 p. 56) has described the middle class career as 'the supreme social reality'. In Freetown also where patterns of stratification follow those of Britain, occupation is one of the main indices of social status. It is not only a man's social status as an individual which is determined to a large extent by his occupational role, but also the social status of his family. Those occupations which offer the greatest prestige, both in Britain and Sierra Leone, are the professions.

Access to this high occupational stratum in both societies should, as it is based on achievement, be open to all members of both societies. However, scholars who have studied social mobility have established, on much statistical evidence, that this is not the case. In fact, the higher the status of an occupation, the greater is the possibility that it will be self recruiting. Ben David (1963) using a world wide range of data, showed that there has been an overall tendency, particularly in Britain and
France, to abolish class privileges such as titles and money, as qualification for entry to the professions and to substitute for these, higher education as a means of ensuring equality and social justice. The effect, however, of imposing a university degree as the necessary qualification for entry to the professions has been the restriction rather than the promotion of social mobility. Ben David (1963) brings data from many different countries which show variations in rates of social mobility between occupational status groups. In Britain, for instance, children from status categories 1 and 2 have 30 times as great a chance of entering university as children from status categories 6 and 7 and 17 times as great a chance as those children of category 5 parents.

I shall seek the explanation for these differences in the rates of social mobility between occupational status groups through a study of 'style of life'. Chapters 2 and 4 begin this study with an account of the careers of the sample interviewed in both societies and the range of social mobility in both. This is followed by an account of the symbols of status and their influence in each society respectively, of marriage, husband-wife role relationships and the kinship system. It ends with a description of the social network in both groups. In both societies these criteria of 'style of life' are examined in relation to professionals and non-professionals. In the Freetown situation there is a further subdivision into Creoles and non-Creoles.

Socialisation

Chapters 3 and 5 which form the second part of this comparative study of 'style of life', discuss the process of socialisation in both settings. This process is crucial to the
making of the professional because it is the mechanism for the
transmission of the life style of the group. The higher the
social status, the longer the period of socialisation. For the
professional therefore, depending as he does on an extensive
period of education for access to the group, the socialisation
process is long indeed. Here the role of the main agencies of
socialisation — the family, the peer group, and the school — in
fostering a particular 'style of life' which will aid recruitment
to the professional class, is discussed for both Freetown and
Green Len.

The family is discussed first since it is in many re-
spects the most important of these agencies. It influences the
child before he has contact with any other agencies of socialisa-
tion, and its influence continues in the developmental process
alongside that of the other agencies. Research has established
a causal connection between social class and academic performance.
(see Fraser, 1959; Douglas, Ross and Simpson 1963; Wissman, 1964
and 1967). There has also been considerable sociological in-
vestigation into the effect of parental influence and differing
patterns of child care on the achievement motivation of the child
(Klein, 1955; Swift, 1964; Jackson and Naraden, 1962). That
patterns of child care vary according to the social class of the
parents, has been demonstrated by researchers such as the Newsoms
in Britain (1963 and 1968). They showed differences in infant
care between working class parents and middle class parents.
This section of the socialisation process which begins with the
influence of the family, includes therefore, information on
childrearing practices in relation to both samples. This is

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linked with the values and behaviour of the two groups discussed in the first part of the 'style of life' in chapters 2 and 4.

Second to be considered is the school, as the essential channel through which access to the professional class is gained. Education is the main vessel for social mobility in a society where status depends, to a large extent, on occupational achievement. I have already mentioned studies which show that the actual amount of long range social mobility is very limited so that informal influences which are built into the formal system have to be identified and the selection system examined. Turner's well known analysis of modes of social ascent claimed that upward social mobility in Britain approximated to an ideal type which he called 'sponsored mobility'. Within this ideology, the myth of the superiority of the elite is augmented by discouraging the acquisition of elite skills by the masses and by cultivating a 'sense of mystery' about the elite (1964). The British education system of the nineteenth century described by Guttman (1963) is the nearest approach to Turner's ideal type. Nevertheless, despite the gradual change over in Britain from a selective to a comprehensive system of education, 'it seems probable that strong elements of sponsored mobility will remain characteristic of English education for some time to come' (Banks, 1968, p.46). There must also continue to be restricted entry to high education and thus to the professional class.

The influence of the peer group can as researchers in this field have shown (Gans, 1962; Colemanetal, 1966; Herriot, 1963), affect an individual's rejection or acceptance of the values of his family. The discussion of the peer group as part of the
'style of life' is linked with that of the social network in chapters 2 and 4. In relation to the Freetown study the influence of the Church as a socialising agent is also examined. The influence of the Church appeared to be negligible in the British setting.

The conclusion contains a summary of the findings within both parts of the 'style of life'. Then proceeds to demonstrate the mechanisms employed by both socio-cultural groups to facilitate recruitment to the professional class. These mechanisms are then compared with those employed by other status groups within a wider social perspective. The instrumental role played by women in the recruitment process is also discussed and compared with their role in other status groups.
This research did not set out originally to be a comparative study of two socio-cultural groups. It began by being a study of just one of these groups—the Green Lea housing estate. The study of Green Lea was based on one year of formal fieldwork. I emphasise 'formal' because my actual interest and involvement in the estate extends over a much longer period. I had been living on the estate, with my family, since the first year of its development, five years before I began my formal research. Over that five year period I had been interested in the estate as an area for research. I had kept a diary relating to patterns of social life and to the development of a community.

When the research was started on a formal basis, it seemed natural to think of it in terms of a community study. The estate offered a neat, distinct geographical area, with its own school, shopping centre, public house and residents association. It was soon apparent that Green Lea did not conform to any of the sociological definitions of Community (see Frankenberg, 1966, p.15). It did not represent a microcosm of British society and had no social or religious institutions, no communal ceremonies, nor a community centre. However, while I would agree with Gans (1968) that "ways of life do not coincide with settlement types", I remained confident that this type of housing estate can affect the 'styles of life' of its residents. On these grounds I decided not to abandon the idea of community altogether, but to use this clearly defined geographical area to provide a descriptive background of social life and within this, to study, in depth, the 'styles of life' of a sample of the population.
'Style of Life' was to cover (a) the financial organisation of the families concerned, their aspirations, expectations and performance. Money is very important to the families on the estate. They are in the process of paying for their house and the acquisition of status symbols in the form of furniture, cars, and clothes. Money is acquired primarily through the husband's income. For this reason considerable attention was given to the husbands' careers.

(b) Husband and wife division of roles - showing areas of conflict and cooperation. Particular attention was to be paid to the problems and crises faced by the wives at this particular stage of their marital career. Most of the husbands are at a critical stage in the development of their careers. This involves considerable preoccupation with their jobs which frequently entails that much time is spent outside the home. This coincides with the period when the wife is most involved in the child rearing process. The strains and tension involved in the resulting conflict were to be examined.

(c) Child rearing plans and practices, including the interaction patterns of the children themselves, the informal organisation of cooperation in regard to children and problems of education and schooling.

(d) The patterns of friendship.

(e) The patterns of kinship relations.

(f) Religious behaviour.

(g) Patterns of entertainment and recreation.

(h) Value systems.

In accordance with this scheme I interviewed ten people
to develop a pilot study. On the basis of this pilot study an interview schedule was developed. Within this I attempted to be more analytical and less descriptive and to establish a relationship between variables.

On the basis of this interview schedule I interviewed 42 housewives. I began by interviewing or attempting to interview husbands as well as wives. I succeeded in only 10 cases. As Chapter 4 will show, men spend only a limited amount of time on the estate and this in itself makes interviewing difficult. I also found that most men were far more opposed to answering questions about themselves, particularly in relation to their careers and educational background, than were their wives. I tried to supplement this scarcity of information gained through the formal channels by informal interviewing of neighbours, friends and members of the residents association. Each interview lasted for at least three hours. Sometimes an interview would extend over two or three days.

During the course of the interviewing it became apparent that there were differences in the intensity of interaction in different parts of the estate. In order to identify the factors responsible for this, I conducted a sample study of two squares, situated at some distance from each other. On one of these squares there was little interaction while on the other there was a great deal of interaction. Each square contained thirty five households and on each I interviewed 7 out of these, using the same interview schedule. On the square on which there was a great deal of social interaction I attempted to interview two of those families which did not interact with the rest. In this I failed and had to
rely on the reports of the socially integrated members of the square as to why the others did not interact.

I did not attempt random sampling because of the potentiality for conflict between my role as resident and that of researcher. Within the sample however, I attempted to include residents from different parts of the estate and I also attempted to include a cross section of the estate population. My knowledge of the estate as a whole (and therefore what would constitute a cross section of the population) came partly from my own lengthy acquaintance with the estate and also from assistance given to me by the builders of the estate. Water Ltd. have established a reputation for themselves not simply as developers but as a firm interested in the social welfare of their house purchasers and in the development of a community within the settlements which they have built. When I explained to them the nature of my research they assisted me greatly by sending me a list of the purchasers of the first 500 houses built. This list also gave me information on the occupation, age, and income of the male householder, his previous place of residence and the type and price of the house purchased. According to the characteristics given in this list my sample of 42 households were representative of the total population. I tried not to interview those with whom I was already closely acquainted, although I relied on such people to put me in touch with those in different parts of the estate, who would agree to be interviewed. I also interviewed at length in unstructured interviews the headteacher of the estate school, various local councillors, a number of members of the residents association and the local doctor. I attempted to obtain further
data in relation to the estate as a whole by developing a question-
naire, based on the more important findings of the interview study.
I began by sending an explanatory letter together with the
questionnaire, to every house on two streets. When I called at
a later date to collect the questionnaire, the response rate was
very low. Many wives told me that their husbands had refused to
allow them to fill it in. I then tried to distribute the ques-
tionnaire in a more personal way by using key people to deliver
it to households in their street. The response rate was slightly
higher than with the previous method, but was still too low to
give significant results.

The main method of the study I consider to be participant
observation. I had already collected a substantial amount of
material on life on the estate before starting the formal study.
It was at this point however, that difficulties began to emerge
from this method of participant observation. I was faced, in the
first place with the ethical problem involved in collecting infor-
mation on individuals and events, which might at a later stage be
published, without those individuals concerned being aware of the
fact. The danger of bias in the study also became apparent to
me since as a resident, I was totally committed to the role of
participant. This suggested that there would be certain sections
of the estate which would be closed to me because of my personal
involvement with other sections. The possibility of bias also
arose from the fact that as a resident I might have preformed
judgements on certain aspects of estate life based on my own
personal experience. Vidich (1955) discussed this possibility of
bias arising from the social position of the observer and his

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position within the network of relationships.

Because of these difficulties I decided that the only course open to me was to inform those with whom I came into contact that I was undertaking a study of the estate and I explained to them the nature of the study. Nevertheless I felt great strain from this changeover of roles and a self-consciousness in informal social gatherings, which was probably quite unnecessary.

In order to compensate for the possibility of bias arising from over involvement in the estate, I decided to conduct formal interviewing. This method also presented its problems, some of which arose again, from the fact that I was a resident on the estate. When conducting an interview with the headteacher of the school for instance, despite her cooperation, I could not be sure that some of her comments were not meant especially for me as a parent, rather than as a researcher. Other difficulties which I experienced are, I believe, implicit in the interviewing process itself. As one proceeds with the interviews so one develops in both skill and confidence, so that the last interviews are inevitably better than the first. Also in interview schedules which allow for great elasticity in the form and content of the question asked, there is the subsequent difficulty of standardisation involved in analysis. On the other hand I felt it was important to keep the interviews as flexible as possible so that they would thus be more sensitive instruments of research. (2)

So far I have put forward the disadvantages which faced me in conducting a field study in an area in which I was already involved as a resident. On the other hand I am sure that there were some positive features to this dual role relationship. The most important is that the middle class are notoriously antagonistic
to any intrusion into their private life, and this housing estate was no exception. In the sample study of two squares for instance, where I attempted to interview two households which did not interact with others on the square, I made the initial approach formally and not through contacts. Letters were sent, signed by the head of the Department of Humanities at Surry University, explaining the nature of the research and requesting that I should be granted an interview. Both these households refused and I feel sure that I would have encountered more of this uncooperative attitude had each interview been approached in this way. I felt also that many women were more prepared to co-operate with someone who shared the same problems, particularly those of children, than they would have been prepared to co-operate with a complete outsider. I was able to arrange for groups of mothers to gather at my house for coffee or tea without difficulty or strain, where they would have an informal discussion centred around children or the schools. This was particularly important to me in collecting my material on child-rearing patterns. Also because I lived on the estate I was able to fit in my interviewing to suit them in relation to their commitments in taking and collecting their children from school and other routine tasks. Nevertheless, despite all these advantages I felt a great personal strain arising from the combination of the role of resident with the role of social researcher. I looked forward to embarking upon a fresh field study in an area in which I was not already known and where, from the beginning I would be introduced as a research worker.

Towards the end of my period of formal field work on the housing estate, I learned that I would be accompanying my husband during the following year, to West Africa. He as a social anthropologist was to conduct a one-year field study in Freetown.
I decided to undertake a further study of my own while in Freetown based on the experience gained in my study of the housing estate. I did not of course anticipate that I would find a similar middle class estate setting, but I intended at least to try to obtain a middle class sample. I completed the study of the housing estate, and took with me the material which I had collected from intensive interviews, formal unstructured interviews, and diaries, to West Africa. The emphasis had been on the collection of data, because of the time limit set by my departure date for West Africa. The analysis of the data I intended to begin at the same time as I would be undertaking the research in Freetown.

The Freetown study proved to be beset by those unforeseen teething troubles which face most researchers when they enter a completely unfamiliar field. First and foremost, the middle class in Freetown were as averse to disclosing personal details of their lives to strangers as are the middle class in Britain. Added to this they have, over the past few years, been subjected to a considerable amount of investigation by students from different countries, engaged in many different disciplines, including sociology. After a few initial rebuffs, I settled down to giving myself more time than I had at first planned, to going through the material I had collected on the housing estate and to acquainting myself thoroughly with the town and its people.

Apart from those contacts which I made in the natural course of events through having to settle my three children in schools in Freetown, I made others through participating as much as possible in the social life of the town. Through one friend for instance, I was introduced to a hairdresser and to the group of...
women who met there regularly every Saturday afternoon. It was a
close knit group and one that was difficult to break into, partly
because I was her first and only white customer. Eventually however,
they began to overlook the fact that a stranger was present, and
from the exchange of gossip which took place, I learned a great
deal about the social life of the town. I made other contacts of
a similar nature through joining as many groups as possible.
Through these early contacts I arranged for 7 pilot interviews to
be carried out. These interviews were carried out primarily on
the basis of the interview schedule which I had drawn up for the
study of the housing estate, but with some adaptions based on
general reading and discussion.

After further participation and informal discussions I
was able to draw up a final version of the interview schedule which
I would use. From the pilot survey I had been able to distinguish
'sensitive areas' and to sort out acceptable patterns of behaviour
from unacceptable ones. I found for instance, that there was a
great tendency to state the formally acceptable rules of social
behaviour, that is, to say what they felt they were required to say.
This is a danger in any interview situation, but it was a danger
which was accentuated in Freetown when a white person acted as
interviewer. There are norms of behaviour associated with the
status of a white man to which an interviewer may respond. This
is particularly so if the respondents feel that the deviation from
these norms of behaviour, which they may have to acknowledge, will
classify them as 'uncivilised'. One such sensitive area for
instance, on which false information might be obtained is that of
illegitimate children, or 'outside families'. If such areas of
sensitivity can be identified then the researcher can be more delicate in his approach to them, whether that approach is formal or informal, and allowances can be made for discrepancies which are likely to arise. I was convinced however of the importance of participant observation as a method, used in conjunction with any formal interviewing, in a culture with which one is not familiar. Another area of sensitivity, arising this time from conflict between ethnic divisions within the society, is questioning related to tribe. The Creoles, because of the precariousness of their situation are particularly sensitive to this, and would frequently give the response 'Sierra Leonian' to any question on tribal or ethnic affiliation. In fact, more than once I received bitter accusations that as foreigners, we sociologists were putting our own interpretations on the divisions within the society, and that we were, in fact deliberately attempting to recreate these divisions where none existed. It was obvious to me, as an outsider, however, that these distinctions along ethnic lines do, in fact, permeate the whole society and they became increasingly important for my own study. I could not, therefore, when interviewing, abandon the question relating to ethnic group, but it was one which I would frequently put in a different context quite often at the end of the interview when better relationships had been established.

I reformulated the interview schedule. Again it was formulated on the basis of a study of the 'style of life' of the families concerned, with adaptations for the Freetown situation. By this time I had been fortunate enough to make the acquaintance and receive the support of two women of high social status. One was the headteacher of a school and the other was an inspector of schools.
Through their assistance I gained access to social circles which would otherwise have remained closed to me. I was also given a far warmer welcome in the schools to which they took me than would have been the case had I approached them in the first instance as a stranger. The argument against taking this approach is that the researcher becomes identified with authority. To a certain extent, if one is white, then this is anyway inevitable. Also I had decided that the schools were possibly the best medium through which one could reach a cross section of the population.

I conducted a number of extended, unstructured interviews with headteachers and staff of schools. Following on from this I selected 2 schools - one 'status' primary school and one 'status' secondary school from which my sample was to be drawn. I had divided the Freetown schools into 'status' and 'non status'. The 'status' primary schools were those with the highest percentage of children entering the 'status' grammar schools. The 'status' grammar schools were those which had most successes in 'O' level examinations (see Foster, 1965). Through the head teachers I sent letters to 300 parents of school children, requesting their cooperation and explaining the purpose of the study. Out of these I received 100 replies. In the brief form which accompanied the letter, I asked for the husband's occupation. Many of the replies came from lower income groups. I nevertheless included these when selecting the sample, on the assumption that by choosing a 'status' school from which members of the subsequent generation's 'middle class' would come, I would at least be contacting a middle class oriented population. From the 100 positive responses I selected 50, on the basis of occupation of husband and ethnic group. Even
then the field had to be narrowed. After contacting some of the respondents, I found that wives were often of a lower status than husbands and that communication with a few of them was very difficult as they spoke little English. Finally I had a sample of 42. Through the schools I also contacted parents informally when they came to see the staff on matters relating to their own children.

By this time I had organised much of my material in relation to the housing estate study and written a preliminary report. I discovered that I had a preponderance of material relating to the socialisation of children. I recognised the crucial role that the schools had played in unifying the estate, and the distinction between estate residents and those drawn from the surrounding area. It was at this point that I felt that a link could be established between the two studies. The fact that by this time I had easy access to the Freetown schools oriented the study in Freetown in a certain direction. I began to study, from the department of education literature and from interviews with key people in the field of education, the whole formal system of education in Freetown. At the same time the detailed family interviews which I was conducting showed the effect of the 'style of life' upon the child and his chances within the formal education system. I continued with these interviews until I found that each one yielded increasingly lower returns. (see Glaser and Strauss, 1963). I then focused my attention on certain strategic groups within the society and the methods which these employed to maintain their distinctiveness. My interview sample consisted of both professionals and non-professionals, Creoles and non-Creoles.

Following from this study by interview, I drew up a questionnaire for school children. This covered basic items on household composition, parents' occupation, religious and ethnic
affiliation, as well as educational and occupational aspirations, rewards and punishment, social network, and motivation. I chose only 'status' schools for the purpose of this questionnaire as I was interested in the background of those children who were likely to 'make it' in educational terms. There was simply not the time available to take a similar sample of school children from non-status schools for comparative purposes. Of the 600 questionnaires which were given out in schools 520 were returned to me. The response rate was high because of the authoritarian regime of the school. In some cases I was allowed to supervise the filling in of the questionnaire by the schoolchildren myself. On the whole however, the class teacher preferred to supervise himself. I went through the items on the questionnaire with the class teacher concerned and pupils were assured of anonymity. I took different forms in different schools as I wanted it to be as representative as possible of the age range of the school population. When the questionnaires were returned to me I was allowed to go through the school records in relation to each child in order to obtain information on their school attendance, conduct and performance.

An important feature of the education system in Freetown is the ward system. This really merits a study in its own right. Within the limits of the time which I could devote to this particular aspect of the education system however, I was fortunate to have the assistance of a student who was making a study of the ward system in two schools for her dissertation in her final year of a diploma of education course. I was able to analyse the collection of essays written by wards in these two schools, which supplemented the information which I had myself collected on
wards, through informal and formal interviews and questionnaires. Until now, in this account of the Freetown study I have concentrated on the interview and questionnaire method although I do not regard these as the most important of the methods used. Interviewing presented more problems in the Freetown situation that it had done in the British since one is less aware of 'sensitive areas' in a completely alien environment. Another difficulty encountered in the interview situation in Freetown was the lack of privacy. There might be several families sharing the same house, and one had to be prepared for the fact that anyone who was interested in the discussion would feel free to sit down and join in. The lower the status of the respondent the more difficult this problem of privacy became. In one or two of the poorest compounds there were at least a dozen faces peering in through the open doors and windows. On the other hand these difficulties highlight the fact that it is important that a researcher should attempt to do as much of the interviewing as possible himself. Without himself being involved in this face to face situation, he cannot hope to get any appreciable understanding of the society.

The main method for both the Freetown study and the housing estate study was participant observation. As I said in relation to the housing estate study, I had felt great strain arising from the conflicting roles of resident and researcher. I had looked forward to entering a fresh field as a social researcher. In Freetown I tried to avoid the ethical problems which I had encountered in the British study by stating from the outset my role as investigator and by explaining the nature of the study. I found, however, that I encountered great reservation from those whose co-operation I sought. This reservation was not broken down
until I became accepted as a member of the community, until I had participated actively in a number of organisations and made a number of friends, not as a sociologist, but as an individual and as a wife and mother. In other words by the time that my research began in earnest, my role as researcher was secondary to my role as participant. I then realised that the ethical problems which I had encountered in the housing estate situation were not just the outcome of my particular position on that estate, but are endemic in the general role of participant observer.

Another method which I used in the Freetown study to gather information on the general social structure was that of the life history. I regard this method as one of the most sensitive means for getting to the heart of a culture. Its very sensitivity makes it a difficult method to use as its success must be built on a relationship of mutual trust between interviewer and respondent. Such a relationship takes time to establish. I had already been living in Freetown for four months before the opportunity for me to embark upon the detailed study of a life history arose. The mother of a friend of mine whom I had met on several occasions, agreed to talk to me in weekly sessions. She was of middle class background, but her own occupational status was not high. Her parents had been shopkeepers and she herself was a trader although some of her brothers and sisters and her own children had higher occupational status. This suited my purposes very well as I had been anxious that the study should not develop into a study of the elite. It also gave me the opportunity to study social mobility in an intensive way. Over a period of eight months I had lengthy weekly interviews with her, during which she
discussed the history of the town and its notable families as well as giving her own detailed autobiography. I guided the conversation as little as possible and took notes while she talked. I constructed a detailed genealogy for her own immediate family and for her extended family. This gave an illuminating picture of social mobility patterns, through education and occupation and also showed patterns of inheritance. I am aware of the main objection to the use of this method, which is that the interviewer may become over-identified with the subject who is likely to present his own biased account of people and events. This possibility is obviated by the fact that the life history in this study is supported by the use of a variety of other methods. I also conducted four other life histories, each spanning 3 or 4 interviews. These were not as successful as the main one, since rapport takes time to be established and that time was simply not available. Nevertheless from these, I was able to construct further genealogies and to see similar patterns emerge in relation to social mobility. They also indicated the considerable overlapping of kinship links through intermarriage.

A fourth method used in the Freetown study was newspaper analysis. Through microfilms which were available at the library at Fourah Bay College, I made a study of two daily newspapers covering the past 25 years. This study was left until the very end of our stay in Freetown, by which time I knew which material would be relevant to my study.

Fortunately when in Freetown, I was able to obtain the assistance of the Dept. of Statistics. In 1953 this department had carried out a population census under the auspices of the American Population Council. From this census they took a sample
of the population and conducted a household survey. Statistics collected for official purposes however, do not always yield the information on particular issues which a specific piece of sociological research demands. Items such as occupational and educational differentiation of the sample population for instance, did not divide the population by ethnic group but only by geographical area. For the purpose of my study it was important that this information should be broken down according to ethnic group. The department of statistics agreed that my husband and I should obtain a set of all the punched cards relating to Creole households. My husband's study was concerned solely with the Creole population and as the Creoles formed the bulk of the school population, it was important for my study also that I should have figures relating to this significant group.

I have already mentioned, in relation to both studies, the strain involved in living within a particular social and geographical area and conducting a research project within that same area. It is difficult to relax as one's companions in leisure will also be the subjects of one's research. Each social event has to be recorded in detail at a later date, so that a conscious mental effort has to be made to remember significant events or snatches of conversation. The Freetown situation however was made much easier for me because I was accompanied by my husband who was also engaged in social research in the same area. Apart from the great personal support which this gave me, it was also of practical assistance. He discussed with me the problems which arose during the fieldwork period and gave me much advice on the theoretical framework. It was he who first pointed out to me the connection
between both studies. Also, all observation has, to a certain extent, to be selective and it was of benefit to both of us to compare our separate reports in order to obtain a check on our observation.

I found that my marital status was an aid to my research in the Freetown situation in yet another way. It helped me to establish a good relationship in the interview situation, the group situation and in the community in general. Marriage is becoming increasingly insecure in the town and a single woman is regarded with some suspicion by married women. My children were also of great assistance to me in the building of relationships. Links between children in any society form instant bridges between their respective mothers. Through my children I met many families with whom I would otherwise have had little or no contact. My children's reaction to the school system and to relationships within the households of their friends greatly furthered my own understanding of the society.

Both the housing estate study and the Freetown study have been of great benefit, the one to the other. In the first place, I found it of great benefit to be able to leave the housing estate after collecting my material and to study it in a completely different environment. Sociologists when studying their own societies are undoubtedly affected by the fact that they share a common culture with those whom they are observing. There is therefore conflict between a person's enforced neutrality in his role as social scientist and his emotional involvement in his role as participant. Only when I was in Freetown was it possible, for me to see the housing estate in terms of an interest group. The study of the housing estate on the other hand, was responsible for giving a sense of direction to the Freetown study, in the
manner which I have described. Without the housing estate study as a guide I would have been tempted to chase after 'red herrings'. In a culture in which one is an outsider it is tempting to study phenomena with which one is not familiar. Social anthropologists, for this reason, have often been accused of deliberately selecting exotic data. In Freetown for instance, a stranger is immediately struck by manifestations of Bundu, the female secret society. A study of this society was certainly more alluring than a study of the middle class. Nevertheless I am convinced that the orientation provided by the housing estate study was immensely valuable in the Freetown situation in yielding data which has made a comparative study possible.

This account of my research progress and its outcome probably sounds to the reader as a prime example of Merton's 'post-factum' interpretation (see Merton, 1937). My own claim, however, is that the link between the two studies - that is the problem of recruitment to the professional class as seen through the medium of two different societies, has not come about in an artificial way. It has rather, suggested itself from the data, collected in two separate studies. In the first study of the housing estate, the emphasis was on the collection of data. In the second study in Freetown however, the analysis developed as the data collection progressed. It is true that much of the material relating to the housing estate had to be reorganised, but some of the most important studies in sociology have been constructed on the basis of material collected initially for other purposes and in this case it was data which I myself collected which was reorganised.

The emphasis in both studies was on theoretical sampling rather than statistical sampling.
In both I began by attempting to obtain as full a coverage of the social field as possible, but as the focus of the study narrowed so the sample was also drawn from a narrower, more selective field. The emphasis during the course of this research has been on the discovery of the relationships between variables rather than on verification by quantitative sampling.

The theme of the project developed during the course of data collection. As a result I feel that there has been less pressure on manipulating data to fit the theories or categories than there would have been had I gone into a completely strange field with a preconceived hypothesis. I have attempted to use a variety of methods in this research project on the premise that the results of a study using a series of complementary methods, will contain "a degree of validity unattainable by a single method" (Webb et al. 1966).

NOTES.

1. Critics of this approach would argue that as status is only one dimension of social stratification, it cannot therefore be treated independently of the other two dimensions, that is, class and power. This debate is usually based on different interpretations of Weber's tripartite distinction. The approach adopted by Runciman (1968) is that it is of benefit to the analysis of stratification that a conceptual and logical distinction should be made between class, status and power. An opposing view was presented by Ingham (1970), that "although class and power or status and power are not isomorphic, the maintenance of a strict analytical distinction along the lines suggested by Runciman fails to take account of the various conceptual...links between these dimensions of stratification".

2. Vidich and Shapiro (1955), when comparing the method of participant observation with that of the social survey, pointed out that despite the "internal" consistency checks which the observer might make, there is still the danger of 'selectivity' bias arising from the data which he collects. The survey method, on the other hand, while not yielding the depth of data, will nevertheless offer a more representative
coverage of a population. I am aware despite the precautions which I took of the possibility of 'selectivity' bias remaining in my study. In view of the development of the analysis however, I would maintain that this is less important than it would have been had my aim continued to be, to give a 'holistic' description of a community.
CHAPTER I
PRETORIA SOCIETY

In Freetown occupation is an important indicator of style of life and social status and the professions are at the head of the occupational status hierarchy. As in Britain, the main channel for upward social mobility is formal education. Until the beginning of the 1950s the professions were almost completely monopolised by the Creoles. The privileged position of this ethnic group, was however challenged by legislative reform and by the accessibility of Freetown schools to the immigrant, non-Creole, population. Yet despite this threat the Creoles have maintained their dominant position in the major professions. The explanation for this must be sought to a great extent in the informal process of training in a particular 'style of life' and thought, which is always complementary to formal training in knowledge and skills and it is their 'style of life' which has always distinguished the Creoles from the indigenous population.

In this chapter therefore, I am primarily concerned in Section I, with describing the 'style of life' of the Creoles. By this I mean their values, traditions, symbols of status, marriage patterns, husband - wife role relationships and their social and kinships networks. Where possible I shall distinguish between Creole professionals and non-professionals. Section 2 of this chapter, describes in the same way, the 'style of life' of the non-Creoles and tries to identify those features inherent in this 'style of life' which might hinder the upward occupational mobility of this category.
SECTION 1 - THE CREOLES.

The Creoles are predominantly literate and many are highly educated. They inhabit mainly the 'Colony', the Freetown peninsula, and are referred to by law, as the 'non natives' because of their alien origin. Their outstanding characteristic as far as the casual observer is concerned, is their Western style, manner and orientation. Some scholars have recently argued that the 'Englishness' of the Creoles has been overemphasised and that their culture is, in fact, a unique blend of the traditional Yoruba.
culture of their heritage and the European customs of their adoption (Banton, 1957; Peterson, 1970). Nevertheless the fact remains, that the Creoles have earned for themselves the title of 'Black Englishmen' through their enthusiastic identification with European values and styles of behavior.

Creole houses and furnishings follow Western design, their dress is formal and British in style, and even their food is a mixture of traditional Yoruba and Eastern dishes. All the professional families of my acquaintance in Freetown ate both Western and African food. A popular pattern was that an English style breakfast might be served, followed by palaver sauce for lunch, with an 'English' supper. The more formal gatherings, such as Church functions, would also display this blend of English and African elements. Sausage rolls and cucumber sandwiches would be served alongside akara and jollof rice. Households further down on the social scale eat less Western food. One interviewee - a Mrs. Green - described to me the pattern of eating for her household. She herself was separated from her husband and received no money from him for her own upkeep or for that of her children. She had a job but her earnings were small. She and her children lived in her mother's house together with her two brothers and their families. Both brothers were employed but their incomes were also meagre. The pattern of eating and the type of food served in this household was markedly different from that of the professional household. The main meal is at night. The grandmother makes a large quantity of rice stew or palaver sauce with fufu foo for the whole family, who eat it in turn as they come home from work or school. This meal may also serve them the following day. Mrs. Green said that her 14 year old daughter usually prepared the breakfast for the family. 'She puts a kettle on the fire in the compound and when it boils she makes tea. Then she heats rice stew or whatever is left from the night before. If there is nothing left she boils cassava or plantain. Bread we eat only on Sunday. Each member of the family has breakfast when he is ready for it.'

It is those Creoles who are at the top of the occupational status hierarchy therefore who are most closely identified with European values and 'style of life'. But the important point to remember is that these serve as the reference group for those lower down in the status hierarchy.
The Creoles today number only 41,783 (1.9%) of the total population of the country (see tables 1 and 2). Of these, 37,560 are concentrated in the Freetown peninsula. Their influence in the country has been, and still is, totally out of proportion to their numbers. They were the bearers of the Western 'style of life' and as such they assumed the attitudes adopted by Western educated groups towards the uneducated. They looked upon the tribesmen as subordinates and even referred to them as 'aboriginies'. An article in the Sierra Leone Weekly News (November 11th 1950) entitled 'Where Creoles cling to the past', claimed that the rift between the Colony and the Protectorate had widened. The author claimed that although throughout West Africa there had always been a rift between the intelligentsia and the rest, 'in Sierra Leone that difference is accentuated by the fact that the Creole population ... have always considered themselves 100% British citizens'. He continued by commenting that the Creoles surrounded themselves with a snobbish superiority.

I found Creoles far more willing to risk the hazards of air travel to America or Europe than they were prepared to trust themselves to their own roads in order to explore the hinterland of Sierra Leone. The Government had considerable difficulty in persuading teachers and nurses trained in Freetown to take up posts in the provinces. One acquaintance of mine, when asked whether she had ever visited other parts of Sierra Leone, would invariably reply, 'No, I'm too fond of civilisation'. The Creoles were the bearers of that civilisation and their influence predominated in Freetown. As a result Freetown has become the centre of 'civilisation' for the whole country.

Another article taken from the Sierra Leone Weekly News (April 28th 1951) states that, 'It has been said that the Creoles at any rate, like the 'better class' West Indians, are people with civilised standards. And no honest Englishman would deny that he does not see even in the Creole of today, his own opposite number with a not dissimilar way of life.'

The position of the Creoles in Freetown corresponds closely to that of the Americo-Liberians in Monrovia, described by Merran Fraenkel, (1964). Here too, a small elite of alien origin arose. They settled in Monrovia, the capital, and secured for themselves a dominant position in the State. The yardstick which Mrs. Fraenkel uses to establish a
person's position on the scale of status ranking, is the degree to which that person is 'civilised'. She distinguishes three upper strata - the elite, the Honourables and the Civilised, all of which are distinguishable from the rest by their 'style of life'. The top 2 strata - mainly Americo-Liberians - are the reference group for rest of the society.

Unlike their counterparts in Monrovia however, the Creoles in Sierra Leone did not achieve political dominance. The British administration foiled Creole attempts to gain political partnership with them. In 1896 the Protectorate had been established under British rule. The Creoles however were not to be allowed to share the administration of the provinces with the British. The attitude of the British towards the Creoles had changed since the establishment of the Colony. The colonial power set out to protect the interests of the Protectorate. This attitude is reflected in much of the literature of the period. Eldred Jones (1968, p. 199) quotes for instance Graham Greene in 'The Heart of the Matter': '...look at 'em, look at the one in the feather boa down there. They aren't even real niggers. Just West Indian and they rule the Coast. Clerks in the stores, City Council magistrates, lawyers, my God. It's all right up in the Protectorate. I haven't anything to say against a real nigger. God made our colours. But these - my God!' Michael Banton (1957, p. 110) quotes Mary Kingsley (1898), and Sir Richard Burton (1863, p. 209) on the same subject. The latter wrote, 'The men displease me because they kick down the ladder by which they rose. No man maltreats his wild brother so much as the so called civilised negro - he hardly ever addresses his kruman except by 'you jackass' and tells him ten times a day that he considers such fellows as the dirt beneath his feet. Consequently he is hated and despised with all as being of the same colour as, whilst assuming such excessive superiority over, his former equals.' The British refused to regard the 'second-hand and rubbishy white culture' (Kingsley, 1898) of the Creoles, as a qualification for identification with them but treated it as a parody of their culture. The Creoles began to lose power and influence by a succession of reforms in the constitution of the legislative, which the British carried out in recent decades. From 1924 Africans had been allowed a certain measure of participation in political affairs. From that year until 1951 there was a constant
struggle for political leadership between the Creoles and the
Protectorate leaders with the British administration applying the
pressure to increase the number of Protectorate representatives in
the Legislative Council. The Creoles fought bitterly to retain their
political power. Amongst the reasons forwarded by the Creoles to
justify their demand for political control was that the Protectorate
was technically a foreign country under British jurisdiction, while
they, the Creoles, were British subjects. Legally therefore they
could not both sit on a council legislating for both Colony and
Protectorate. Banton (1957) likens their complaints to those of
white settlers opposing elective representation for Africans in Kenya.
By the general elections of 1957 however it was clear that the Creoles
had lost the battle. They were completely outnumbered by the elected
Protectorate representatives.

By the 1960s therefore, the formal structure of Freetown society
had changed. When Independence came it was clear that Creole in-
fluence would not be backed by political rule. On the surface
therefore it seemed that Creole dominance and power in Sierra Leone
were on the wane. Even the practice of 'passing onto' the Creole
group by natives had ceased. In fact there developed a reverse process,
whereby Creoles began to emphasise any tribal connections they might
have.

Political reform alone proved insufficient to impair seriously
the position of the Creoles in their domination of the highest status
posts in the country. It is true that this status had been threatened
by the non-Creoles, but the remarkable fact is that despite this threat
and despite their loss of political power and their outward acceptance
of the situation, the Creoles remain the most influential group in the
country. They comprise only 1.9% of the total population but they still
dominate the civil service, the judiciary and other major professions
such as medicine, engineering, law and high school teaching. Cartwright
(1970, p. 24) observes that despite a narrowing of the educational gap
between the Colony and the Protectorate after the 1930s, by 1948 'the
Colony still provided more than 45% of the total primary school
enrolment and nearly all the secondary school enrolment... The limited
educational opportunities for Protectorate youth were also shown by
the fact that while there had been a number of Creole lawyers since the
turn of the century and at least 70 Creole doctors by 1950, the first 3
lawyers of Protectorate origin were called to the Bar in 1948, 1949, and 1950, while the first 4 doctors took their degrees in 1927, 1933, 1943 and 1952. In a Government list of overseas scholarships-holders taking university or technical training between 1951 and 1956, there were 91 persons from the Colony, almost all Creoles, and only 39 from the Protectorate. By the late 1970s the same pattern persists. In October 1969 out of 20 permanent secretaries, 17 were Creoles. All the provincial secretaries were Creole, 3 of the directorships of the 4 major government corporations were held by Creoles (see Jordan, 1971). The Creoles still dominate Fourah Bay College and the Sierra Leone National Bank. They have been able to maintain this position because of their tremendous advantage in the field of education.

Creole success in the field of education brings us back again to the argument raised by Ben David (1963) which I mentioned in the Introduction. He states that where a university degree has been imposed as a necessary qualification for entry to a privileged group—in this case the professional class—the effect has been to restrict rather than to promote social mobility. The explanation must be sought in the non-academic influences which are built into any formal academic system. In Freetown today the schools are open to all sections of the population on the basis of merit, regardless of their ethnic background. Nevertheless there remains a distinct correlation between ethnic affiliation and academic attainment.

**Occupational Mobility.**

Before attempting to identify these informal processes which foster Creole academic success, I would like first of all to demonstrate Creole social mobility through education.

The Creoles began their careers in Sierra Leone as traders and farmers. Liberated Africans who were settled originally in the villages around Freetown had little success in farming or market gardening. Gradually they moved out of the villages into Freetown where they became involved in retail trading. In this they were more successful and many became prosperous merchants. They remained prominent in business until about the end of the First World War. After that business began to decline as sons were given a training for the professions rather than an apprenticeship in business.

I collected much biographical evidence to demonstrate this trend in mobility away from business and into the professions. Benka Coker
for instance was a merchant who married the daughter of a tailor. Their children and grandchildren are lawyers. Nicholas Brown was a druggist. His grandchildren are the Browne-Marcos, one of whom is a judge and the other a Permanent Secretary. The original Nebron who came to Freetown from the village of Waterloo was also a merchant. His grandchildren and great grandchildren have been prominent in both the medical and legal professions. There is also abundant evidence from newspaper articles over the years to support this trend. One article for instance in the Daily Mail (September 1945) gives an account of a grand dinner for B.S. Becku-Betts on his appointment as Aliens Judge. It reports that he was born in 1895, the son of G.W. Becku-Betts a local agent for Singer Sewing Machines. Both his paternal and maternal grandfathers had been merchants. These are some examples of merchants whose names are kept alive today by the prominence of their descendants in the professions. However, other formerly well known merchants whose children failed to 'make it' in academic terms, are no longer mentioned. Creoles will tell you that if a man does not return to Freetown after his studies in Europe, then it is almost certain that he has failed to gain an academic qualification which will qualify him for a professional post.

The genealogy given of Family Taylor traces both social and occupational mobility through 5 generations. The original ancestress of this family was a Liberated African who was taken to the village of Charlotte where she, like other villagers, was engaged in farming. This woman had four children who all moved out of the villages into Freetown. Two of these established businesses in Freetown. In the third descending generation I traced 3 children - 2 girls who were both traders but married to clerks and a boy whose business had a short-lived success but then collapsed because of his extravagance. In the fourth descending generation, of the children of one of the daughters, only 2 girls had any interest in business, the others were employed in minor professional and clerical jobs. By the fifth descending generation differentiation in occupations had greatly increased. The occupations include 6 school teachers, one school principal, one lawyer, 3 university lecturers, one gynaecologist, one Permanent Secretary, 1 qualified statistician and a university librarian. Each of these received their training either in Britain or the U.S.A.

I have given this example to illustrate the pattern of Creole social mobility and their social values. Trading continues to prevail
through 3 generations but in the fourth generation any trading which existed was confined to the women. In the fifth generation it had disappeared altogether and been replaced by professional occupations. In this family only fifth generation children were educated overseas, but in other trading families who had made their money more rapidly, parents were already sending their children abroad for their education by the third or even the second generation.

Creole eagerness to gain an education for their children and the prestige attached to an education gained in England, is emphasised by both Porter (1963) and Peterson (1970). The latter writes 'The regular migration of the sons and daughters of wealthy Liberated Africans and Creoles to English schools, universities and Inns of Court, represented their wish to ensure a position of high social status in the future. An overseas education became second only to the purchasing of land in the city as a form of sure investment. With an economic future assured by the increasing return of a sound investment in property, the astute Creole businessman sought also the ultimate security of professional training for his children' (p. 284). He goes on to say that the high esteem of the Creoles for a Western education is emphasised by the link established in 1876 by the C.M.S. between Durham and Freetown, to enable West African students to sit for an English degree in Freetown. This however has not changed the fact that the highest prestige is still accorded to those who gain their degrees after studying at universities in England or America.

There is ample evidence to show that some of these early Creole merchants were very wealthy indeed. In the Daily Mail article of September 1945, already mentioned as giving biographical details of Judge E.S. Becku-Bettu, it was also reported that the judge had amassed a fortune. 'This is not surprising as he must have inherited the quality of amassing wealth from his paternal and maternal grandparents.' One grandfather was a wealthy merchant on Northern Rivers and the other was so wealthy that he gave loans to the Government when it ran out of funds and he left £60,000 to the country for the establishment of an agricultural institute. This wealth accumulated by traders is also referred to by Christopher Fyfe (1964). He gives an extract from a newspaper report which describes an exceptionally lavish wedding of the daughter of J. H. Thomas (Malamah Thomas) a wealthy Freetown trader: 'The bride was met at the entrance by the bridesmaids, about 15 in all, her train (5 yards long) being carried by 2 pages (splendidly dressed) in page-like equipments 'au Stuart' in blue
velvet with brown velvet capes, brown stockings and blue bonny caps with lace..." (p. 218). Peterson writes, 'The highest class of Freetonians was composed of those who were the wealthiest and most prosperous and who lived in houses built entirely of stone, filled with fine European furniture and financed from their own large mercantile profits. They carried on their business in neat shops located on the ground floor of their own homes. Such Sierra Leonians were extremely wealthy and regularly educated their children in Europe' (1969, p.264).

Since Creole children were encouraged to hold training for professional posts in high esteem as opposed to trading, it is hardly surprising that Creole business concerns began, one after the other, to crumble. Large European companies and Lebanese, Syrian and Indian traders, have taken over commercial enterprises in Freetown. Most Creoles themselves recognise that Creole business failed from the time that outsiders had to be employed in the family business. The sons and daughters were studying overseas and so were not available to take over. Those sons who did enter the family business were, most frequently, those who had failed to achieve success in other fields. This of course contributed to the low prestige accorded to trading as an occupation.

Yet despite the failure of their business, many of these early Creole families maintained their wealth. Most invested their money in land and property. Even where the actual business was sold, the Creole family usually maintained the property. One old lady whose grandfather had been a wealthy merchant in the East End of Freetown, told me, that out of 7 children on her father's side, 6 were sent abroad, 3 were lawyers, including her father, and 1 went in for medicine. The last boy did not go to England. He was too stupid for an academic training. He went into the business but it failed as he did not know how to manage it. The business was sold but the property was kept. Her grandfather also acquired property in other parts of Freetown which had been handed down to his grandchildren. 'We will never sell any of it. We don't like selling family property.' The buildings, housing some of the large European firms, were owned by this family, as well as land in an exclusive residential section of the town. It was not only wealthy traders who appreciated the value of investment in land. Peterson gives examples of schoolteachers and pastors who put all their savings into the purchase of a piece of land and 'the continuing rise in the value of Freetown real estate not only guaranteed the security
of such savings but also a sizable profit over the years' (1969, p. 277).

From the genealogy of Family Taylor, investment in property can also be traced. In this family it was not until generation 3 that property other than the family house was bought. Mrs. John in generation 3 was the first to invest the money which she earned from trading, in the purchase of 2 houses. In the fourth descending generation, more houses were bought in addition to land. The fifth descending generation are mainly professionals, and many professional posts in Freetown offer subsidised housing. This is a legacy from pre-Independence days. Expatriates who formerly occupied positions now held by Sierra Leoneans, were offered such benefits as subsidised housing to encourage them to take up posts in a tropical climate. Since the Africanisation of the civil service and other professions, Sierra Leoneans have taken over, not only the jobs but also the extra benefits accompanying these jobs. The importance of subsidised housing in this context is that it has enabled many Creoles to save much of their earned income and to invest it in the purchase of land and housing. These houses are then let, often at very high rents. The professionals in this position therefore, have the advantage not only of high occupational earnings, but also of a lucrative source of unearned income. For the more established families this will be in addition to the land and property which they may have inherited and the income which this will also yield. Those who cannot afford to buy land in Freetown itself will buy it in the surrounding villages, in the anticipation of the expansion of Freetown and hence the demand for land further afield.

The commonest form of property investment in Freetown is the building of the 'family house'. Fyfe has described the family house as 'Freetown's gilt-edged security' (1962, p. 471). A family house is built by a man for his own use and that of his wife and family. On his death it is passed on to his grandchildren. After such a house has been in a family for three generations, it is easy to imagine the confusion which might arise as to who has the right to the house. The confusion is increased in Freetown by the presence of illegitimate or 'outside' children who may also claim a right to the house. The family house therefore is frequently the source of much dispute in a family. Some families have resolved this by deciding amongst themselves which
member of the family should have the house. In Family Taylor for example, the 4 children of Mr. John the clerk, decided that Edward John, the bank clerk should be given sole rights to their father's family house and they sold out their shares to him. In another case a widow - Mrs. Green who was one of 2 children, lived in her father's family house after the death of her parents. Her 3 children, with their families also lived in the house with her. Her brother died and her widowed sister-in-law began to demand her rights, as the brother's widow, to his share in the family house. Mrs. Green was not prepared to share the house with her sister-in-law and was finally forced to buy out the sister-in-law's share in the family house.

It does not always happen that the difficulties can be resolved in this way. Frequently the more affluent members of the family will move out, leaving poorer members of the family in possession of the house. They pay little or no rent nor do they spend money on the maintenance of the house. The result is that the condition of the house deteriorates. In Freetown one sees many such houses which, through neglect, have fallen into a dilapidated condition.

The family house is important however in the study of the Creoles as a group. It is a symbol both of security and of unity. It serves as a link between different branches of a family. This is why a myth of sacredness has arisen around the family house and considerable pressure is put upon children by parents, not to let the family house go out of the family. On the wall of one of the family houses which I visited the names of two girls were engraved on the stone above the front doorway of the house. These were the names of the daughters of the man who had built the house. They were an indication that on his death these two daughters should take over the house. Some parents stipulate in their wills that the family house should never be sold. One woman told me, "My husband and I built this house together intending it to be for the family. We shall live in it until we die, then it will go to our children and to their children. Those step children who are close to us will also have a share in it. But I would never want them to sell this house." This pressure not to sell out is supported by myths and taboos. The *auvio* for instance, a traditional celebration, described by Porter as "a feast which is held on special occasions, as for example, before a marriage or after a death or at any time when it is deemed
necessary to bring the whole family together - both the living and the
dead - in some ceremonial partaking of food' (Porter, 1963, p. 105).
This celebration is normally held in the family house. I was told by
a Mrs. Nicol that 'When we want to make 'awulo' we go to the family
house. Last time we were 75 of us there and we met to pray for the
dead. All 75 recognised the one head who is my mother and the
children's grandmother and great grandmother. It is thought that
the dead are present in the family house.' Another woman told me,
'If we sell the family house, we feel that the spirit of the dead
will not be glad and that we have driven her away. When we move into
a new house we must pour libation and say, 'We are sorry we sold the
house but it was for this or that reason. Please come and live with
us here now.' For this reason some families would rather pull
down the existing building, especially if it was made of wood and
build a new stone or brick house in its place, even if the house
stands in an unfavourable residential area. New houses built in a modern
style, standing alongside tin roofed shacks are a feature of the
Freetown landscape. These ceremonials and taboos thus serve to keep
the family house within the family and within the Creole group.
They serve to prevent families from selling their property to non-
Creoles (see Cohen, forthcoming, (b)).

Symbols of Status

Investment in land therefore, consolidated the wealth gained by
the Creoles in trade. Wise investment alone however, was not
responsible for creating the 'style of life' which distinguished the
Creoles from the non-Creoles. Any 'style of life' pertaining to a high
status group must be accompanied by symbols of status. Amongst the
Creoles these symbols of status are recognised, and where possible
adopted, not only by the wealthy but also by the less wealthy members
of the group.

One of the most obvious of these symbols, to someone not
familiar with Freetown, is their style of dress. Porter comments that
'the form of dress was one of the differences separating the in-
digenous inhabitants ... from the settler from the New World' (1963,
p. 101). Creoles do not wear the traditional 'lappas' favoured by
the non-Creoles. Their dress is formal and British in style. Dark
suits with waistcoats, for men are still very much in evidence, even
beneath the sweltering heat of a tropical sun. This formal habit is
synonymous with 'civilised' behaviour. Indeed 'correct' dress is an indication of good manners and breeding. A woman's wardrobe will contain a variety of clothing befitting different occasions. A dress which is deemed suitable for mornings is different from that which is worn in the afternoons. Naturally, the wealthier the woman, the more extensive and modish the wardrobe, but all recognise the form which 'correct' dress should take. A Freetown Sunday is a memorable event for the stranger. Hundreds of men and women, clad in their 'Sunday best' can be seen thronging the streets on their way to attend service at either Church or Chapel. Such occasions offer the Creoles an opportunity for display and also serve to emphasise the distinctiveness of the group. There have been various attempts to 'Africanise' Creole dress, but so far these have failed. Porter mentions a Dress Reform Society which began in the 1890s to persuade young men to wear African traditional dress (1963, p. 101). This failed as did a movement sponsored by members of the Federation of Sierra Leonian Women to dispel 'the animosity which existed between Creoles and up-country women', as one member told me, by adopting a variation of the African style of dress. At every meeting which I attended, which was sponsored by the Federation, there was an obvious cleavage between Creole women in western dress and provincial women in traditional dress. African dress is mainly worn by Creoles as a variation of the formal evening dress, at some house parties or weddings.

One particular dress style which can be seen in Freetown - sometimes on the streets, but more often at rituals such as weddings - is called the ashobi. The origin of the custom is Yoruba and it is practised by both Creoles and non-Creoles. It is a custom whereby two, three or more women wear an identical dress. At first it seemed rather incongruous to see the highly sophisticated and 'civilised' Creole professionals wearing the ashobi. I discovered that the practice had gained in popularity since independence. One woman told me that, 'formerly, two women might wear the same dress, but not like they do today. Now whole groups of women are found in the same dress. It is a sign of friendship. If you buy material and give it to another woman for her to make a dress like yours, then it is a sign that she is your friend. If she refuses then she insults you.' It can also be interpreted as an unconscious need for Creoles to identify with one
another vis-a-vis the rest. Thus the ashobi acts as a collective symbol for the Creole group.

Housing and cars are status symbols among the Creoles as they are in industrial society. There are however, few one class suburbs in Freetown, such as the middle class housing estate which formed the basis for my study conducted in Britain. The only comparable residential areas in Freetown are Government-owned housing, or university housing. Most sections of Freetown can be said to be tribally mixed. Even in 1957 Banton wrote that, 'within the city there are no longer any districts in which all the residents belong to one tribe' (1957, p. 83). The Creoles however; predominate on the western side of the town and it is these western suburbs which are the most prestigious. Much of the land in these suburbs, which is rented by foreign embassies, is owned by Creoles. The highest status housing is western in design and of brick or stone construction. The furniture is also western.

Another symbol of status as I mentioned earlier in this chapter is food. The highest status families will eat both English and African food. It is not however, only the type of food eaten which is important in this context. The act of eating itself and the people with whom one elects to eat can have an important symbolic function. Creoles pride themselves on having enough food in the house to be able to provide for the friends and neighbours who may drop in at any time. One Mrs. Williams told me, 'Anyone can come into a Creole house at any time and he will always be sure of being offered food. Every day we cook a large quantity of jollof rice or foo foo or rice stew. If it is not eaten in one day we share it with our houseboys or we heat it up again and eat it ourselves the next day.' By 'anyone' however, Mrs. Williams meant friends, relatives, neighbours or others whom they knew and trusted - in other words, mainly fellow Creoles. Eating together, either informally within the household or at ritual gatherings such as funerals, weddings or Christenings, becomes a symbol of the unity of the Creoles as a group and emphasises the distinction between Creoles and non-Creoles. Barbara Harrell-Bond, (1971) elaborates on this point. She states that relationships are expressed or solicited through gifts of food. The fear of poisoning which she emphasises illustrates the mistrust which exists in social relationships. This mistrust is particularly acute between Creoles and non-Creoles. One old lady to whom I spoke, made the point succinctly. 'In my mother's house there was always enough food for
everybody. If anyone came in while we were eating then she would invite them at once to join us because they were all Creoles who lived in the vicinity or outside and we knew them all.'

One of the most intrinsic threads in the social structure of the Creoles is the system of patronage. A 'big man' is one who gives freely. A man who is respected in the community is one on whom great demands are made. Older Creoles say that 'sober-headed men will not give what they cannot afford to give' and they cite well known examples of men of high status who, while they were not mean with their money, also did not run into debt. I was told for instance, that 'the late Dr. Cummings was a much respected man, but he would never give just to bolster his own ego.' On the other hand, there are many instances of men who became great patrons simply in order to demonstrate their own importance and as a result, ruined themselves financially. Lawyer Barlatt for instance, a much respected man, was a popular patron at Christchurch festivals. The members of the Church at a Patronal Festival would bring fruit, sugar-cane and soon, both Church and Patrons were invited to buy at a particularly high price. I was told that, 'a bowl of coconuts or apples might be sold for as much as £5 each, or sugarcane would be sold at £2 a stick. The buyers would then turn around and offer their purchase to a child who might have sung well in the choir.' Lawyer Barlatt was a regular patron of such festivals. His relatives and beggars went to him for money, 'but of course he did not leave much money when he died.' Other and less laudable examples are J.H. Thomas (Malamah Thomas) referred to by Fyfe (1964, p. 218) in relation to the lavishness of his daughter’s wedding. He not only spent a great deal on display, but also kept open house for the important names in the town and spent lavishly on entertaining them. He died leaving many debts. Another example was Max McCarthy, a businessman who tried to buy status by giving lavishly to all charities which made demands on him. He also borrowed a great deal of money, so that he could entertain on a lavish scale and in this way get himself elected to the local Council. His nickname was Max 'trousers' McCarthy, because it is said that he bought and wore six pairs of striped trousers on that occasion. He lost both the election and his money (see Kreutzinger, 1968). He was forced to sell his house and his children were brought up by other members of his family.

Both Thomas and McCarthy are extreme examples of businessmen who attempted to buy the high status which they did not merit through their
occupation. However, the demands of patronage fall also very heavily on members of the professional class. Churches, for instance may hold, on average, one thanksgiving service a month as the different organisations within the Church are so numerous. Each such service has its own patrons. At one which I attended, the programme listed, Grand Chief Patron, Chief Patrons and 25 Patrons, as well as a Grand Chief Receiver, Chief Receiver and Receiver. The latter were women who ceremoniously 'received' the donations. All of these patrons listed were either professionals or the wives of professionals. It was generally accepted that a minimum donation should be in the region of £5. One of those whose names appeared on the list was not present; I noticed, at the service. He later told me that he had been invited to be patron at three such ceremonies that Sunday and so he felt he could not afford to attend any of them.

Another form of patron is the God-parent. It is regarded as an honour to be asked to be God-parent to a child. As one person told me, 'When you ask someone to be God-parent you take into account the degree of familiarity with them and also the conduct of the person.' Preferably the God-parent should be of the same social class as oneself or of a higher social class, so that he will be able to assist the child both morally and financially in the event of the death of his parents. One interviewee, whose husband had been a clerk, told me, 'My son's God-father was Lawyer Boston. He gave the boy presents and said he would always help him if he needed anything. When my husband died he paid my son's school fees for one year at the Prince of Wales School.'

Other patrons are sponsors at weddings. Many of these will give wedding parties in honour of the bride and groom. The greater the number of parties, the greater the prestige attached to the wedding itself. Over the past twenty years the number of parties associated with a single wedding has increased greatly. Now it is not uncommon for ten parties to be held simultaneously on the wedding night. Often the most that the bride and groom can do is to put in a brief appearance at each of these parties. There were frequent complaints from those whom I interviewed at this increase in the number of such parties. One said, 'Now wedding parties have become a sort of gift or competition.' Some women are famed for the parties which they give when they are invited to sponsor a wedding. It is little wonder therefore, that these same women are more frequently asked to act as sponsors than others. Here again, some run into debt in their anxiety to gain status.

Charities in Freetown also need the support of patrons. Here again,
those with high occupational and economic status are called upon for their support. The amount of money which they themselves contribute is considerable and they are also active in recruiting support from others. Various functions are held with amazing frequency, for the purpose of raising money, from jumble sales and sales of work, to the most formal of dances for which one can pay anything up to 15 guineas for a ticket. Each voluntary organisation has a number of 'big names' or high status people who offer them regular support.

Finally, but most important of all status symbols for the Creoles, is the possession of educational qualifications. On one occasion I was talking to two women about their families. One talked at length and with great warmth, of one of her brothers but hardly mentioned the other two. When she had left I commented to her friend, that Mrs. Williams had seemed to be very close to that one brother. 'Don't you believe it,' her friend replied, 'she hardly ever sees him. She's just a snob. That brother is a doctor while the other two are only clerks. That is what makes the difference.' One well known Freetown example of the importance attached to formal qualifications is Miss Lottie Hazelley. This lady was appointed to the staff of Freetown Secondary School for Girls in 1929. She discharged her duties well and eventually became Vice-Principal and was awarded the M.B.E. In 1952 Mrs. Benka Coker, the illustrious head and founder of the school died and Miss Hazelley took her place as acting Principal. She encountered considerable difficulties and was driven to offer her resignation in 1955. She was made to resign because it was felt that only a person holding an Honours degree should be offered the position of Principal. Several Freetonians objected to this. In May 1955 in the Daily Mail an article appeared written by Nat Boston and Lorina Bright-Taylor, asking why Lottie Hazelley should have been relieved of her post after holding the fort for three years. They reminded the readers that the former Mrs. Benka Coker herself was also without a B.A. degree.

Fourah Bay College is the only institution in Freetown able to confer these academic qualifications. As such it commands high status. Its position in history augments that status. It is the oldest institution of higher education in West Africa and was founded in 1827 by the Church Missionary Society. It attracted students from the whole of West Africa.
Its status in the town however, has given it influence and power beyond that which one would normally expect to emanate from an academic institution. Jordan (1971, pp. 22-23) describes the opposition presented by the College in 1966, to the proposal of a one-party State made by Albert Margai, the Prime Minister at that time. A symposium was convened at the College which attacked the draft constitution and which recommended alterations in this constitution. Albert Margai, as a result, developed hostility to the College, as he claimed that 'the Creoles on the staff were acting almost subversively and he spoke out against 'lecturers meddling in politics.'

These symbols of status which I have been discussing are recognised as such by all the Creoles regardless of socio-economic class. Amongst the Creoles status is also linked with 'civilisation' which is synonymous with Westernisation. On this criterion it is clear that the Creole professional will be accorded the highest status. The manifest function of these status symbols is to distinguish the Creoles from other ethnic groups. They have also a latent function and that is to foster collective action among the Creoles and thus to strengthen and consolidate the group. Dress for instance, is a symbol which distinguishes easily the Creole from the non-Creole. In the same way the mixture of African and English food can be said to be a particularly Creole symbol, but family gatherings, feasts and other social events which involve the sharing of food, serve to foster the group consciousness of the Creoles and to establish links between members. In the same way, the parties given by patrons, such as wedding parties which are said to have proliferated in recent years, are phenomena which establish cross cutting ties and which define and redefine the Creole group.
The Family

Status symbols as I have said, have the universal manifest function of indicating behaviour acceptable to a group, which in turn, serves to demarcate that group from others. They are important indicators of the 'style of life' of a status group. One of the prime agencies in the transmission of these symbols is the family. The Creoles are very much aware of this. When they want to establish a person's status or rank in the community they ask in the same way as the 'traditional' in Banbury (Stacey, 1960) 'What family is he from?'.

The first consideration which I would like to introduce here into the discussion of the family, is what exactly the Creoles mean when they say 'my family'.

The Western style family, where a separate household of husband wife is established on marriage, is, in Freetown, the exception rather than the rule. Within my own sample, 18 of the 42 interviewed had households which contained only two generations. Eleven of these were professional households. Even these two generation households often included the brothers and sisters of either husband or wife and frequently younger children who were more distantly related to them (see Table 3).

The household is not the family. When a Creole refers to 'my family' he means the broader extended family which will be composed of a number of different households scattered throughout different parts of the town. The Creoles trace their descent through both father and mother and property can pass down on either side as in Britain. There is even flexibility as to which family name a man may select. His choice may well depend upon the social status of the parent. There are several well known examples in Freetown of individuals who have selected the family name of the mother rather
than the father for reasons of status. This is an indicator of the
degree of flexibility permissible in family relationships.

Relatives of both mother and father therefore can be included
in the 'big family' of the Creoles. In addition 'outside' children
may also be included. Amongst the Christian Creoles there are two
family types, the legal family and the 'outside' family. The latter
refers to any liaison - and the offspring which may result from it -
developed outside marriage. Outside children may be accepted by the
legal wife and incorporated within the legal family. The 'outside'
family is a very common feature of Creole life and is not restricted
to any one social class. Amongst those whom I interviewed, fourteen
of the forty-two admitted that they had had 'outside' children
themselves or that their husbands had 'outside' children. Nineteen
admitted to the presence of 'outside' children in their parent's
generation. The actual figures must be much higher than this because
of their reluctance to admit to the presence of illegitimate children
in their own family, to Europeans. Creoles are Christian and officially
therefore, monogamous. Their Christianity is linked to their early
acceptance of 'westernisation' and thus of 'civilisation'. Amongst
themselves however, the Creoles do acknowledge the presence of 'outside'
children and these children serve to increase the size of the 'big
family'. It is not only 'outside' children who will be included in
the 'big family'. A Freetown household may include 'wards', that is,
related or non-related children who are fostered by a family. Many of
these wards are the children of non-Creoles but others are the children
of poorer Creoles who are given an education by wealthier relatives
and who live in the houses of these relatives. In addition to this
some relatives who interact very little may be excluded from the
'big family'. Close friends on the other hand who are non-relatives
but with whom there may be a great deal of interaction, may be included within the family group (see Cohen, forthcoming (a)). It would seem therefore, that the 'big family' is composed of those amongst whom there is social interaction, based upon reciprocal relationships. The Creoles therefore form a network of interlinking families. The family not only determines the status of the individual but is also instrumental in communicating the 'style of life' appropriate to that status. It is the main agency involved in the socialisation of children, which forms an important part of a 'style of life'. It would therefore, be reasonable to expect that the family, in a high status group would be a stable institution. A superficial impression of the Creole family however, would indicate that this is not the case. Large numbers of husbands and wives live apart, the incidence of adultery is very high and many children result from such unions. It is also clear that there is a good deal of hostility and mistrust in the relations between the sexes.

One of the main reasons for this mistrust is the presence of an 'outside family' alongside the legal family. Probably the majority of men have at least one 'outside' union. The Reverend E.W. Fashole-huke writes, 'illegitimacy is rife among Freetown Christians and there are many children produced from adulterous relationships. The number of men who are faithful to their marriage vows is very few indeed and many women acquiesce in the adulterous relationships of their husbands. The Church herself recognises the problem of illegitimacy and has introduced the dubious practice of charging more for the baptism of children born out of wedlock than she does for children born in wedlock' (1968, p. 136). This same author, later goes on to say that, 'the irony of the
situation is that Freetown and particularly Creole Christians, often look down on the polygamous relationships of their pagan neighbours without realizing that they are, in fact, practical polygamists' (1968, p. 137).

The existence of outside children poses a threat to a marriage, although in Freetown girls do not enter marriage with the expectation that their husbands will be faithful (see Bend, 1971). Out of my sample of 33 Creoles, 7 were separated from their husbands. This threat to the stability of marriage by the presence of an 'outside child' is increased by the fact that the child's mother may be of an inferior status to that of the legal wife. She may not, in fact, be Creole. This makes it even more difficult for the wife to regard an 'outside' child as having equal right or status with her own children, even though she may have taken that child into her own family. There are many instances of discrimination against such children even when they have been incorporated within the legal family. In one family, for example, which consisted of two legitimate children and one illegitimate child, the legitimate children were sent overseas for their education and both became professionals. The illegitimate son remained in Freetown and worked in business with his father. When the father died he left the business to his legitimate children. The outside son tried to buy their shares but they insisted on selling the business outside the family. On the other hand there are examples of outside children who have encountered no such discrimination. Mrs. Jarrett, the wife of a lecturer, described her husband's family relationships to me. 'There were twelve of them in his family, but not all from the same mother. My husband was one of the outside children but he lived with his stepmother. She treated him as her own and this is why he is 'up' now. The children who
stayed with his real mother are nothing. His stepbrother went to the Annie Walsh School, but his real mother was not of the same standing. She was a trader.' If the wife refuses to accept the 'outside' child, there is still the possibility that the child may be incorporated into the 'big family' through being taken as a ward by a relative.

The economic security of the legal family is threatened by the presence of an 'outside' family. In Freetown it is generally accepted that a man has a moral obligation to provide for his 'outside' family. Of course today the outside wife has the right to make maintenance claims on the father through the Department of Social Welfare. The Social Welfare Officer told me that the bulk of the time of this department was being spent on settling such claims, and that the number had increased greatly over recent years. Although there seems therefore to be an increasing tendency for fathers to dispute paternity, the majority nevertheless accept the responsibility for offering some support towards their illegitimate offspring as a moral obligation. This moral right is given added weight by the fact that the illegitimate child is more than likely to carry the family name of the genitor. Of the 22 of the 33 Creoles interviewed who acknowledged the presence of outside children in their families, only 3 claimed that the fathers of these children offered little or no support.

If the number of 'outside' children is large then this imposes a considerable financial burden upon the father, for he not only has to educate and maintain his legal family, but also his 'outside' children. Even though the standard of living of the 'outside' family is frequently lower than that of the legal family, a man's support for his 'outside' family is often bitterly resented by his
legal family. In addition to this, the legal family is anxious to protect its rights to inheritance of property. Although in fact, illegitimate children have no legal right to inherit, many people believe that the law has been changed in this respect, as a Bill aimed at eliminating the notion of illegitimacy was drawn up in 1965, but was later dropped because of the bitter opposition which it received (see Bond, 1971). Earlier in this chapter I mentioned the significance which land and property has for the Creoles as a group. Many of the outside wives are non-Creoles and the possibility therefore that Creole property might be inherited by the offspring of these women, obviously poses a threat to the Creoles as a group.

This anxiety is expressed clearly in the way in which women spend their money. Most Creole women are employed, but few will allow their wages to be pooled into a common budget. The money which women earn is kept separately and spent on extras for themselves and their children, or put into savings as security. In 33 Creole households interviewed 24 women were in full time employment. Six of those interviewed were over the employable age. Of these, 20 claimed that their incomes were kept separate from those of their husbands. The number of women who contribute towards the building of the family house is equally small. Mrs. Taylor told me, 'It used to be the case that sometimes a wife would help in the building of a house. But there have been many instances of a woman contributing towards a family house where this house has later gone out of her hands – especially if that woman has no child. Then, if the man has outside children he may will the house to these children or to his own relatives who may influence him. In such cases women have been known to die of a broken heart. Or their standard of living has dropped and they have deteriorated. That is why most women do not contribute towards the family house but
build a house for themselves instead. In this case, if the woman has no children, the house will be passed, not to her husband's side of the family, but to her own side – to her sister's or brother's children.'

Illegitimacy however, need not be a handicap in the struggle for access to the professional class. Dr. Bond (1971) writes that there is social discrimination against 'outside' children. Although I have myself already given an example of such discrimination, I found from my interviews, that the status of the 'outside' child varied with the social status of the parents, as 'outside' children can be found at every level of the social hierarchy. One of the prominent early Creole professionals who was recognised by the general public as being 'of the upper class', had three children by a woman to whom he was not married. On his death she had further children by two other professional gentlemen. Neither of these did she marry although only one of them had a legal wife. The children of the various unions recognise each other as full brothers and sisters and they are all married to prominent citizens or are themselves professionals. With this family therefore, the fact that the children had illegitimate status has not affected their social position! Even so, it is probably true that a woman with an illegitimate child does mar her chance of finding a husband. In the example just given the unmarried professional, despite his single status, did not marry the mother of his children. Within my own sample, of the 8 Creole women who admitted to having given birth to children out of wedlock, the children of 3 of them had been born before their marriages. None of the 3 had married the father of the child but they had all married within the professional class. On the other hand I collected evidence which supports Dr. Bond's claim (1971) that there is a tendency for the 'outside' family to be self-perpetuating.
That is, that those girls born out of wedlock are more likely to become 'outside' wives themselves than are girls born with legitimate status. A further 3 of the 8 Creole women who had borne illegitimate children were themselves the children of 'outside' women.

The absence of suitable male marriage partners affects particularly, high status women. As in other societies Creole women are reluctant to select marriage partners from those lower in social status than themselves. If there is a shortage of men of the same or of a higher social status then these women might prefer to have a child and to remain unmarried than to marry beneath their status. The sister of one interviewee was a medical doctor. She had an illegitimate child by the man of her choice who was already married himself. She claimed that she would prefer to have an illegitimate child rather than to remain both unmarried and childless. Such was the choice with which she felt she was faced.

There are however, many disadvantages attached to the status of 'outside' wife. An 'outside' wife of lower social status than the child's father may recognise the social advantages to her child through his being reared in his father's household. She may also not be able to afford to keep the child herself. If the child is accepted in his father's house the mother is likely to lose all contact with the child's father and even, in some cases, with the child himself. If an 'outside wife brings up her children herself then although she may receive some support from the father of the children it is more than likely to be considerably less than he will spend on his legal family. She also runs the risk of the man tiring of her and defaulting on his payments. Finally she will have to accept the lesser status of an 'outside' wife. A man's 'outside' children will bear his name, but not his 'outside' wife. It is the legal wife who will accompany her
husband to public engagements and social events, never the girl friend or ‘sweetheart’. It has also happened that a man — especially a professional who spends much time studying — will already have a grown family of ‘outside’ children before he decides to marry. When he does choose a partner in marriage, invariably the girl he chooses as a partner is not the mother of his children, but an educated younger woman with a social status which will match his own. He may even ask his new bride to accept one or more of these ‘outside’ children into their family so that the children may benefit from a professional family environment. One young Creole female graduate whom I interviewed had married such a man. She was 25 and he was 45. They had one young child of the marriage, but in addition, her husband’s illegitimate children — both of whom were almost as old as his wife — lived with them. The reaction of the wife was, ‘I must admit that I find it a strain. Obviously 1 can’t be a mother to them as they are of my age and I feel too that they are suspicious of me.’

There are often claims made that the general ‘low level of morality’ in Freetown is a present day phenomenon. In former times, some people assert, women prided themselves on their virtue. If, however, one follows the genealogies of various families back to four or even five generations, it will be seen that ‘outside’ children are very much in evidence. As the reader is already familiar with it I have used again the genealogy of Family Taylor to illustrate the presence of ‘outside’ children. After Mr. John Thomas had lost his business fortune his three outside children were brought up by Mrs. John, his sister. The children were of almost the same ages as her own children. Mrs. John’s husband also had three ‘outside’ children but his legal family did not learn of their existence until after his death. These children were considerably younger than the legal children who then
combined to pay for the education of their half brothers and sisters. Mrs. John's sister, Mrs. Renner had no children of her own, but her husband had two 'outside' children. On his death the family property passed to these children instead of to his wife as their putative father had made out a will in their favour. Harry Morgans in the fourth descending generation is a poor man in comparison with his two sisters and his brother. He has educated four children to university level — his 'outside' children and his legal children — and he has had to maintain both families. When I pointed out the number of 'outside' children in this family to one old lady who was a member of the family and who had been bemoaning the immorality of the 'present generation,' her reply was, 'In my days, men never behaved as they do today. If they had affairs they tried to hide them and would never flaunt them to their wives.' Presumably this is why, in a number of cases with which I was familiar, the legal family was not aware of the existence of the 'outside' family until after the death of the father.
Occupational Status of Women

I have gone into the situation of the 'outside' family in some detail, as it affects the 'style of life' of the legal family and it also affects the socialisation of the children. The presence of 'outside' children and wives serves as a source of hostility between men and women. The hostility is partly the result of economic insecurity from which both legal and 'outside' wives may suffer. This may become explanation for the large proportion of Creole women in the labour force. It may also account for the struggle, which many women make, to obtain higher educational qualifications so that their occupational status will rise. This goal is frequently only achieved at high social cost.

Formerly the range of occupations open to Creole women was narrow. Nursing, teaching, business or trading were the only occupations considered fit for women and it was not thought 'proper' for married women to do anything other than a little trading. The Creole 'Mammies' of the Dorcas, described by Wellessey-Cole (1960, p. 67), were traders in palm oil or kola, 'at the back of the shop there would be the stores and there you would find Mammy Hannah Thomas, Mammy Lillian Shaw and Mammy Margaret Macarthy. They all had their kolas tied there'. Now however, women can be found in most occupations. Creole values in education were conducive to women entering higher occupations. From the time that schools were established in the Colony, girls were catered for as well as boys. Table 5 shows the percentage distribution by sex for the major occupational groups in Freetown.

There is a relatively high percentage of professional females and these are likely to be mainly Creole as the educational level of Creole women is higher than that of females in other groups (see Table 6 and 7). The percentage of women in professional employment in Freetown is 10.7%.
whereas the percentage of females in professional employment in the
country as a whole is 9%.

In my sample of 33 Creole women, 6 were over fifty years of
age. Of the remaining 27 only 3 had no employment outside the home.
Fifteen of those employed occupied professional positions, 10 of which
were in the teaching profession. Four were secretaries, 2 of them
holding well paid posts; of the rest, 3 were dressmakers, 2 were traders
and 1 was a hairdresser. Of the 15 professionals, 10 had obtained their
qualifications after marriage. This applied also to the 2 secretaries
with better paid jobs. The hairdresser and one of the dressmakers too,
had also taken late training in England.

Only 3 of the women with professional qualifications had
obtained them while accompanying their husbands overseas. These had
taken their children with them to England and placed them with British
families. In this way the mother was left free to pursue her studies.
Others whom I met had preferred to leave their children with grand­
parents or relatives in Freetown while they went abroad to study.

The other women in my sample who had obtained professional
qualifications after marriage, had done so at the cost of leaving both
husband and children for a period of time. One for instance, had
obtained a scholarship to take a one year course in education at
Edinburgh. Three years later she gained another scholarship to
undertake a course in the U.S.A, for two years. On both occasions
the children were left in the care of her mother. Her husband was thus
freed from the responsibility of the children. In the majority of cases
it is the maternal grandmothers who undertake to look after the
children. Some grandmothers find this a burden, as for example, Mrs.
Cole who said, 'I find little time to see my old friends, since I
became ill. It takes me all my strength to look after my grandchildren.
Everything is changing now. Nobody has any time. All young women are working and all old women are busy looking after their grandchildren while their mothers are at work or abroad studying."

On the whole though, grandmothers seemed prepared to accept the responsibility of grandchildren in order that the mother might pursue her training. The husband and wife may thus be separated for a considerable time. The longest period of separation between husband and wife in my sample was seven years. Some husbands even encourage their wives to undertake further training, especially if they feel that she will later contribute to the household budget. There are those however, who resent their wife leaving home in this way. One woman whom I interviewed was looking after her brother's two children. His third child was living with his mother. The children's mother had insisted on going to England to take a secretarial course, against the wishes of her husband. Because of this the marriage was said to be finished, although the mother visited the children whenever she returned to Freetown on holiday. This case was such an exceptional one that I heard about it from several different sources. One neighbour of theirs told me, "They live at the back of my house and the day after his wife left I saw him burning her things in the garden. I warned him not to be hasty but he was adamant." There were also instances where the wife's further training overseas had led to her achieving a higher occupational status than that of her husband. This had resulted — in the two such cases with which I was familiar — in the ultimate breakdown of the marriage.

Most Creole women are employed and an increasing number are being employed as professionals, because of the opportunities now available for them to obtain scholarships to study overseas. This increase in opportunity for higher status occupation for women has made
them more independent - both financially and socially. A woman's full-
time employment and further training is made possible through the
services of her mother. In some cases the husband's mother may also
assist the family.

Care of children by the grandmother however is not merely the
outcome of increased female employment, but is the continuation of a
fairly common pattern in Creole family life, which I shall describe in
more detail in Chapter 3. According to this pattern Creole children
may be fostered by relatives. When the early Creole traders used to travel
in the Provinces, most of them left their families in Freetown to protect
them from the dangers of the heathen territory, but others took their
wives with them while their children stayed in the care of grand-
parents in Freetown. These grandparents frequently looked after these
children for very many years. One woman for instance, who had gone with
her husband, a Methodist minister, to Nigeria, had sent two of her
children home to her mother in Freetown when these children were five
years old so that they could go to school. They remained with their
grandmother for ten years until their mother returned from Nigeria.

This implies that there is a particularly close relationship
between mother and daughter in the Creole family, and this I found to
be the case. All the Creole women interviewed whose mothers were still
living, said that they made an effort to give financial assistance to
their mothers. With some, this amounted to complete financial support
for the mother. Obviously this is easier for those who are employed
than for the few who are unemployed, but even the latter said that they
make an effort to give something to their mother. This is the case
regardless of the social status of the mother. It is also clear that
any money sent is for the mother and not the father. Fathers may
receive occasional gifts and sometimes complete financial support, but
the money given to a mother by her daughter is for the benefit of her mother alone. Where possible, interaction between mother and daughter is also frequent. One interviewee said - 'I can’t get to my mother all that often because she lives some distance away, but I phone her two or three times a day.' Another said, 'I do my mother’s shopping for her three times a week.' Another whose father had died said, 'My mother always helped me when I needed her, so when my father passed away we came to live in this house with her so that she would not be lonely.' This interviewee went even further than this - 'I sleep in the same room as my mother. My husband sleeps on his own. It is our custom you see, never to leave old people on their own.'

This strong link between mother and daughter is surprising in view of the fact that these very daughters were likely themselves to have been reared by grandparents, in the absence of the mother. One would not therefore, expect this emotional bond between mother and daughter. My own view is that this relationship is a functional one for Creole society. It forms the main pivot in Creole family life. The relationship is strengthened through reciprocity. I have been discussing the importance of the role which the Creole grandmother plays in caring for the grandchildren, so that her daughter can achieve status and independence. In return for these services, the daughter helps support the mother both socially and economically. The significance of such links between women has already been mentioned in relation to the Creole family and the rituals and ceremonials which surround this family. These links help to reinforce not only the immediate family ties, but they help to co-ordinate and define the Creole group as a whole. The mother-daughter link makes the Creole family a stable unit and counteracts the disruptive effects which the friction in husband-wife relationships might have on the family group.
Marriage and Husband-Wife Relationships

The family used to be instrumental in the choice of marriage partners. Courtship was strictly supervised by the parents. I was told that, 'A man has to introduce his future wife to his family. If they like her they say, 'Mar we wef' (this is our wife). If they don't like her they say 'Mar you wef' (this is your wife). Today Creole parents lament their lack of control over their children in their choice of marriage partner. Despite their claims however, I found that strong pressure is still put upon both sons and daughters to marry within the Creole group. Parents point to 'mixed' marriages which have failed as warnings of the dangers of such a union. They stress polygamy as one of the causes of such failure.

Parents will go to great lengths to protect their daughters from such relationships. One Creole girl, with a high standard of education was in love with a Moslem boy, the son of a wealthy businessman. The girl's father was a Creole professional and a well known Churchman. The girl's life was made miserable, not only by the objections of her parents to the romance but also by the expressed disapproval of others of her own generation and status, who were members with her of an exclusive Creole group. Her mother became worried that she was driven to consult an Aladura (Turner, 1967), (a prophet of the Church of the Lord) about her daughter, although the mother herself was a staunch member of the Cathedral. The Cathedral has been described by Fashole-Luke (1968, p. 130) as 'that bastion of Creoledom', whereas the Aladura movement is regarded with a considerable degree of aversion by the Creole Christians of Freetown. The social importance of a Creole marrying a Creole is emphasised through ritual. It is the bringing together of two Creole families and the formation of further cross-cutting ties between individuals. After the marriage has taken place however, there is a tendency for the
activities of husband wife to become more and more segregated. One attractive but discontented young wife told me, "You marry someone and you are sure that in your case it is going to be different. Then his friends come around and make fun of him and call him a woman because he wants to sit at home with his wife and in the end he joins them and you've lost your husband." The London born West Indian bride of a Creole professional whom I met, expressed fears for her marriage after three weeks in Freetown. "Whenever we go anywhere with his friends — swimming or tea party or to dinner, I always find myself the only woman left talking to the men. All the others will have gone off on their own or they sit separately. One woman told me about Freetown men and the 'sweethearts' they have after they are married. When I told her Jack was not like that, she just looked at me and I knew she was thinking 'wait and see'." At wedding parties which I attended the same segregation between the sexes was evident. Men arrived late and would often retire together to a different part of the house. Even the dancing was carried on by women independently of men.

Only in the most 'westernised' families do husbands and wives exchange visits with friends and couples. Men spend most of their evenings out of the home either visiting their own friends or at association meetings, such as lodge meetings. Male and female organisations are distinct. Most women say that when their husbands' friends come to their house, they come alone, without their wives. Of the 22 Creole women in the sample who were living with their husbands only 6 claimed that they regularly went out together with their husbands. These were all professionals. Four of these however, said that a considerable amount of their own and their husband's social activity was conducted independently. On this subject, as on the subject of 'outside families', women were reluctant to give information to a
European. Most women were aware of the joint social activities assumed to be characteristic of European husbands and wives and they felt that to acknowledge their own social activities, was, in a sense an acknowledgement of a less 'civilised' way of life.
Social Networks and Social Interaction

These segregated activities of men and women, suggest that it would be easier to examine separately, their social networks. A study of the social network is essential to an investigation of the 'style of life' of a group. It is through social interaction and shared channels of communication that common norms and perspectives, which distinguish a specific 'style of life', are developed.

As I have described, after marriage a man will return to join his peer group and a woman will resume ties and contact with her family and the friends she made before marriage. In all 33 cases interviewed, women's closest friends were those whom they had known at school, or over a long period of time. 'Our families knew each other and we grew up like sisters,' is a phrase which occurred frequently. The overlap of friendship with kinship was often noticeable in interviews. One woman said, 'I would regard my cousin and my sister as my closest friends', whereas another said, 'A friend is someone you can rely on and visit whenever you like. Someone who will help you when you are in trouble. My friend and I are just like sisters.' This overlap of family and friends is possible in Creole society, as social relationships are not confused through a complex economy as in Britain. There was frequently an interchange of gifts between friends, which helped to build up a system of mutual obligation. Reciprocity in relationships was evident from many statements made. Mrs. Green, when discussing her three closest friends, said, 'If they have funerals or weddings in the family, then I go along to help them. When my father died they were a great help to me. We are very familiar with each other's families because we all grew up in the same district and our parents were friends.' Many said that they wear the same clothes as their friends when they go out together, to dances or parties.
Friends are also met through clubs and associations. Some of the women interviewed stated that their employment and family responsibilities kept them fully occupied. Nevertheless most of these women, despite their other obligations, manage to belong to a surprisingly large number of clubs. One professional women's club for instance, was in existence at Fourah Bay College and was attended by both Sierra Leonian and European members of staff or the wives of staff members. The secretary of this club, while I was there, was the wife of the Vice-Principal of the College. She herself was a medical doctor and had a private practice in Freetown, in addition to part-time medical work at the College. She was an active member of the Family Planning Association. I also met her frequently at other association meetings. She belonged to many of these associations although she was able to attend meetings only spasmodically. Very often her name appeared as patron of various functions and of course, in addition, there were the numerous informal parties and gatherings of family and friends, which she was obliged to attend.

The abundance of societies is not a recent phenomenon. Newspapers published in Freetown over the past twenty five years bear witness to the proliferation of clubs and societies over this period. The earlier years record more literary societies organised by the 'Committee of Ladies' and others organised by the 'Committee of Gentlemen.' The latter was a committee made up of professional Creole men. Its counterpart, the 'Committee of Ladies' was manned by the wives of such men. I was told that 'businessmen might be included provided that they could keep up the standards.' These committees were formed to raise money for particular occasions and charities. One such committee was formed to raise money for Fourah Bay College. At one time when the College was faced with the threat of closing down, the late Mr. Boston called such
a committee. He asked those in the community who were in the best position to raise funds to sit on the committee. Amongst other societies recorded is the Ladies Musical Society. This was formed by women who had received their education overseas, where they had studied the Arts. Only practising members were invited. This ensured that all who came would have received a similar education and that they would all, therefore, belong to the same status group. It is easy to see the significance of these societies for the Creoles as a group. They not only establish and reaffirm links between members and across the Creole group, but they are able to raise practical support for Creole institutions. Of course it must be pointed out that it is not only Creole institutions which have been assisted by these social groups. Their aim has been far more altruistic. While I was in Freetown a great deal of support was raised for the School for the Deaf. The benefits of this school will certainly not be limited to the Creoles. Nevertheless the point I am making is that these societies, by their very membership and origin, inadvertently serve to give the Creoles identity as a group.

Some societies are relics from the Colonial period. Amongst these are societies such as the Rotary Club, the Ladies Tea Club and the Corona Society. The original function of the latter for instance, was to assist wives of Government officials serving in the Commonwealth, in adjusting to their environment. It still includes expatriates, but Sierra Leonian membership has gradually increased, until today the Africans — who are mainly Creole professionals — have the larger percentage of members. Recruitment is based on a recommendation from an existing member, so that it is easy to see how these groups will become self-perpetuating. At one meeting of this society which I attended, very few members were present at the time appointed for the meeting to
start and the few who were there were the European members. One hour later, several cars drew up outside and the Sierra Leonian members — who were all Creoles — dressed in navy or black, got out. All had been attending the funeral of the cousin of one of the members. This shows that all were linked either by ties of friendship or kinship.

Many of these societies are linked to the schools. Each of the 'status' schools had its own Old Girls or Old Boys Association. The percentage of Creole children attending these 'status' schools is very high. It follows therefore, that the percentage of Creole membership of the associations connected with these schools is also high. Thirty of the 33 Creoles interviewed had attended one of these 'status' schools and the majority were members of the Old Girls Associations even if they did not regularly attend the meetings of these associations. In this way they kept in contact with relatives and friends who had attended the same school.

The girls' school with the highest status accorded to it and a very important one in Creole history, is the Annie Walsh Memorial School. There are many associations which have grown up in connection with this school. There is the ordinary Old Girls Association to which any ex-pupil can belong, then there are groups formed by girls who attended in specific years. For instance, there is the Hampolet group. The name is a combination of the names of three ex-principals and any girl who was in the school during the time of these principals can join this group. Another such group is the Filsley group, another the Winter group and so it goes on. There is also the Annie Walsh ex-pupils' Friendly Society which was started a long time ago. This gives scholarships to girls who cannot afford to pay fees. Another such group — the Annie Walsh Endowment Society — raises money to put into the school funds. Once, when the school was short of funds and there was a threat that the
government might take over the school completely, the Endowment Society set out to prevent this and raised the necessary money. The Church of England has representatives serving on the Board of Governors of this school and also serving on it are five old girls of the school. In addition to all this there are several other social clubs attached to the school with broader interests and aims. Each of these clubs has its own officers, its own constitution and its own social events.
The Church and its Associations

It is impossible to discuss the social network of the Creoles without reference to the Church. The Christian religion has had a great influence on the Creole 'style of life'—particularly in relation to socialisation, which will be discussed in Chapter 3. It has also provided the Creoles with channels for communication.

A Freetown Sunday is an impressive sight, even though Freetonians themselves bemoan the reduced church attendance. The Reverend E. Fashole-Luke (1968, p. 127) writes, 'Freetown can be described as a city of churches and mosques....for a population of 127,917 souls there are 65 churches.' All Creoles are members of a church, even those who do not attend. All pay class fees even when they do not attend the classes, as without this they cannot be assured of a Christian burial.

Church attendance also served to make the Creoles more cohesive vis-à-vis other tribes. Mrs. John reported that 'At that time churches would hold missionary meetings. Reports from the different missionary stations would be read out and the Bishop would describe his travels and what he sees and how many converts there are at different stations. Sometimes they would bring the 'natives' (people to entertain us with a play or to tell us what they are learning at the Mission School. We in Freetown were then sending aid to these schools. The Annie Walsh School for instance would send clothes to these people and the 'natives' would then perform for them, wearing the clothes which they had been sent.'

Each church has a proliferation of committees and associations connected with it, such as class meetings, mothers unions, youth fellowships. One such association which is now less popular than it used to be is the Dorcas Association. This was a meeting of a band
of women attached to the Anglican Church - usually elderly women. They used to meet to sew clothes for the 'natives'. Wellessey-Cole says (1960, p. 67), 'It was a grand sewing meeting of the elderly women of the parish in the tradition of the early Christians who used to meet in the house of the saintly Dorcas. The things they sewed were then sent to the Sierra Leone Missions for use in the hinterland of our country.' On the 4th March 1945, the Daily Mail gave a description of celebrations for the 1st anniversary of the Dorcas Association of Wesley Church. Public notaries were called in to give speeches, and the festivities included organ solos, trumpet solos and a variety of bands performing. These celebrations, which combined the religious with the secular, continued for three days and ended with a Grand Bazaar. The ritual and ceremonies surrounding such associations served to increase their importance in the social organisation of the Creoles. Many such associations have now waned in significance, but there is one general Christian organisation which still has considerable influence in the town. This is the Y.W.C.A.

The Y.W.C.A. was started in 1915, after the founding of the Y.M.C.A. The early Presidents were all prominent citizens in the town. The President at the time I was in Freetown was also a renowned public figure, a patron of many well established charities and the wife of a well known Freetown lawyer. She joined the Y.W.C.A. in 1929. She was also a member of one of the important societies connected with the Annie Walsh School. All the other members of this particular society also joined the Y.W.C.A. in the early 1930s. The association started its own school in 1961 and at the time that I was in Freetown, had raised sufficient funds to build a grand new Institution for Vocational Training. The aim is to foster vocational training for which there is a great need in the town, and membership
is open to all ethnic groups. There is however, already a strong link between this new school and the Annie Walsh School. The Chairman of the Board of Governors is a member of an exclusive Annie Walsh association, and an old girl of the school, as are many members of the Board. The Bursar and the Principal of the school are also old girls of the Annie Walsh School.

From this one can see a strong connection between Christian associations and education. Many of the existing educational institutions were started by Missionary Societies. The boys Grammar School has had many headmasters (including the present), who were Canons of the Church of England. There is also a close bond between the Church and Fourah Bay College which was originally established as a theological college. The present Principal of the College is a Canon in the Anglican Church.

These religious associations provide a meeting ground for Creoles of all classes while providing an opportunity for leadership for the professional group. They give mutual aid to their members and are linked to other associations in the town as the leaders will also be participants in these other associations. It is evident therefore that the links provided by these societies are mutually reinforcing. Through them, cross-cutting ties are established. They also link those Creoles of high status with those who are of lower status.

Equally important is the fact that they support and protect Creole institutions and serve to define the Creole group in relation to the non-Creoles.

Mens' associations are also related to schools and churches. A review of the columns of Freetown newspapers over the years shows the large number of Old Boys' associations attached to various schools and the frequency with which they held their social functions. From
July 1944, articles appeared in the columns of the *Daily Mail* drawing the attention of the public to the Centenary celebrations of the Grammar School. A special centenary committee was set up to organise the social activities for this centenary celebration. The chairman and members of the committee were old boys of the school. All were professional Creoles. Advance programmes for this celebration were published in the newspapers, and the main Old Boys' Association of the School set out to raise funds for the modernisation of the School. Some years previously, an Old Boys' Improvement and Endowment Society had been set up to supplement school funds. At the centenary service held at the cathedral a list of clergy present was published in the *Daily Mail*. The list included one archdeacon, three bishops, three canons and seventeen ordained ministers. Almost all of these were old boys of the school.

The members of old boys' associations will meet over and over again in other social organisations, too numerous to list completely. As with the women's organisations, some of these clubs such as the Rotary Club or the Junior Dinner Club, were taken over from the ex-patriotes. In these, as in clubs such as the Football Club and other sports associations, one finds the same names recurring. Men's clubs associated with the church are also a feature of the social network. The report of the selection of officers for the Y.M.C.A. which appeared in the *Daily Mail* in 1955, showed that the President and two Vice-Presidents were those whose names had been listed in the *Daily Mail* 1945 as being members of the old boys association of the Grammar School. Some men belong to the choir of their own church. It is said however, that today men have less interest in church organisations than women. Women work far harder in raising money for their own church — and the majority are now earning so that they can
give their own money - and they have more church organisations than men. The Y.M.C.A. has also waned in importance in contrast to the Y.W.C.A.

If male church organisations have decreased in importance, other male organisations have increased in importance. Foremost among these as Cohen (1971) has shown, is Freemasonry. Cohen has linked the proliferation of lodges in Freetown with the increasing threat to Creole privileges by the rising power of the natives. The Masonic movement provided the Creoles with a mechanism for informal organisation, 'largely without any conscious policy or design. Freemasonic rituals and organisation helped to articulate an informal organisation which helped the Creoles to protect their position in the face of increasing political threat' (Cohen 1971).

CREOLE NON-PROFESSIONALS.

Association ties and family ties therefore reinforce the group as a whole. Creole group consciousness is thus expressed in a shared 'style of life' and reinforced by collective action through formal and informal associations and through ritual. This 'style of life' has enabled the Creoles to maintain their high status within the community, despite outside threats. It is a 'style of life' which is shared by all Creoles regardless of wealth. To be a Creole is an advantage, even to those who are not professionals, in securing professional status for themselves and their children.

The Creole professionals are the reference group for all Creoles. The symbols of status, such as style of food, dress, housing, are recognised as such by professionals and non-professionals alike. In the village of Gloucester for instance, where I spent some time, the Creole villager will eat African food at home. At the church social however, Cornish pasties and cucumber sandwiches will be amongst the food served to the guests. In the same way, in clothing too, the
western orientation is unmistakable amongst non-professionals as well as professionals.

Just as the non-professional accepts the status symbols of the professional, so too does he accept the values of the professional. The whole pattern of Creole occupational mobility shows a trend away from farming and manual crafts, such as stone masonry, into professional positions. The trend still continues. The Creole population of the villages is constantly decreasing while the immigrant non-Creole population expands. Parents complain that their children are no longer interested in remaining in the villages and crave the excitement of the town. On the other hand these same parents encourage their children to gain an education and many are sent to live with relatives in Freetown for at least part of their period of secondary schooling. Education, therefore commands as much respect from village non-professionals as it does from Freetown professionals. One Gloucester woman told me that her husband was regarded in the village as an eccentric. He had achieved professional status—he was a teacher in a Freetown grammar school—but he was more interested in farming. His ambition was to raise sufficient capital to develop his land, so that he could become a full time farmer and relinquish his teaching post.

The extended family gives support to the non-professional as well as the professional, in sustaining the 'style of life' necessary for the achievement of high status. I have already mentioned village Creoles who send their children to relatives living in Freetown while they complete their secondary education. The children of the less wealthy may also be accommodated by more fortunate relatives during their schooling period. These relatives may pay the school fees for these children. Sponsors closely connected with the family,
such as godparents may also assist with school fees in cases of need. Membership in the 'big family' can be of great assistance to an individual seeking employment. There is a considerable amount of patronage involved in securing jobs and a 'cousin' in an influential position can be of vital assistance to a new applicant. Because of the flexibility of the Creole family, 'outside' children are given an opportunity to share in this Creole 'style of life'. Regardless of the ethnic group or economic position of the mother, outside children are frequently incorporated into the legal family of the father. If this is not possible then they may be sponsored by a relative of either father or mother (if she is Creole) and included within the 'big family'. In this way outside children are also given the opportunity for educational and occupational success.

Association membership assists a non-professional in the same way as does membership of the 'big family'. Some associations restrict their membership to professionals, but there are others which are open to all, especially those associations based on church membership. The Y.W.C.A. for instance is a very flourishing women's organisation and includes both professionals and non-professionals. Church membership itself also provides a link between the two categories. These links, both family links and organisational links assist both Creole professionals and non-professionals. The professionals are assisted through cross-cutting ties within the Creole group as a whole, in maintaining their 'style of life' which serves to perpetuate their high status. The non-professionals, as they share similar values with the professionals are also able to share a similar 'style of life', despite lower material standards. Because status groupings have largely coincided with ethnic division, the privileged in Freetown have been identified with the Creoles. Cohen (1969, p. 194) makes this point more clearly. He states that where status cleavages cut across ethnic
divisions then the less privileged from one group will co-operate with the less privileged from other ethnic groups. Where however, 'class cleavages will overlap with tribal groupings, so that within the new system the privileged will tend to be identified with one ethnic group and the under privileged with another ethnic group.....
cultural differences between the two groups will become entrenched, consolidated, and strengthened in order to express the struggle between the two interest groups.'

In this case both Creole professionals and non-professionals are included within one status group.
The research which I undertook in Freetown was more a study of the mechanisms through which a privileged group achieves its educational success and maintains this advantage for successive generations, than a study of the obstacles to success facing other groups. The Creoles however, comprise only 1.9% of the population of Sierra Leone. The total population for Sierra Leone is 2,100,333. The Creole population is 41,763 (1963 census). It would seem therefore desirable that some of the major differences in 'style of life' between this small section of the population and the rest should be discussed. The rest I shall refer to as the non-Creoles.

The non-Creoles are composed of seventeen different tribes, each with its own history, economic and social organisation and political structure. A fully comprehensive study of such a large and heterogeneous section of the population was obviously impossible within the time at my disposal and the resources available to me. For this reason I refer to these tribes as one unit, taking the assumption that a certain degree of cultural uniformity exists between them, which can be sharply contrasted with the highly westernised Creole culture.

M. McCulloch in 'The Peoples of Sierra Leone', although selecting four distinct groups of tribes in an ethnographic survey, begins by stating that, 'the peoples of Sierra Leone Protectorate have today many cultural features in common' (1950, p.1).

A further and more important justification for a section on the non-Creoles, is the fact that the professional group is by no means a 'closed' group. Access to it is gained through educational channels which are open to all. Despite the positive correlation between academic success and a specific ethnic group, there has been a gradual
infiltration of non-Creoles into the professional group, and it would seem that their numbers are likely to increase. I would like therefore in this section to examine at a general level, the forces operating both for and against non-Creole entry into the professional class.
The Creoles of the Colony were quick to grasp the values of the Europeans and the advantages open to them through education. Within a relatively short time they had moved away from farming into trade. Through trade they accumulated wealth which was invested in land and in education for their children. Education secured for them domination of the highest status occupational positions.

The pattern of prestige allocation for the non-Creoles of the Protectorate had however, taken a different course. The highest prestige in traditional society was accorded to the traditional chiefs. Amongst the Mende - the largest of the Protectorate tribes - there are 60 independent chiefdoms, which include a number of prominent or ruling families who compete to elect a member as Paramount Chief to rule over the chiefdom. The heads of ruling families have inherited rights to land. Land inheritance is through males. The claim of a daughter is subordinate to that of a son and personal status is bound up with the amount of land which a family controls (Little, 1951, p. 87).

The more land a family has, the greater the number of its dependants and tenants and hence the greater the amount of political support which it can command. A dual system of rights in land is described by Little (1951). On the one hand there are inherited rights held by these ruling families. On the other hand there are 'land-holding' rights which are limited to the personal use and occupation of settlers. Such a system of land distribution obviously does not allow for the same private investment in land which the Creoles enjoyed in Freetown. The difference in the patterns of land distribution has, for some time, been a source of irritation to the Creoles. For non-Creoles are free to buy land in Freetown but Creoles cannot purchase land in the Protectorate.
Land in the Protectorate is used for agriculture. The economic organisation of traditional society is based on a subsistence agriculture. 'Few Mende men have permanent western type jobs' (1951, p. 69). Only a small percentage are employed in manual occupations provided by the Public Works Department of the Government and in some white collar jobs in administration or teaching. Traditional Sierra Leone was slow to respond to social change than other West African countries. Little claims that it was probably the extension of a money economy throughout the Protectorate which was the most significant factor in bringing about change in the Protectorate (1951, p. 272). This, together with the opening up of the country to trade and missionaries, plus an extension of the administration fostered greater contact with western culture. The result of this contact was an increased migration from rural to urban areas. More cash could be obtained by taking jobs off the land, while contact with towns increased the demand for consumer goods.

The tribal immigrants into Freetown, for the most part, made up the lowest stratum of urban society. They formed the bulk of the unskilled labouring class. The history of this tribal immigration into Freetown is outlined by Banton (1958). He describes how the growth of the tribal population in Freetown led to problems of administration for the government, and in 1905 an Ordinance came into effect recommending a system of Administration by Tribal Authority among the tribes settled in Freetown. By 1944 Tribal rulers had been recognised for 7 tribes. It was felt that tribal administration would ease the transition of the immigrant from rural to urban area and would help to adapt tribal systems and institutions to the circumstances of urban life. What it did in fact, was to hinder the new immigrant in adopting the value systems of the Creoles. The Creoles themselves objected to
tribal authority and the three legal systems which are now practised side by side in Freetown are the source of much contention (Bond, 1971).

The reaction of the Creoles to the immigrants from the Protectorate was hostile. The tribal infiltrators were of a lower social and economic status and represented a threat to 'civilisation' in the town. Despite the changes which have taken place within the immigrant population, many Creoles retain this resentment of the 'natives' even today. Throughout my interviewing in the town, I heard the constant complaint that standards of cleanliness and morality in Freetown had deteriorated because of the ethnic intermixture. Creole values are not shared by the immigrant group and the gulf between them is still wide. One Creole professional told me, 'We Creoles have been weak. We have stood back and watched while others have broken down those standards which we ourselves have worked hard to establish. The result is that our children have adopted ways which are immoral and the fault is our own.' Some Creoles are aware of their dilemma and have tried to meet the difficulties rather than ignoring them. One famous Creole who attempted to bridge the gulf between Creole and non-Creole was Laminah Sankoh. Another Creole professional of my acquaintance gave his children Susu names rather than the traditional English first name supported by a Yoruba second name. These however, are only a minority. For most Creoles the social gap between themselves and the non-Creoles remains.

Although the new immigrants occupied low status jobs, it was not long before they began to appreciate the importance of education in their efforts to climb the occupational ladder. However, while education assisted the immigrant to Freetown in his search for higher status occupation, it widened the gulf between him and his native village. Little (1951, pp. 255-256) refers to the significance of
of literacy for a native youth, who is made conscious of his new status of literacy in two ways: on the one hand, by the pride he has in displaying the traits of a superior class.... and on the other hand, by the reaction of the non-literate people in characterizing him as a 'white man' and one toward whom they will behave thenceforward with some doubt and suspicion. That which represented 'civilised' behaviour to the Creoles was mocked by traditional society. Little comments that the Mende for instance, 'had little or no use for the non-material traits of western culture. It was strictly against etiquette for a chief to use anything but the native language in front of his people, and persons who emulated western habits in any way were jeered at and ridiculed' (p. 255).

Nevertheless, in order to come to terms with urban life, the new immigrant was forced to adapt to a certain extent to the western pattern of life. Some found that the only way open to them in achieving any degree of occupational success was by 'passing into' the Creole group. This process has been described by Banton. 'A native who wished to climb the social ladder could change his name and pass into the Creole group, but otherwise mobility was restricted' (1957, p. 97). Others were sent or themselves offered their services or those of their children, to Creole families as wards. Early Creole traders and missionaries in the Protectorate, undertook the charge of some Protectorate children and invariably these children were given an education as well as a home in return for domestic services. Much has been written of the abuses of the ward system, but it offered considerable advantages for Protectorate youth in their adaptation to urban society. Demands by Protectorate parents for Creole homes which will accept their children as wards and by the prospective wards themselves have continuously increased. From my own interviewing in
Freetown I found an increased reluctance on the part of Creole professionals to accept non-Creoles as wards, possibly because of the criticism, which they feel is unduly severe, which has been heaped on the ward system. Now increased demands are placed upon immigrant families themselves to receive wards into their households. Many Protectorate men who are now well known in Freetown either as professionals or as members of the government, were at one time wards to Creole families.

Since political reform, the practice of 'passing into' the Creole group, has not been necessary. Political power is now in the hands of the non-Creoles. The demand for places in Freetown's schools has greatly increased. As a result there is even greater pressure on the secondary schools and there is now, officially, no discrimination on ethnic grounds in selection for these schools (Porter, 1963, p. 94). There have been schools established in the Protectorate, but the demand far exceeds the supply (see Sumner, 1963).

Political reform has also brought with it the formation of a 'political elite'. Kilson (1966, p. 233), when describing the characteristics of this elite, pointed to the relationship between many of its members and the families of the traditional chiefs. He refers to a 'persistent pattern of interlocking kinship ties between modern and traditional elite, evident from the very start of modern political organisation.' These chiefly families 'not only gained disproportionate advantages under colonial social change, but, more important, they were able to employ their strategic political position to reinforce these advantages and pass them on to the succeeding generation' (p. 233). Kilson points out that the link between the ruling families and the political elite was almost inevitable in a country where the average rate of literacy was between 5% and 10%.
At the same time, this strengthening of the elitist status of the traditional ruling class and its tendency towards self perpetuation has widened the gulf between educated, professional non-Creoles and the mass of the people. Some writers claim that the political elite have retained close ties with the land and with traditional society (Cartwright, 1970, p.260). It is true that many remain associated with Poro and also return to their villages at regular intervals to visit their constituents, but the main purpose in maintaining this connection could well be purely political. Many provincials accuse leading figures in the government of being Creole-oriented in their outlook and of having become alienated from the main body of the Protectorate people.

The alien character of Creole values and outlook was emphasised by Dr. Milton Margai, Prime Minister from 1956 to 1964 in his address in 1950 to the Protectorate Assembly. In his speech he attacked the political advantage, which until that time, the Creoles had maintained. 'Sierra Leone, which has been foremost of all West African Colonies, is still saddled with an archaic constitution with official majority. The reason for this backwardness is evidently due to the fact that our forefathers, I regret very much to say, had given shelter to a handful of foreigners who have no will to co-operate with us and imagine themselves to be our superiors because they are aping the western mode of living, and have never breathed the true spirit of independence.....'

The political elite, made up of Protectorate members which developed as a result of the political reform for which Dr. Margai fought, displays the 'western mode of living' to as great an extent as did that 'handful of foreigners' (that is, the Creoles) which he scorned. The 'style of life' of the political elite bears western characteristics. My own sample included only two households of the political elite members.
The wife of one of these was Creole and professional. Their 'style of life' could not be distinguished in its essential features from that of other Creole professional households. The children had little or no association with the tribal heritage of their father and were reared as Christians, although the father was Moslem. The Freetown friends and associates of both the parents in these two families and of the children were Creoles. Not unnaturally their values and 'style of life' also reflected those of the Creoles.
Status Symbols

The symbols of status of the non-Creoles, excluding the small professional group which I have been discussing, differ from those of the Creoles. For the Creoles status means westernisation which is synonymous with civilisation. A vital part of the process of westernisation, for the Creoles has been their acceptance of Christianity. This religion, in itself was an important status symbol.

A large number of tribal immigrants into Freetown however, became converts to Islam. Banton (1957, p. 118) states, 'Probably this is to some extent because the adoption of Islam tends to strengthen existing authorities in tribal life and to entail relatively little change in the social system.' This adoption of the Islamic faith gave a kind of unity to the different tribal groupings and set up yet another barrier between the Creoles and the non-Creoles.

The financial demands on the non-Creole professionals, are even greater than those made of Creole professionals. Apart from the acquisition of costly status symbols, the demands for patronage from kin are very heavy. Demands for assistance from relatives close and distant, pursue the non-Creole even into the Freetown setting. One non-Creole professional had given a home, at different times, to 14 girls from her native village, who wanted to make a career for themselves in Freetown. She had fed and clothed these girls and had also provided them with some sort of schooling or training. When I asked her why she had undertaken such a financial burden, she replied, 'I just cannot refuse. They are from my home town and I have been successful, therefore it is my duty to help others. Also if they ask you for your help, it means that they admire and respect you, and so they are honouring you.' The non-Creole is also under some pressure to comply with the demands of his kin, because of the need for political support.
The demands of the non-Creole family are often cited by Creoles as one of the differences between these two groups (Bond, 1971). One Creole girl who had separated from her 'native' husband, said, 'There were always people in the house and some of them I did not know at all. Even so they acted as though they owned the house. You do not feel that anything is your own.'

It is not only the demands of the extended family of the non-Creole which meets with Creole criticism. They also dislike the fact that the non-Creoles are polygamous. Throughout traditional society in Sierra Leone the ideal form of marriage is polygamy. 'Plural marriage confers prestige on a man and is a sign of affluence' (McCulloch, p. 21; see also Crosby, 1937). All the non-Creole professional households in my sample were monogamous. Other male non-Creole professionals of my own acquaintance declared also their intention to marry only one wife. This also creates a gap between this small, high status group and the mass of non-Creole society. It presents a contradiction of the traditional view that plural marriage denotes prestige.
Marriage and the Position of Women

The position of women in the non-Creole family is yet another reason for Creole criticism. A woman is regarded as the legal dependant of her husband or father. Only in special circumstances can a woman sue in court on her own account. The farm or family house will belong to her husband and will be inherited by her husband's kin. A woman's children will also remain with the kin group of her husband if the marriage is dissolved. The husband's financial responsibility towards his wife is limited to providing cloth for her and in case of shortage, to buying rice for the household. The husband's surplus cash may be spent outside his own household, on assisting members of his own kin group and on the acquisition of another wife.

Despite the tensions and instability which exist between men and women in marital relationships among the Creoles, the women play an important part in maintaining those symbols and rituals which are crucial in linking the Creoles together as a group. They are educated and many hold high status occupations. This is not the case among the non-Creole women. The inferior position of women does not give them the status or power to be instrumental in the articulation of their own group as the Creole women are in theirs.

The majority of non-Creole wives of non-Creole professionals, have a very much lower academic level than their husbands. Possibly for this reason the non-Creole wives of Ministers for instance play little part in public life. It is significant that a number of non-Creole professionals are married to Creole or to European women. Of the 9 non-Creoles in my sample, 2 were married to Creole women. Both of these had professional qualifications. In both cases the wife has retained her Creole friends and connections, and both wives and children are included in the Creole network.
Social Networks

The network of the non-Creole professional overlaps to some extent with that of the Creole professional. Those non-Creole women who are educated will not be barred from the old girls' associations of the status schools—although they will not be invited to join the most exclusive of these groups. They will also not be barred from membership in the high status women's organisations, such as the Ladies Tea Club or the Corona Society. However the number of non-Creole women likely to qualify for membership in such associations is very insignificant because of the limited educational opportunities granted to girls by non-Creole families. Other Creole associations will be barred to them on religious grounds. A Young Women's Muslim Association has been formed as have other women's non-Creole associations included in the Federation of Sierra Leonian women, but their status and influence in the society do not compare with those of the Creole women.

For men there is more overlap in the networks of Creole professional and non-Creole professional. In order to gain a higher education the non-Creole professional will have had to spend many years attending the status schools—most of which are concentrated in Freetown. Through this they are linked with their former Creole school-mates on the 'old boy network'. These links will be reinforced through joint membership of Creoles and non-Creoles in such status associations as the Rotary Club and the Junior Dinner Club. The non-Creoles, however, do not share membership with the Creoles in the Freemason's Lodges (see Cohen, 1971).

The non-Creole equivalent of the Lodge is the Poro. Traditionally the Poro Society has important economic and political aspects (see McCulloch, 1950, p. 33; Little, 1951, pp. 240-253). The female
counterpart of the Poro Society is the Bundu Society. In both the Poro and Bundu Societies, the length of initiation has decreased over the years and hence their significance as educational institutions has also diminished. Non-Creole professionals are often reluctant to join these traditional associations of Poro and Bundu. The advantages of membership, for urban living and high occupational success are not clear to them. Many allow their children to be initiated into the societies only as a result of pressure from kin.
To illustrate the differences which I have been describing in a general way between Creoles and non-Creoles I should like to focus attention on one ethnic group in particular - the Aku. This group merits distinctive treatment in that they too, like the Creole Christians, are descendants of the emancipated slaves of Yoruba descent. They, too, settled and remained in Freetown and the Western Region. Fyfe (1962, p. 186) reports that, "Many Aku receptives (in 1831) remained unreconciled to their new home, keeping up their own language and customs." These Yoruba kept to themselves and became converts to Islam rather than Christianity. Thus these Creole Moslems remained distinct from Creole Christians, and by the beginning of the twentieth century were referred to as 'Aku'. Porter (1963, p. 13) writes that, 'Until about the eve of the Second World War, they were a community, who did not share or contest a share in the status-reward-power system of Freetown.' Peterson (1969, p. 238) has argued that both these former writers have used a 'too particularised definition of the term Aku'. Peterson points out that both the Aku (the Moslem Creole) and the Creole Christians, share a common cultural heritage. In the early part of the nineteenth century they certainly had in common, 'language, food and numerous customs' (Peterson, 1969, p. 239). The fact remains however, that the Aku turned to Islam rather than Christianity and tended to live together in their own communities within Freetown. The principal occupation within these communities, as among the Christian Creoles, was trading and a great deal of wealth was accumulated. However, while the Creoles invested the wealth which they had gained through trading, in land and education, the Aku had different ways of spending their money. For the Aku, Islam presented an obstacle to their entering schools with a Christian foundation.
The schools of the Moslem community were Moslem, offering religious instruction and Arabic learning. These schools had little impact on the secular and Christian-oriented education system of Freetown. There are now no Moslem secondary schools and the existing Moslem primary schools do not even approach the standard of the 'status' primary schools. Buildings are delapidated, teachers are not well qualified and the academic level is low. The Aku therefore, although connected by blood or marriage to many Christian Creole families, were not able to compete with them for high occupational status.

Perhaps the position of the Aku can best be illustrated by the reactions of a Creole girl of twenty-five, who had married into an Aku family. The girl — Clayinka — had met her husband, Tunde, while both were studying in England. Her parents had objected to the marriage even though, 'we have distant cousins who are Moslem.' They had objected because 'Tunde was a Moslem and therefore polygamous.' Clayinka's parents had had only one marriage, but she had 3 outside sisters from the same mother, who had lived near them. 'They used to come to our house every morning before we all went off to school.' In spite of the presence of an outside family, therefore, Clayinka's parents had objected to the marriage on the grounds that a non-Christian marriage would not be monogamous. Tunde's father had 2 wives although Clayinka is sure that Tunde himself will marry only one. 'I would never tolerate another woman sharing my house and my husband.'

Clayinka herself was trained as a teacher and although she has one child, she continues to teach even after marriage. 'My husband doesn't object, but of course I am lucky. Tunde's father was educated at the Grammar School and he sent Tunde to university in England. They have a broader outlook than most because of this. At one time the Aku would not send their children to school in Freetown because the schools
were Christian and run by the Creoles and they felt that the Creoles looked down on them. Now all this is changing and boys are being sent to schools in Freetown and some are going abroad for their secondary or university education, just like the Creoles.

Boys however, have more freedom in Aku families than do the girls. Olayinka's sisters-in-law envy her freedom and status. 'It's a man's world still among the Aku. In the family the father's word is law. We Creoles tend to be more afraid of our mother than our father.' Their religion also emphasises the superior status of men. Until recently girls were not given an education and even now only a few are sent to school. The girls stay at home and learn household tasks and sometimes do a little trading. Even those who have gone to school and have reached university standard, are not yet allowed to go overseas. They don't yet want the girls to become professionals.' Parents try to ensure that their sons will marry Aku girls, even though the boys may go overseas, by arranging a marriage by proxy for them. One of Tunde's relatives was at university in America when his parents decided to protect him from western women by finding a wife for him. 'They chose a girl who had lived near them. She was a nice girl but completely naive and uneducated. They arranged the marriage from here while the boy was in America and then sent the girl out to him. In the meantime this boy had fallen in love with an American girl and was very unhappy with the wife chosen by his parents. They are back home now but the marriage is not a happy one and I don't think that it will last.'

Olayinka's own children will be raised as Christians, although she makes them go sometimes with their father to the mosque, so that they will know something about Islam. 'It is still a greater advantage to a child to be a Christian, than to be a Moslem in Freetown, because of the schools.' She is also determined that her children will
not join Poro or Bundu. These secret societies are another thing that makes marriage between Creoles and Aku almost impossible. They allow their girls to go through Bundu and Creoles will never tolerate this for their daughters. I certainly will not. Even the Aku say now that Bundu has outlived its usefulness. It is now confined to a very short period during which they perform the operation — and this is sometimes done in someone's house. One of Tunde's father's friend's daughters went to the Annie Walsh School and they took her out of school in mid-July when she was 13, so that she could go through Bundu and finish by the end of August, so that she would be ready to start school again at the beginning of the autumn term. I asked Tunde why they still did it when it seemed so meaningless, but he said that it was the grandparents who wanted it. To a Creole Christian, the Aku certainly have much higher status than do other tribes because of their common origin with the Creoles. One woman told me that "These Creole Moslems are civilised and many of them went to secondary schools. The native Moslems have their own customs. Perhaps when they are more civilised it will be different. Previously the Creole Moslems segregated themselves a little because they felt that such things as dancing and drinking were immoral. But now their youths make dances and drink beer and even whisky and do everything the Christians do."

Aku wedding celebrations can scarcely be distinguished any longer from those of the Creole. The Qumbe plays and the women dance. Only the entrance of a senior Bundu official, clad in the traditional shaggy black costume, her head enclosed in a black Bundu wooden mask and accompanied by her retinue of chanting women, strikes a note of discord. Otherwise the drinks flow freely, as at a Creole wedding, much to the disapproval of the more orthodox Moslems. There are other rituals and celebrations however, which demonstrate that the gulf in
values between Aku and Creole is still great. One such example are the lavish feasts which celebrate the return of a pilgrim from Mecca. To achieve the title of 'Alhaji' which is bestowed by Islam upon the pilgrim, is, for the wealthy Aku trader, to achieve the ultimate in terms of success.
Conclusion

In this chapter I have tried to demonstrate how the Creoles through their assimilation of western or 'civilised' patterns of living, achieved high status in terms of membership of the professional class. Through their 'style of life' they maintained this status. They developed myths and symbols of status which supported their claims to superiority and distinctiveness and which served to perpetuate their position as a high status group.

When their position as a high status ethnic group was threatened, first by the influx into Freetown of large numbers of 'uncivilised' Protectorate immigrants and secondly by their loss of political power, the Creoles felt the need to preserve their advantages. Many Creoles today are not hesitant to express their fears for their own status and for the general 'standards' of the community, which, until today, they have fought to maintain. Unconsciously they have guarded this status through strengthening their own ethnic group. Both professional and non-professional Creoles share a similar 'style of life', so that general group interaction is not difficult. The flexibility of the Creole family allows it to incorporate outsiders and to develop ties with many other families. In addition to this an increase in social interaction, through rituals and organisations, reinforces these ties between individuals. An increase in social interaction increases moral obligations. It heightens Creole consciousness of their unity as a group. This consciousness is fostered by collective action and by the symbols of a collectivity which in themselves emphasise the distinction between Creoles and non-Creoles.

It was easy for the Creoles to assimilate western values. They were a heterogeneous group with no links with their country of settlement. The non-Creoles however, were held back from acquiring these
same values by the conflict which they presented with the values of
traditional society. There has been a general trend towards social
change which has involved the adoption of western patterns of living
and values. Traditional values however, such as ascribed status,
polygyny, the system of land ownership and inheritance patterns, which
are supported by the traditional secret societies, are a severe handi­
cap to the Protectorate individuals who wish to compete with the Creoles
for status in Freetown. Islam which has attracted many from the
Protectorate also assists in perpetuating some traditional values and
is an inhibiting factor in the acquisition of western education.

The result of this is that non-Creole society is hindered
from thinking or acting as one group, in relation to the Creoles.
The non-Creoles are divided into two parts, both with very different
'styles of life'. On the one hand there is the professional group
which has had to adopt a 'style of life' similar to that of the Creoles
in order to achieve status. On the other hand there is the non­
professional group, with a completely different 'style of life' and
a different value system. The gulf between the two groups has widened,
since in many ways the small non-Creole professional group has more in
common with the Creoles than with their fellow non-Creoles.
The tables in this chapter, apart from those which are taken from the 1963 Census, are derived from data collected by the Central Statistics Office in Freetown, from November 1966 to January 1968, which has since been published as a Household Survey. The sample for this survey was obtained on the basis of the 1963 Population Census. Provinces were divided into Enumeration Areas, as in the 1963 Census and one third of the Enumeration Areas in each Province was selected. From this, a random sample was taken of one third of the dwelling units in the areas selected. This survey however does not analyse the data collected, according to ethnic group. My husband and I both felt that it was important for our respective studies to have this information. As the Creoles were the most important ethnic group for both our studies, the Central Statistics Office very kindly allowed us to take out of their total sample, data relating to the Creoles. This data we then processed on our return to Britain.

2. 'Mixed' in this context refers to Creole-provincial marriages.

3. 'Status' schools in Freetown I shall elaborate upon in Chapter 3. I borrow the term 'status' from Foster's dichotomy of 'low status' and 'high status' schools in Ghana. 'Status' schools in the Freetown context refers to those schools with a markedly high level of academic achievement in relation to the others in Freetown and with an adequate trained teaching staff. Both these criteria, Foster claims are also indicators of the 'high status' schools in Ghanaian society.

4. At present the Government pays 95% of the salaries of teachers at the Annie Walsh Memorial School but Church control even over a small percentage, gives it still some authority.

5. There are three systems of law operating in Sierra Leone: 1) 'General Law' which is English Common Law. 2) 'Customary Law,' of the tribal groups in the country, and 3) Mohammedan Law. The term 'non-native' is used for Creoles alone, who are subject to the General Law. 'Native' is a term used to refer to all others who are not subject to the General Law, (see Joko Smart, 1969).

6. 'Sankoh studied for the ministry in Britain and turned to politics after he was denied ordination service by an Anglican Bishop because he was black. This event caused him to leave the Church altogether, and he discarded his Christian name, E.N. Jones, for the Temne name Laminah Sankoh' (Kilson, 1966). See also Bankole Timothy, 'Laminah Sankoh Remembered' (Sierra Leone Daily Mail, July 30, 1960).

7. See Chapter 3, note 15.
CHAPTER 2
THE HOUSING ESTATE

Status, in an industrial society such as Britain, as in a pre-industrial society such as Sierra Leone, is determined and demonstrated through 'style of life'. This is a combination of different components which determine prestige. Its main indicator, as well as being a crucial factor in status group formation, is occupation. In Britain as in Freetown, the professions are at the head of the occupational status hierarchy.

In the study of the 'style of life' of a professional group however, other, less objective features of such a 'style of life' also have to be taken into consideration. These are interdependent in sustaining the 'style of life' of a professional, but not all of them are easy to identify or to study. In Freetown the problem is simplified by the fact that those with professional status will have attended the same schools and will have a linked kinship and social network and a similar 'style of life'. In Britain on the other hand, many professionals live at some distance from their place of birth; kinship networks and social networks therefore, rarely overlap. In addition to this there is seldom a connection between home and work. The study of a purely professional association therefore would have been difficult. It would not have been easy to study in a comprehensive way, the 'style of life' of its members and such a study is necessary if the informal processes involved in recruitment are to be identified.

The Green Lea housing estate which was chosen as the setting for this study offers a compromise in the study of recruitment to the professional class in industrial Britain. It presents a discrete
residential unit which is overwhelmingly middle class. This makes it possible to present a detailed study of home and family and socialisation. On the other hand the population is not wholly professional (see Table 10); a large number fall into the 'managerial' category. Both managers and professionals are mostly employed by large companies. Their position within the company has been achieved either by selling their services and experience to a number of different companies previously, or by moving up within the company itself. They are occupationally and often geographically, mobile. This group however, although mixed, displays the 'style of life' of the professional class, since it is this status group to which even the non-professionals on the estate aspire.

The Estate as a Territorial Unit

In Freetown there are few socially or ethnically distinct residential areas. In Britain however, the selected residential area is one of the important visual aspects of class behaviour. This is particularly true outside the inner urban area. The farther from the inner London area that one travels, therefore, the easier it becomes to recognise houses and areas as being mainly working class or mainly middle class.

Green Lea housing estate was built in West Dearing, which is situated seventeen miles south west of London. There are two Dearings, an East Dearing and a West Dearing. Much of the East Dearing population corresponds to the concept of 'traditional' (Stacey, 1960). They are primarily local business men, retired bankers or army men, many of whom have long connections with the district. Turnover in this area is not high. West Dearing, the sister district of East Dearing, is, by contrast, primarily working class and is characterised by local authority owned housing. It was in this district that Wates, a large building company,
decided to build their housing estate. During the first four years, five hundred and thirty two dwellings were established. This number was increased to seven hundred and twenty a couple of years later. All houses are of the terraced 'town house' design, with planned open spaces aimed at alleviating possible difficulties which a high density of population might create. Two hundred and twenty of the first five hundred and thirty two are 3 storeyed houses, 178 are 2 storeyed houses with 3 bedrooms, 38 are 2 storeyed 4 bedroomed houses, 68 are maisonettes and 48 are flats. A small proportion of the two storeyed three bedroomed houses were rented, but all the rest are owner occupied.

The middle class character of this estate was, in part, determined by the price range of the houses. When the first houses were built, seven years ago, the prices ranged from £7,750 to £8,900 for the larger houses, to £5,000 for the smaller houses. The builder, as an outside agency (Oans, 1967) also played a part in determining the social composition of the estate.

From discussions with officials of the building company, I learned that there had been little conscious attempt when building the Green Lea estate, to create a middle class 'community'. This estate had been their largest post-war development until that time and had been designed piecemeal, with little attempt at overall community planning. At this stage the company's policy seemed to be to build first and then to study their own developments at a later stage and, as I was told, 'to learn by our own mistakes.' The result is that in their subsequent developments there has been a more deliberate attempt at community planning, through the building of a nursery school for instance, or a community centre.

However, it is undeniable that the builders aimed at a middle class market. The first sales manager stated that it had never been
company policy to dissuade any buyers. Nevertheless he claimed that he had tried to divert buyers to alternative housing if he felt that a 'lower social and educational status' might make them misfits and unhappy in the neighbourhood of their choice. This was verified by a couple to whom I spoke. The husband, a motor mechanic, wanted to buy a house which was in a terrace of houses occupied by families of higher occupational status. His income was not substantially lower than that of his neighbours, yet he claimed that, 'Mr. John done as much as he could to discourage me. Then the wife comes along and when he finds out she's a Civil Servant his whole tone changes.' The sales manager also told me that from his own observations, he had come to the conclusion that bitterness was most easily caused by lack of money. He therefore dissuaded those who were likely to have little money left at the end of the month, from buying a house in a relatively wealthy neighbourhood.

House Type and Life Styles

The majority of householders at Green Lea are employed by large companies and occupy managerial posts. To the reader therefore, Green Lea at this stage must bear a strong resemblance to the 'package suburb' of Park Forest, discussed by Whyte in 'The Organisation Man' (Whyte, 1956, p. 261). He describes Park Forest as a suburb, which, being 'poised at the nexus of America's junior executive migration.... quickly became a haven for the organisation man.' The uniformity of culture pattern which this study portrays has come under attack from other sociologists. One of these is Gans. It was to counteract such descriptions of suburbia that Gans carried out his study of the new suburb of Levittown in Pennsylvania (Gans, 1967), where he manages to distinguish between three types of subculture - the working class subculture, the lower middle class subculture and the upper middle class subculture. The impression he gives however, is that the lower middle class subculture predominates.
At Green Lea most householders fall between the ages of 28 and 45, with an average age of 37.2. The majority of families are those with young children of primary or pre-primary school age. The number of families with teenage children is smaller. The larger houses have the largest proportion of children. In the three storeyed three bedroomed and in the four bedroomed houses 89% of the families have children and the average number of children per house is 1.9. The average age of the householder in these houses is 37.5, and the average income is £2,116 per annum. The two storeyed four bedroomed houses are the most expensive on the estate and house the largest number of teenage children. These houses are built together in an eight row block. The average age of the householder in this block is 36.7 and the average income is £2,633 per annum. The smaller three bedroomed two storeyed houses have an average of 1.5 children per house. The average income is £1,816 per annum. Of the families in these houses 75% have children but there are a greater number of families with older children and of young couples who had not yet started their families. These last two categories are larger in the maisonettes and flats.

Of all the householders 78% are employed by large companies. Their promotion is frequently dependent upon geographical mobility. Thus turnover on the estate is very high. Some residents find this disquieting. One woman told me, 'Wherever you look you will see a 'For Sale' sign. It gives such a false impression. People will think that there is something wrong with the houses or with the estate itself when they see all these signs up.' In fact it seems no accident that many householders who are attracted to such a housing estate are drawn from an occupational category where mobility is important. When I asked for reasons for selecting Green Lea estate, 32 of the 42 whom I interviewed, stated that the house itself had appealed to them. One
described it as 'a practical machine to live in.' It requires little initial effort to make the house habitable, as it is well equipped with heating, cupboards, kitchen units and so on, and it is easy to maintain. For a category of people to whom a house is important as a vehicle for displaying social status and yet who, for financial reasons, may not have sufficient means to obtain household help, this is obviously important. Many people say that they knew when they came that they would be staying for only three or four years and estate houses were easy to move into and to resell. For some the estate itself as a community was important, and many had moved to it from other estates of a similar nature. Fifteen of the 42 that I interviewed had previously lived on an estate. One woman, who had lived in a semi-detached house in a different type of neighbourhood, told me, 'If we ever moved again I would want another estate like this. It's much easier to make friends here when almost everyone else is in the same boat as yourself.' There seems little doubt that many are attracted to the estate as a new community which they can join easily and leave just as easily should the need arise.

Turnover however, does vary according to house type and according to the age and occupational grouping of the householder. Locally based occupational groups, such as teachers are less mobile. So too are older couples whose children are grown up and are living away from home.

In general, the latter are drawn from lower middle class occupational groups (that is, class 4 or 5 of the Hall/Jones scale). The house on the estate represents to most of them, the zenith of their achievement. Many of the wives have fulltime or part-time jobs. One of these families displayed a great pride in the house. It was the first house they had owned, having lived previously in rented accommodation.
Their three sons were already employed in their first jobs. The house had been bought with their joint savings and they had looked at it as an ideal home for their retirement years. Because of this, they were particularly sensitive to the high turnover among their younger neighbours who were likely to move on to higher status jobs and therefore, possibly, to more expensive housing. They attempted to explain this away as a symptom of the 'over-indulged generation'. The wife told me, 'Young people today get everything handed to them on a plate. They get so much when they start out that they are always dissatisfied. There is nothing left for them to work for and so they get tired of one house and have to move on to another and soon they will get tired of that one too.'

Occupations and Mobility

Occupation is a crucial index of status and 'style of life' in both Freetown and in Britain. In discussing occupational mobility in Freetown however, I concentrated upon inter-generational mobility as the economy offers little opportunity for spirialism. (2) Career mobility however was very important for estate residents. For many it was their main reason for initially choosing a house on the estate. An estate house offered value for money, was easy to run and was also likely to be easy to dispose of when the time came to move house again. For the majority of residents anticipated a further move. Thirty of the 42 families interviewed said that they were likely to have to move again for job reasons. Although other reasons were given for possible future moves, such as a better schooling area or a larger house, moves for occupational reasons outweighed other motives for changing house.

The overall figures for the Green Lea estate show a predominance of class 2 occupations (see Tables 10 and 11). Of the 42 families interviewed, 18 of the householders held professional jobs,
20 held managerial or executive posts, 2 worked in routine clerical jobs and 2 were taxi-drivers. (I have classified the last 4 as class 5 or 'border-line estaters', see note 3).

In the introduction, I gave as a minimal definition of the professional, as one with a degree or equivalent qualification calling for a lengthy period of education or training. Of the 18 interviewees who accordingly qualified as professionals, 12 were employed by large organisations, 2 were teachers, 2 were employed as administrators in local education departments, one was a higher civil servant and another was a self-employed pharmacist. One qualified medical doctor had formerly worked as a General Practitioner but found the offer made to him by a large drug manufacturing organisation, 'too attractive to refuse.' Another architect, who is at present working for a large organisation, had aspirations of branching out on his own but doubted whether he would be able to afford to do so. One executive employed by an organisation had actually obtained a second qualification — that of a barrister — in his spare time. 'But of course I undertook it more as a mental exercise than anything else,' he told me. 'The financial sacrifice which would be involved if I wanted to practise on my own, would be far greater than I could afford to undertake.' Eight of the 12 employed by large organisations had made many moves between companies before reaching their present position and most said that they would change to a different company or organisation if more money were offered, or, if they could see that the promotion ladder in the company which they served at present, was blocked. Four were employed by the giant corporations — Shell, Unilever and I.C.I. Each man stated that the financial prospects in these corporations were so good that he would be foolish to leave. One man claimed that, 'Every time I threatened to resign they gave me an increase of salary, so that it simply was not
worth my while to move.' Another woman, whose husband worked for Shell, said of his future plans, 'Arthur has considered moving, if only to broaden his experience. After all he started off his working life in a management trainee course with Shell and has been with them ever since. But I think really that it's highly unlikely that he will change, because the future with Shell is so very favourable.'

Each of these 12 professionals employed by large organisations had moved from at least one other residential area within Britain, and all were involved to differing degrees in travelling for the firm either within Britain or overseas. Anthony Sampson writes (1962, p. 461), 'The career of a corporation manager cuts across traditional societies and local communities; he is a 'spiralist' - moving towards the top in narrowing circles, from one community or country to another.' He goes on to quote William Watson, 'The young business executive in Wigan is likely to have more interests and friends in Manchester and London, or even in New York than he has in Wigan.' This was borne out by my interviews, especially with those employed by the large corporations I have mentioned. One of those employed by Unilever was concerned that the company were likely to offer him a promotion which was so good that he felt it could not be turned down, even though it would mean that he would be based permanently in Geneva. His wife refused to move with the children to Geneva, so the proposed plan was that he should take a flat for himself in Geneva and return to his family at week-ends.

The average age of these 18 professionals is 38. Most felt that they were at the peak period of their career and were optimistic as to their future prospects. It was clear that most were still looking out for jobs with better financial prospects and they seemed to have little loyalty to their present firm which would deter them from making a more profitable move.
The second category in the sample are those within the managerial group who are without professional qualifications. Of the 42 interviewees, 20 fell into this category. The average age of this group was 36 years. Their average school leaving age was 16.8 years. Eight of the 20 had attended private or minor public schools. One had been educated overseas. The rest had attended state schools. The 5 who had attended private schools claimed that this had been a positive help to them in achieving their present positions. One of those who had attended state schools felt that not having had a public school education had been a positive disadvantage to him. 'Peter works in the City,' his wife told me, 'and is always coming up against the 'old boy network' and he sees what an advantage it would have been to have had an exclusive form of education.'

There was considerable evidence of mobility in this group also. Within this category however, it would seem that most of the moves between companies or firms are made in the earliest stages of a man's career. I shall give three case studies to illustrate patterns of occupational mobility.

Case A

The interviewee left school at sixteen years and started off his working life in the counting house of a large paper company. He had his main training in the accounts department of this company. He stayed there two years and then changed to a Dutch paper company where he had further training. After a further three years with this company, he obtained a job as a sales executive with a Finnish paper company. Eight years ago his salary was £2,000. He is now, at 42, one of the managing directors of this company, earning £5,500 per year. Of his future prospects he said, 'As it is a Finnish company, it pays more than would its British counterparts anyway. I'm probably on my
maximum salary now – it will only increase substantially if the firm’s profits also increase substantially. I doubt whether I shall move from this job now. At my age moving can be a dangerous business.'

Case B

Mr. Peters, aged 39, had left state school at 17, after which he went directly into the Insurance business. He started off as an agent for the Royal Insurance Company in the West End and proceeded from there to Luton, where he was 'on the road' as an insurance sales inspector. He returned to Golders Green as a selling inspector. He then transferred to Knightsbridge as assistant manager of one of their branches. Six years ago he left the Royal Insurance Company and joined a small firm of insurance brokers in the City, as a working director. Since then he has been made managing director. With his present firm he cannot move higher as only the owners of the company are above him in the hierarchy. He feels that his present job gives him a great deal of security and although he claims that he would not be averse to another move if it were sufficiently lucrative, he would have to be very sure of the company into which he was going before he could take such a step. His salary eight years ago was £2,000, while his present salary is £6,000.

Case C

Mr. Harries, aged 36, had left public school at 16. He started his career working for a travel firm as a clerk. After two years he changed to a large retail organisation where he worked as a trainee executive for five years. He then transferred to a large property development organisation in the publicity section. Within this firm he rose to publicity manager level, then to sales promotion manager and later, to a directorship with the company. Mr. Harries said that he could get far more money by moving out of this particular
Company and that he had, in fact been offered far more attractive salaries than he could ever hope to command by staying in his present firm. The insecurity involved however, would be great and he felt that he was now of value to his present company and that his value was recognised. His salary eight years ago was £1,700. His present salary is £4,500.

This group have changed their residential areas a great deal but show a tendency to remain with the same employer, especially after the age of 30. Out of the 20 in this category, 11 had remained in the same field of employment for some time and with the same company since their late 20s or early 30s. Only two had had many changes of employer at a later period in their working lives, 3 were in their mid 20s and still at the stage of change; 2 were self-employed and 2 were Germans, employed by German firms in England. The latter cases also showed a similar career pattern, with considerable geographical mobility but within the same company.

This group expressed signs of insecurity, which were absent among the professional group even though their earnings were often as high, if not higher in some cases than those of the professionals. The reason for the insecurity is obvious. The majority of jobs do not carry with them security of tenure and those without a professional qualification are likely to experience considerable difficulty in finding alternative employment, for any reason, they find themselves unemployed. In fact one man from this sample had been employed by a travel firm for nine years. At the time of the interview he was 38. A year later he was offered and accepted a job in a larger American company and his salary increased substantially. One year after that he was given notice to quit by the company and has now been unemployed for many months. There are others living on the estate, whom I did not interview, who are in the same position.
The lack of a professional qualification therefore, almost certainly affects the job security of an employee in this second category. The threat to their employment is also a threat to their way of life and standard of living for, as I have already mentioned, salaries earned in this category are not necessarily lower than those earned by the professionals. It is not surprising therefore, that this group displays the greatest anxiety with regard to the future of their children. They are concerned that their children should be given the education which will secure for them the best opportunity of obtaining a professional qualification and thus, security. Many of these are prepared to buy the education which they want for their children, if they see that the state is unlikely to provide it. Of my sample of 18 professionals, only 4 educated their children privately, whereas 11 of the 20 non-professionals sent their children to private schools.

Of the remaining 4 interviewees out of a sample of 42, 2 were employed in clerical work and 2 were taxi drivers. Their 'style of life' and pattern of social interaction on the estate differs from the predominant pattern. For this reason I have labelled them 'borderline estaters.' (c)

Status Symbols

The importance of occupation as an indicator of 'style of life', in Green Lea as in Freetown lies in the symbols of status which it can buy. The importance of money to householders on the estate, cannot be overemphasised. Of the spiralist group (Watson 1964, see note 3), only two gave any reasons, other than financial, as their main motive for moving from a particular occupation or employer. There were often subsidiary motives for moving, such as the broadening of experience, but the main reason was nearly always a monetary reason. Responses such as, 'I've always got my eyes open for jobs offering more money,'
or, 'The offer was so good financially that it was impossible for me
to turn it down', were frequent.

Green Lea is an estate which attracts a predominantly mobile
occupational category with a fairly narrow age-grading. Here prestige
is given to those occupations which command a sufficiently high salary
for the family to enjoy a high standard of living, which is, in this
case, measured by the status symbols which it can buy. In a different
type of neighbourhood status might be measured by a man's kinship
network or, by his standing in the local community or, by the traditional
prestige accorded to his particular occupation. On the Green Lea estate
however, it is quite likely that a man will not know the occupation of
his neighbour and because of the high degree of mobility, the family
of origin will be little in evidence. High prestige therefore, is
accorded to that occupation which can command a substantial income,
which is reflected in terms of conspicuous consumption. A man's
occupation and income establishes the status of his wife and children
(see Parsons 1954, p. 79). This important on an estate where men
spend but a small proportion of their lives but to which their wives are
tied - at least at this stage of the family cycle.

One very important status symbol at Green Lea, is the
possession of a car. The estate itself is situated a mile and a half
from the nearest railway station and the bus route connecting residents
with this station and with the nearest town, is not conveniently
situated in relation to the estate. Possession or access to a car,
therefore, is very important for a wife living on the estate. Not
only does it make chores, such as the weekly shopping expedition, more
convenient but it also increases the scope for social interaction with
friends, and sometimes also with kin, living outside the estate. Less
evident is the fact that the car plays an important part in intensifying
social interaction between women on the estate itself. Out of the 32 householders interviewed who worked for companies or corporations, 17 were given a car by the company. Of these, 13 had bought their own private car for the wife's use exclusively. One man told me that both the private car and the company car were run on the petrol allowance given to him by the firm and when the company car was sent to the garage for servicing, he would submit his private car at the same time. The garage bill for both cars would then be paid by the company. The four others who had not bought a private car, stated that they were able to allow their wives to use the company car at least a few days out of the week. All of the families interviewed had at least one car, but when that car had to serve the husband as well as the wife, then most frequently the husband used it to enable him to get to work or to the station and the wife had no access to it. Of those working for companies who were not given cars by their employers, 6 were given access to a 'pool' of cars owned by the company, so that the wife was given the use of the family car. Nine wives of the 12 householders not employed by organisations had no access to the family car, which was used by the husband, either in the course of his work or in getting to his place of work. Wives of those employed by organisations therefore, have obviously an advantage over others in relation to this important privilege.

It is not only the possession of an extra car that is the source of distinction between 'organisation men' and others but there is also a difference in the type of car provided by a company and that bought for private family use. The former are large and more expensive than those bought by the private consumer, who is obviously more concerned with the cost of running a car and with the best value for money. The quality of the company car may well reflect a man's status in the occupational status hierarchy. Each move upwards may be
accompanied by a newer and more expensive car. One householder, as a sales executive, was given a Vauxhall Victor car by his company. Later, as sales promotion manager, the same company gave him a Rover. On reaching directorship level the company again changed his car. At the same time, I was told by his wife, the company was buying a new, but inferior make of car, for his assistant. I asked why the company did not give the assistant the second-hand Rover. 'Oh, but they couldn't give a Rover to anyone who is only an assistant', was the reply.

It is not only in the possession of cars that the 'organisation man' has an advantage over his neighbours. There are many other benefits which different organisations give to their employees in order to dissuade them from changing to competitor firms. One manager of an insurance company for instance, had his mortgages arranged for him by his employers and all surveyors', solicitors' and removal expenses were paid for him. An employee may also be given a bonus periodically when a firm's profits are shared between its employees. There are also, many other fringe benefits for the 'organisation man'.

All this adds up to the fact that the 'organisation man' has an advantage over his neighbours in the acquisition of symbols which can establish a household's status on the estate. From an examination of the budgets and main expenses of the 42 families interviewed, it is clear that few manage to save money. Many admit to being overdrawn on their salary every month. Payment on the family car is a runner-up to payment on the house mortgage in the monthly budget of those who are not provided with a car by the husband's employers. Those who have a company car therefore, have an advantage over others.

This inconsistency between 'organisation men' and others, can sometimes give rise to jealousies between neighbours. I was interviewing the wife of a deputy headmaster of a comprehensive school, when
her younger neighbour, who was employed as a sales executive for a tobacco company, parked his new Renault company car in front of her house and alongside the teacher's rather battered eight-year-old Morris Traveller. After commenting on her neighbour's smart appearance and general air of affluence, the woman remarked, rather bitterly, 'Well I suppose that he performs such a vital service for the community that he just has to be rewarded.' This seemed to be an indication of the frustration felt by a section of the residents, who in a different residential setting might have gained prestige by virtue of their relatively high status occupation. At Green Lea, not only was status established by the income from the occupation rather than by the occupation itself, but the 'visibility' factor on such an estate (Dobriner, 1963) made discrepancies in income level between families, more keenly felt.

For the women, as might have been expected on a middle-class housing estate where the majority are under 40 and unemployed, clothing and dress forms an important status symbol. This supports Parson's argument (1954) that as women in most cases do not compete with their husbands for occupational status, their interest and struggle for independent status is, therefore, diverted to other fields such as dress. Even so, many women to whom I spoke expressed themselves as 'astonished at the standard of dress on the estate.' One woman told me, 'I moved here from Richmond where I used to wear any old thing to do the shopping in and nobody would pay any attention. The last thing I expected when I came on to an estate like this was to find mums dressed like fashion plates, pushing their babies to the local shops.' Eight of the 42 women interviewed claimed that their ideas on clothes had, sometimes without being themselves aware of it, changed since they moved on to the estate. 'My skirt length kept diminishing with each
dress I bought. I didn't even realize it until I went home for a holiday and my mother was so horrified. That's what happens when there are so many younger women living around you. Some admitted to conforming to a pattern although at the same time expressed scorn with themselves for doing so. 'I had just finished painting the dining room ceiling,' one told me, 'and my face was streaked with paint and so were my trousers, but it was time to collect the kids from school. I thought 'what the hell, I'll put my old anorak on and slip down just as I am.' But of course I didn't. The thought of the other mothers standing there looking so glamorous, while I came up looking like a 'char' was too much for me. I washed, put my make up on and changed my clothes, before I had the courage to go to the school.' Some of the best attended gatherings on the estate were fashion shows organised by the hairdressing salon, where some housewives, who were clients, acted as models.

Husbands also displayed an interest in clothes. This was particularly the case when men were sales representatives for their firms which involved travel and entertaining as part of the job. Some men also proved to be concerned with the clothing of their wives. 'I always take Jack with me whenever I buy anything,' one wife told me, 'he has very definite tastes and knows exactly what he wants to see me wear.' Another whom I interviewed said, 'It's important to Paul that I buy good expensive clothes and look well dressed. It's not just that he wants me to look good when I go out with him, it really give him satisfaction to be able to provide me with expensive clothes.' It is clear thus, that clothing reflects status.

The house style itself is less important as a prestige factor at Green Lea than it would be in a different type of community. As stated earlier, there are, broadly speaking, three price brackets of
of houses on the estate. There is greater prestige accorded to the two more expensive categories and less prestige accorded to the lower price bracket, but within each price bracket there is uniformity in the design and layout of the houses. Perhaps because of this, the interior of the house and its decoration and furnishings, assume great importance. The housewife who does not take a great pride in the appearance of her house is the exception and the standard of housekeeping is very high. Many men, as well as their wives displayed a concern with the appearance of the house. One wife told me, 'Well I always try to see that everything is in order when Jack returns from work. It depresses him to see the house upside down.' Another woman said of a particularly houseproud neighbour, 'I think Anne has got to be like that because of him. He would be the first to complain if things were not as they should be in the house. He just seems to be able to smell out dirt. In fact, on the rare occasion that he has babysat for us instead of Anne, we have felt obliged to clean the house out before hand.' Others too, whom I interviewed commented that their high standards of house care were as much for their husband’s sake as for their own.

The standard of house furnishings is also very high in most homes on the estate. One housewife of 45, said, 'It never ceases to amaze me how these young couples can afford their high quality fitted carpets and brand new Heal’s furniture. I know my home looks nice now, but I had to wait a good many years after marriage before I could afford to buy what I have now. But the young people today don’t have to wait for anything.' For 8 of those interviewed, the house on the estate was their first home. All but one of these houses was very well furnished. Only 2 stated that parents had given them financial help to start off their home. The others had either obtained a loan to cover the cost of furnishing or had bought on credit.
Class Perspectives

The possession of status symbols serves to differentiate between individuals and groups on the estate. These symbols however, also act collectively, as distinctive features of a middle class estate. In the same way some of the symbols of status among the Creoles act as an articulating mechanism for the Creole group as a whole and serve to distinguish the Creoles from the other ethnic groups. This articulating function of status symbols is particularly important for the housing estate as the district of West Dearing was predominantly a working class area. In one part, the gardens of some of Green Lea houses actually face those of houses in a neighbouring local authority owned housing estate.

In Freetown, status symbols and the cohesion of the Creole group are supported by myths and traditions which have developed over a period of time. Obviously on a new housing estate such a system of beliefs will have had no time to develop. Nevertheless I decided to test the extent to which estate residents thought of themselves as a status group by investigating their subjective class images (see Bott, 1957). Even without direct questioning, many interviewees volunteered information on their own class perspectives. Two wives of professionals, with incomes of £3,000 and £4,500 per annum respectively, claimed that they voted Labour and deplored the 'unhealthiness' of an estate where all the residents 'are drawn from the middle class.' One of them told me, 'I found life far more stimulating in a district where you could live next door to a window cleaner or a bus driver' (she had previously lived in the Paddington area). Yet both this woman and her husband were actively engaged in the struggle for better schooling on the estate. This struggle, as the next chapter will show, was not merely a fight for higher standards in education for all, but was also aimed at retaining
the middle class nature of certain schools. At the other end of the income scale, two whom I would call "borderline estaters", complained about their middle class neighbours. "I think they're all a lot of snobs on this estate," one woman told me. "If you don't talk or dress in the same way that they do, then they want nothing to do with you. I haven't got the money to go spending on clothes all the time, even if I wanted. It took me a long time before I made any friends at all."

This woman's husband was a carpet salesman for a large London firm, earning £1,800. Both she and her husband had left school at 16 and, until they bought their house on the estate, had lived with the husband's mother in a working class district. On the other hand, at a later date, when I met her bringing her son home from school with two of his friends, she was anxious to establish the fact that the son's friends did not come from the Council estate. "They act so rough," she said, "that people will think they're from the estate behind us (the Council estate). But they're really from nice homes."

Also at the lower end of the income scale was a skilled manual worker who was earning £1,000 per annum when he bought a house on the estate. His wife was a post office employee earning £700. When I interviewed him he was constantly referring to his working class background and his working class relatives and spoke of the struggle they had had to get accepted as equals by their middle class neighbours. Yet later, in the same interview, he reported that he had changed, of his own accord, from his skilled manual job, to a white collar job, although it had meant a drop in wages for him. He also volunteered the following information on the difference, as he saw it, between this estate and the working class areas in which he had previously lived: "This estate is very different from a Council estate. On a Council estate you get a lot of noise and rowdyism. Here it's more quiet and reserved like. People
have got a different set of values altogether. There they're all out for getting something for nothing. They take things as they come without no thought of having to work for them. They've got no ambition and they never seem to get their feet off the ground. Here you get people pushing for better schools, but there they just take what they're given.' From these two conflicting viewpoints of the estate, and the subsequent contradictory behaviour patterns it is possible to say that despite differences in status between estate members themselves, they do see themselves as members of a middle class housing estate especially in relation to working class outsiders.

There are many, of course, particularly outside the interview situation, who make no attempt to disguise their pride in their own middle class status and their fear of any encroachment by the working class. Fear may be particularly intense in an area like this where the density of population and style of housing have often earned for it the disapproval of other middle class people because of its similarity with a 'Council estate'. This fear is often indirectly and sometimes openly expressed. For instance certain squares which had a large number of children living on them, began to suffer the consequences of children's play. Grass grew in patches, flowers and shrubs had no chance to grow and young trees were frequently broken. Residents without children were particularly angry at this. 'The place is beginning to look just like a slum' was one comment. Even mothers whose children played on the squares were apprehensive about the impression created. One said, 'Doesn't it look awful? If it were just our children who created the damage it wouldn't be so bad, but it's all the other children who congregate here. I don't know where they come from.' Eventually the maintenance of green open spaces on the north side of the estate was taken over by a management committee formed by the residents. The
result is that the appearance of the open land has improved while children's play on it has been severely curtailed.

The builders must have appreciated the narrow dividing line between the appearance of this estate and that of a local authority housing estate, for there are several clauses written into the lease of the houses which are aimed at preserving the middle class character of the estate. One of these is that washing should only be hung outside on certain days of the week. In practice it has not been possible to enforce this rule, but the fact that the clause was written into the lease has given some residents the excuse for applying pressure on others to keep up the general appearance of the neighbourhood. The Resident's Association, while stating that they are powerless to enforce this clause nevertheless put a reminder regularly into the Newsletter, asking residents to abide by it. Another clause in the lease is that all the exterior paintwork should be white. One man defied this by changing the colour to yellow. The builders - who were still working on the site at that time - received seven telephone calls from residents complaining about the colour of the paint and they were forced to bring men to repaint the woodwork white. There is considerable concern therefore, with the outer appearance of the estate, despite the uniformity of houses. This possibly springs from a fear that if standards are not adhered to, the estate could easily 'degenerate' to the level of a local authority housing estate.

This perception of differences in status ranking between estate members and those living in local authority housing outside the estate is suspected and resented by those from the surrounding area who, for various reasons, are thrown into contact with estate residents. Domestic helps who are employed in estate houses for instance, are very conscious of the fact that estate people see themselves as distinct from
people living in areas around them. "My milkman tells me that he's got more debts to collect from people on the estate than in any other area," one told me, and another claimed that, "The estate's got a very bad name for running up bills and then not paying them. Some of them just leave and can't be traced. They're always shifting anyway, this lot." Another cleaning woman told me, "Mrs. Harris (a neighbour of her employer) told me that when she worked as an assistant in the greengrocer's there were some on this estate who wouldn't even acknowledge her. I don't know who people living around here think they are." Yet, another comment was, "They're always having parties and booze ups in each others houses. I've heard lots of tales about 'goings on' around here and then they've got the nerve to turn up their noses at people like us who are trying to live decently."

The Family and Husband-Wife Relationships

As in Freetown, the family on Green Lee estate is the most important agency in transmitting and upholding the norms and symbols which distinguish a status group. In Freetown, however, one speaks in terms of the 'big' family or extended family. At Green Lee, on the other hand the normal household unit is the nuclear family. In this type of family the relationship between spouses has greater significance as there is no extended family group to lend support to the marriage partnership.

Most of the families at Green Lee are at a stage in their family cycle where money is particularly important. From a survey of family budgets I found considerable evidence of bank loans and overdrafts. The standard of living of many families is very frequently higher than their present salary allows. Money is spent on the basis of earning potential; they anticipate their salary increases. The effect of this is that husbands feel themselves under pressure to work harder and to seek
promotion. For the majority whom I interviewed — that is, those employed by large organisations — promotion meant mobility. It sometimes meant residential mobility, but more important in this context, it meant mobility in Britain or overseas, within the limits of their present job. This had a considerable effect on husband–wife roles and relationships and on social interaction within the estate. First I would like to discuss the effect on husband–wife relationships within the group employed by organisations.

Of the 32 professionals and non–professionals interviewed who were employed by organisations, only 5 stated that their working hours were fairly regular and involved little or no travel. The others stated that their jobs involved a considerable amount of travel. One wife told me, 'you might as well ask me, how many nights a week is he home, as ask me how many nights a week he is away. He is abroad most of the time. He goes for any period from two to six weeks and then is at home only one week at the outside, before he is off again.' Another stated that her husband is abroad in all for as much as six months out of the year. Many husbands said that they were frequently forced to work late — either because of pressure of work or because clients needed to be seen in the evening. Most men employed by large organisations therefore, expected to have long hours of work and regular travel, either within Britain, or abroad, or both. The travelling often seemed to increase as an employee rose in the occupational status hierarchy. It was also correlated with the size and expansion of the employing organisation.

One example of this pattern of increase in absences from home is Mr. Philips. Eight years ago he was a sales executive for a property development company, and was earning £1,800 a year. In this capacity his hours of work were fairly regular. His head office was centred locally
and not in the centre of London. He left home at 8.30 a.m. and returned at 6.30 p.m. in the evening. He rarely worked late and had, only occasionally, to stay away from home overnight while visiting other parts of Britain. Three years ago his position with the company had risen to sales promotion manager and his salary was £2,800. His daily routine remained the same but he worked late at least one night a week. There were occasional trips within the United Kingdom, involving one or two nights away from home. These increased in frequency and once a year he went abroad for three weeks at a time. A year ago this man’s company amalgamated with a larger firm with branches in many parts of the world, and he was promoted to a directorship. His late nights are now very frequent and he is away in other parts of Britain every fortnight for one or two nights. During the past year he has had to make three trips abroad each lasting for six to seven weeks. This pattern is likely to continue, if not to increase. Only one man whom I interviewed, claimed that travelling had decreased. He was a chemical engineer previously employed by a large distilling company. In the course of being employed by this company, he had several residential moves, each one accompanied by a substantial increase in salary. The job also involved considerable time spent overseas - as much as three months at a time in the course of a year. Both he and his wife decided that they disliked this form of life and the husband obtained a job as a chemical engineer for the Gas Council. His salary had to drop slightly in this job. His hours of work are now very regular - he leaves the house at 8 a.m. and returns at 6 p.m. and does not work any extra hours. Very occasionally he has to travel within Britain and this involves only one night away from home, but he never has to travel abroad. The prospects of promotion however, within the Gas Council are not at all good, and he feels that as he is only 37 years of age, he is too young to have stopped ‘spiralling’. 
If the prospects within his present job do not soon improve he may be forced to seek another job with a private company although he realizes that he will inevitably be forced once again into spending more time away from home than he does at present.

The frequent absence from home of the husband must obviously have an effect on family relationships. Of the 27 wives whose husbands had to spend a considerable part of their time away from home, 5 said that they were not bothered by these absences. Twelve wives, although they obviously did not like it, said that they were prepared to put up with it for the advantages it gave them and 6 of the wives hated their husbands being absent from home. Those who were not disturbed by their husbands' travels tended to lead more independent lives than the average woman on the estate. Of the 5, three were employed. One of these 3 said, 'I am very active both in and out of my job. Quite honestly I'm so busy with my own affairs that I hardly notice whether he is here or not sometimes.' The other 2 obviously had unsatisfactory marriages. One of them said, 'Quite frankly, I am delighted when Angus is away. I can do what I like without having any questions to answer. I can also have the use of the car.'

The 12 who had got used to their husbands' absences showed a realization that travelling meant an improvement in the family's financial circumstances and had adjusted themselves to it. 'I've got used to it now,' was a frequent comment by these women. 'Of course I don't like him being away and at one time I was anxious that he should change jobs so that he could be at home more. I realise now of course that this would have put a severe limitation on his career and also on our finances.' said one. Another woman said, 'Well I like the money he brings in, so I feel I can't complain at the type of work he has to do to earn it.' Most of these wives said that they were more socially active when their
husbands went away — they saw more of old friends or neighbours. A few stated that living on an estate of this type made it far easier for them to tolerate being on their own. 'In the last house we lived in, I used to be terrified when Raymond was away because we were some distance from our neighbour. I know I made life difficult for him by making a scene every time he said he would be away. Here it's quite different. I still don't like it of course, but I don't feel so lonely. I have only to knock on the wall and my neighbour can hear me and I make a point of inviting friends around now when I'm on my own.'

For those who continued to hate their husbands' absences life was more difficult. One talked of her terror at nights when she is alone. 'I know it's irrational and that there are people living all around you here, but I just can't help it. When Jack first started to be away from home, he used to get his mother to telephone me at night and she offered to stay with me. But now he's gone away so often that I know I shall have to learn to be self-sufficient.' I try to get out and make myself sociable when he's away, but I always end up by withdrawing because I feel so miserable.' Even here however, there is the implication that the husband's travel is an inevitable part of his job and therefore something which she has to force herself to face.

In some cases though, the strain imposed on family relationships by the prolonged absence of the husband from the home is very severe. The majority adjust themselves to it but there are some who fail to do so. One local doctor claimed that the incidence of emotional disturbances amongst married women on the estate, is higher than it is in other parts of Dearing and he attributed this, mainly to the frequent absence of the husband from the home. There have been three cases of attempted suicide that I know of on the estate. One young woman (not interviewed) with two young children, developed the habit of drug
taking during her husband's absences. The strain imposed by a husband's absence can also lead to the break-up of the marriage. Two couples whom I interviewed four years ago, have since separated. In both cases the husband was away from home a great deal in the course of his job.

The strain is felt, not only by the wife, but by the family as a whole. The situation on the estate contrasts with the account presented by Bott (1957) of husband-wife relationships in socially or geographically mobile families, or to use her own term, families 'in loose-knit networks.' Bott found that families in loose-knit networks emphasised shared interests between husband and wife ranging from social or recreational activities to joint participation in the household and in the upbringing of children. Amongst the mobile families on the Green Lea estate however, the physical absence of the father made it impossible for this ideology to be put into effect. The fact that the husband's lengthy absences from home often coincide with an important phase in the developmental cycle of the family, often imposes an intolerable burden upon the wife.

When the husband is sent abroad for a long period and takes his family along with him there are still problems of adjustment for the wife and children. One wife who had spent two years in Nigeria, said, 'I'm afraid that if Alan is sent to Lagos again then he will have to go on his own. I hated it there and the only thing which saved my sanity was my teaching job. The children were smaller then too. Of course it would be out of the question to take them now. We've got their schooling to consider.' Schooling is a major problem for families sent overseas. Large companies assist in the payment of boarding school fees for older children, but many parents are dissatisfied with this arrangement, as it disturbs the family unit. I met a woman who had gone with her husband, after I had interviewed her, to Nigeria. He was employed by a large
oil company. She had come home to put her children in a boarding school and was utterly miserable at the prospect of returning to Nigeria without them. 'I don't know how I shall face going back without them,' she told me. 'I have nothing to do. I can't take a job in that heat and I'm bored. I'm bored with the country, with my white neighbours and especially with my husband's business associates whom we are forced to entertain. I think I shall go mad.' The wife, in this situation, is faced with a dilemma. She can remain in this country with her children, apart from her husband. Many have chosen to do this even though it means bringing up the children single handed, for a lengthy period. If she does not choose to do this, she can put her children into a boarding school and travel with her husband. Either path can put a considerable strain on the marriage.

From Bott's study of husband-wife relationships in 'loose-knit' networks (1957), a pattern emerges of an increase in shared conjugal interests and joint organisation of domestic activities within these families. Other writers on middle class families have also emphasised the increased interdependence between husband and wife. Young and Willmott (1960) for instance, writing of Woodford stated that with less interaction with kin the conjugal bond was strengthened and husband and wife tended to depend more upon each other for the satisfaction of their social and emotional needs. At Green Lea the mobility of the majority of the householders does not make close husband-wife co-operation possible. This is particularly hard on the wife. Many find however, that the estate itself provides some compensation.

On the other hand there are others who find themselves completely inactive socially when their husbands are away. Many wives envy their husbands' pattern of life, travelling to foreign parts,
meeting interesting people, and eating well on expense accounts. This
too can cause tension in marital relationships. One wife told me
bitterly, 'I don't bother to cook special meals for him when he is
home. Why should I? Nothing I could make would come up to the standards
of the meals he has at the most expensive restaurants. And he calls that
work! I sit here night after night on my own eating sausages and beans.'
This discrepancy in standards between a man's working life and his home
life is illustrated by the Newsoms: 'Among the professional and
managerial group (the wife).......may well feel that her own duties
as a housewife involve more sheer physical effort and drudgery than do
those of her husband at work......Many young men in this occupational
class enjoy higher standards of material luxury and comfort in their
working environment....than they can expect to provide initially for
their wives and families at home; furthermore their wives are often
quite well aware of this discrepancy' (1963, p.221).

Absence from home also affects other spheres of husband-wife
co-operation, such as household chores or house decorating. Twenty
wives out of 42 claimed that their husbands gave them very little help
in the house. None of the husbands did any cooking other than an
occasional Sunday breakfast, or clothes washing or floor polishing and
even minor jobs such as help with the washing-up, were often neglected.
Many of those interviewed claimed that this lack of co-operation did not
stem from an unwillingness on the husband's part to help, but simply
from the fact that he was not available to give assistance. One said,
'There is nothing that Alan wouldn't do if only he had the time. In
fact when he has been forced to - such as the time I spent two weeks in
hospital - he has managed extremely well. But of course he's just not
here to do it and I'm so glad to see him when he is home, that I would
much rather sit and talk to him than have him doing odd jobs around the
Not all wives are as charitable as this one however, and there were frequent complaints from women about husbands' not pulling their weight. Many felt that they were being asked to do too much - the garden, the car cleaning, odd jobs around the house, as well as the normal household chores. Other women had reached some sort of a compromise with their husbands. 'I keep the really big jobs that I dislike most for the weekends when Mike is at home and then he can help me with them,' said one interviewee. Another said, 'I don't mind the ordinary routine housework but I hate special kitchen jobs, like cleaning out the fridge, or cupboards or the rubbish bin and worst of all, the gas stove. Jack doesn't mind doing these things - he did his national service in the Navy and so he was trained to be particularly clean and tidy. He does these special jobs for me as and when he can.'

I would like to turn now to the second occupational category on the estate - those not employed by firms or businesses - and compare family relationships in this category with those in the previous category. Of the professional group, 6 are employed outside these large organisations. Two of those, who were in the teaching profession, were applying for posts as headmaster at larger schools. Both wives claimed that their husbands worked far longer than the normal school hours. One brought lessons home to prepare, involved himself in the extra-curricula activities of the school and gave private lessons to pupils at week-ends. The other, apart from his teaching job, was involved in organising an evening institute which meant that he was away from home every night of the week. He felt that he was at a critical point of his career. If he did not get a headship within the following two or three years (he was then 41), he felt that his promotion prospects would diminish. This is why he had become involved with adult education. He felt it might offer a more promising career, should he fail to achieve the
desired headship. Both these two householders had lived in Basing for the past ten years and did not think they would be moving in the near future. Of the other 3 professionals, one was in the higher ranks of the civil service. He had moved around a great deal and frequently worked late and each residential move he had made had been accompanied by promotion. The other 2 professionals had steady, secure jobs but were without the prospect of any substantial improvement in their salaries. In fact one had turned down the offer of promotion in his present job because he disliked living so near London and having to travel. He proposed to move back to the local education authority in South Wales from which he had come although the move would not be financially advantageous. He had however, been happier living in South Wales.

The only member of the managerial category who was not employed by an organisation, was in the process of establishing his own construction company and his wife complained bitterly that she hardly ever saw him because he was always at work. Two of those whom I interviewed were employed in routine clerical jobs with regular hours. These families showed the highest degree of household co-operation. Both the wives had part-time jobs and both couples worked on household chores at week-ends. These two households and the remaining two householders interviewed, I have described as 'borderline estaters,' as they are a minority on the estate, and I felt that it would be interesting to compare their 'style of life' with that of the majority in middle class occupations, and to see how far this 'style of life' is affected by living on a middle class estate. Two of these four householders were taxi drivers. Both owned their own cabs, but they had entirely different patterns of work. Their social lives also reflected these differences. The first, Jack, at 35, was content with his job. He worked a two shift day; from early morning until noon and early evening until midnight on three days of the week.
For the remainder of the week his hours were regular and he returned home by 7 p.m. He kept Saturday and Sunday free and took the occasional afternoon off to go fishing. At home he helped with the house cleaning and gardening. He often babysat for his wife and sometimes for other neighbours and liked to do odd jobs around the house. The second taxi driver, Paul, at 27 years of age, showed no indication that he would be willing to adopt the 'style of life' of his counterpart. The standard of living of his family was particularly high. His wife was well dressed and ran her own car. Their children were given expensive toys and their home was beautifully furnished. They had bought a great deal on hire purchase and he had to work excessively long hours in order to cover the cost. He left home every day at 6 a.m., returning at the earliest at 9 p.m., though he frequently was not home before 2 a.m.

His aim was to accumulate capital so that he could establish himself in his own business. If he failed in this he felt that he would like to go to the U.S.A. to see if there were better opportunities there. He obviously co-operated little in the running of the household as he was seldom at home. His wife did not complain, for she regarded it as necessary that he should earn as much as possible at this expensive stage in their lives. She did say, however, that she had forced him to stay at home on Sunday afternoons after receiving complaints from the school that their eldest son was emotionally disturbed. The school had advised her that the child needed greater contact with his father.

As in Freetown therefore, at Green Lea men are absent from their homes a great deal. Those who suffer most are the 'organisation men' whose work takes them away from home, often for long periods at a time. Even those who are not employed by organisations however, are, for the most part, involved in the struggle for advancement which entails long hours of work and frequent absence from home. This struggle
occurrences with the most demanding phase in the family cycle. The strain which it imposes upon the wife is very great. Some find compensation through social interaction on the estate itself but in some cases the result is tension and bitterness between husband and wife. At Green Lea however, unlike Freetown, the husband-wife relationship is rarely affected by occupational status rivalry between husband and wife.

**Occupational Status of Women**

The majority of women at Green Lea have children who are under 10 years of age. There are few acceptable parental surrogates and the prevailing ideology is that a mother should be in the house when her children are not at school. Only a small percentage of women therefore, have full time jobs. Of those interviewed, 6 had full time jobs. Of these, 4 were women whose children had left school or were in their teens. Two women were engaged in part-time study and 5 had part time jobs.

Nine women had, at some period, had part time jobs but were not employed at the time of the interview. Fourteen stated that they were never likely to take up any sort of employment and the rest spoke, in vague terms, of returning to work at some future date.

One of the problems facing these women is that in most cases their level of education does not match that of their husbands (see Table 12). Of those interviewed, 13 had stayed at school until 'A' levels or had had an equivalent professional training such as nursing. Five of those who were in full time employment were among this group. Only one woman had returned to work before her youngest child was five years old. Some claimed that the gap in their working careers created by the period of child bearing and child rearing, had made it too difficult for them to pick up the threads of a career again. Some were clearly nervous at the prospect of re-starting. One ex-nurse,
for instance, felt that methods in the nursing profession had changed so greatly since she was last employed that she would not find the courage to start again.

Thirteen of the wives had had a grammar school education to 'O' level standard. Sixteen had not attended grammar school and had left secondary school when they were 16 without any qualification. Many of these find it difficult to find the type of job which they would be prepared to undertake. In some cases the educational level of the wife is lower than that of her husband, but even where the formal level is the same there will still be a considerable discrepancy in status between the husband's job and the job for which the wife is qualified to apply. The husband will have succeeded, through the attention which he has given to his career, in spiralling upwards in the occupational hierarchy. The wife, who gave up her career on marriage or on the birth of her first child, has had no such opportunity. Even those who felt that they had held responsible posts before their children were born found that they were unable to find comparable positions after a break of, sometimes, ten years or longer. One ex-secretary told me, 'My boss used to tell me that I was the most efficient secretary he had ever had and he was a film director and could afford the best. Now I can't get even the lowest paid job as copy typist.' Mothers also suffer from the fact that their children's school hours restrict them to part-time work and few employers will employ women as part-time employees if the labour market can supply them with full-time workers.

The discrepancy in status between their husband's occupation and their own potential work status, is keenly felt by most of these women. One woman who lived near the school on the estate, had at one time, taken part-time employment in the school canteen. 'I lived so near that it seemed the obvious thing to work in such a convenient
situation. But after a while I began to feel embarrassed in front of the children I knew. I know it sounds silly, but I felt uncomfortable when I saw some of the children outside school and they would tell their mothers, 'Oh there's Mrs. Anthony our dinner lady.' Another wife whom I interviewed had at one time taken a part-time job with the local pharmacist as a sales assistant. After four months she gave it up, 'It seemed foolish for me to go to a job at which I was earning five shillings and sixpence an hour and then to come home and pay my cleaning woman at the rate of seven shillings and sixpence an hour. Another example was a woman who worked as an assistant at the greengrocer's shop. She felt that there were some neighbours who refused even to greet her because of her low status employment. Many women have opted out of taking up paid employment indefinitely, even though some of them said that they would like to 'do something eventually.' One woman who found herself expecting her third child when her youngest was seven years old, said, 'I feel so happy now that I have something which really will keep me occupied for some years. I can now stop worrying about getting a job and do something useful with my time, although Jimmy (her husband) says that I shall be faced with the problem again in five years time.' Other, less drastic alternatives to an occupation, are also adopted. Many, for instance, have attempted to resume their studies. Three of those who trained to 'A' level standard and beyond had gained these qualifications by studying after their children had started school. Others attend cultural classes in the evenings - like pottery, or painting, although many women find it difficult to attend these classes because of their husband's hours of work. Another field of activity which some women engage in is fund raising for charities. These alternatives to a job however, rarely take women away from the house for any length of time, and so their interest and
attention is focused inwards, on the estate itself. This intensifies women's interaction with neighbours on the housing estate.

Social Networks

It is this interaction between women on the estate which promotes the development of shared norms and values which integrate the group. Among the Creoles, I tried to show how in the same way, their associations, both formal and informal, served as channels of communication which linked them together as a group. Women on the estate have much in common: housing, school, child care, dress and so on. They are frequently forced to interact by the need to co-operate in different fields. Many however regard this interaction as serving only a practical purpose. It is rare for husbands and wives to interact as couples on the estate. Husbands are away from the estate for a good deal of the time and, unlike the wives, seldom find common interests with their neighbours. When interviewing I asked respondents to name four friends on the estate and to state the frequency of interaction with these friends. They were also asked what they felt they had in common with their friends, whether they exchanged visits as couples and whether the husband or wife had made the first contact. In all cases the response to the last question was that the wife had made the initial contact. The frequency of the wife's contact with her friends was often weekly and sometimes even daily. As couples, however, contact was very infrequent. One woman told me, 'In only one case have both Alan and I ever become close friends of a couple and they are now living in Liverpool so obviously we can't see them very often. I make friends very easily but I'm always sad that it is such hard work to get Alan interested in them. He has his own associates at work, but he hardly ever invites them home with their wives. The only time I ever see them is at large social functions once a year and it's not really possible
to get to know anyone on that sort of occasion.' Another person said, 'You can never really have a satisfying friendship with another woman if your husbands do not get on together.' It is a noticeable feature of life on the estate, that during the weekdays women may frequently 'drop in' on neighbours, but at week-ends this does not happen. Many refrain from calling on their friends if husbands are at home. One wife whose husband was away a great deal, said, 'I can get through the week days quite well, but I hate the week-ends. All the other men seem to be at home then and you can never call on anyone.'

For the women therefore, Green Lea offers a community. They share common bonds through children, housing and similar financial and social problems. In their case, their channels of communication are, for the most part, restricted to their residential area. The husbands however, have separate networks. Their occupations vary as do their positions on their respective occupational hierarchies. This means that few share the same communication channels. Their community is their occupational group rather than the neighbourhood group (see Webber, 1963).

In-Estate' Oriented and 'Out-Estate' Oriented

The social networks of men and women on Green Lea estate are therefore, for the most part, separate. Sociologists have not always made allowance for these differences in the social network between the sexes. Sussner and Watson, for instance, when describing a spiralist's 'community' stated that, 'The nearest equivalent to a close-knit network the spiralist family possesses is possibly the professional association or institute to which the spiralist belongs, particularly if his skill is highly specialized. For although his colleagues are dispersed throughout the country, they meet regularly to discuss professional matters, read about each other in journals and soon learn about changes in status and residence among their associates. Hence, the spiralist
family also gains material and emotional satisfactions but they seek their social support in a less direct way, have more varied demands and are less dependent on kin relationships' (Sasser and Watson, 1962). It is clear to me from this that the authors are referring only to the spiralling salary man himself. The wives in my sample saw little of their husbands' friendship network, based as it was, on occupation. The majority of women were tied to their residential area and, accordingly, depended upon it for their social relationships.

Of course, it is obviously the case that all women on the estate will not interact to the same extent. From observation and from interviews, I have found that estate women can be divided into two categories which I shall call 'inner-oriented' and 'outer-oriented'. I have placed those women who depend primarily on the estate for their weekly or daily contacts and for their friendship, in the former category. The 'outer-oriented' are those whose interests and activities lead them to look outside the estate for most of their social contacts. Thirty one of those interviewed fell into the 'inner-oriented' category and only 11 into the 'outer-oriented' category. From personal observation, I would venture to suggest that this proportion is representative of the estate as a whole.

The inner-oriented are those for whom the estate provides the core of their social network. The majority are under 40 and have children under 10 years of age. Of the 31 in this category, 10 had close relatives living in the London area but they did not maintain close contact with these relatives, nor did they depend on them for support in the care of their children. Five of the 10 claimed that contact was not frequent because of transport problems. Three had no access to a car and 2 stated that their parents were not well enough to travel to them. The other 5 maintained that there was little
contact because the social distance between them and their parents or other close relatives had grown so great that they felt they now had little in common with them. Of these 31 women, 21 had either their own car or the use of the family car. Nevertheless, because they have young children, much of their time is restricted to the estate. Parental surrogates, who feature so prominently in the African situation, are not normally available on the housing estate.

These women therefore, turn to the estate itself, for their main source of communication, friendship and support. The majority of contacts are made through the children and possibly, because of the children. Where social contact is maintained between women living in different parts of the estate, invariably this contact has been initiated through the children and the school. Other contacts are usually made on a neighbourhood basis. Six of those interviewed claimed that their closest contacts were with their next door neighbours.

"Visibility" (Dobriner, 1963) on the estate clearly paves the way for this sort of contact to be made and if women or even couples find something in common, then the contact is maintained. When the estate was first built it was fairly common for large gatherings to develop such as coffee mornings, or even coffee evenings for women and occasional sherry parties on Sunday morning or Saturday evening, which would include husbands. These large groups either broke up altogether or split up into smaller groups. One version of them given to me was — 'It became such an incredible waste of time, that I stopped going to them. Twenty women together, all living in the same area — it's inevitable that we end up discussing the house and kids. Although I must say that I was grateful for them in the beginning because I met a lot of people that way.' Possibly the main function of such groups was to get people together in the initial stages and once this was
achieved the larger group became redundant.

However the contact is made, most interaction in this category has, in its early stages at least, an instrumental basis. One of its functions is to provide companionship. Mothers with young children are particularly tied to their homes and can sometimes — even if they have the use of a car — be completely housebound. If her child is ill for instance, a young mother may be confined to the house for days or even weeks, if she has nobody with whom she can leave the child. Hannah Cavinron (1966) commented on the loneliness of the mother at this stage in the family cycle. The companionship of another woman who has children of a similar age can therefore, offer considerable psychological support to a mother at this stage in her children’s development. Many women told me that they invited friends to their house to tea or coffee in the mornings, so that they would have someone with whom they could talk while the children also benefited from play with others of the same age. Most other forms of co-operation are also based on the children. One of the most important needs mothers is to secure baby-sitting arrangements for themselves. As other writers (Newcomb, 1963; Cavinron, 1966) have pointed out, middle class women put much emphasis on going out with their husbands for an evening’s entertainment. On the estate many women also want to feel free to go out in the evening when their husbands are not at home, so that it is important for them to secure a supply of baby sitters. In parts of the estate large baby-sitting circles have been organised. Elsewhere, baby alarms have been installed along some rows of houses. Others prefer to have arrangements with two or three friends for the exchange of baby-sitting. Daytime baby minding is also organised in this way. Some women manage to have a few hours or even a whole day free by arranging for a friend to have their child or children for that
Another basis for regular co-operation is in the transporting of children to and from school. Women with cars will sometimes take neighbours for shopping excursions off the estate. Those without cars will usually reciprocate in different ways. It is this reciprocity which is the principle underlying friendship based on co-operation. In a number of cases social interaction has ceased through a breakdown in reciprocity.

In any regular interaction which is based upon co-operation, reciprocity is important. This is as pertinent to co-operation between women among the Creoles, based as it is, upon the kinship network, as it is to co-operation between non-related neighbours on the Green Lea estate. Among the Creoles I pointed out the reciprocity in the mother-daughter relationship and between members of the 'big family'.

Until now I have used the terms 'interaction' and 'friendship' as though they are interchangeable. Those whom I interviewed used the terms in the same way. In an attempt to gain a more exact definition I asked them to name three or four close friends living on the estate and three or four friends who lived off the estate. Those living off the estate were frequently living some distance away and were seen at irregular intervals, yet invariably the interviewees felt 'closer' to these friends than to friends on the estate. Part of the difficulty arose out of the definition of the term 'friendship'. Many writers claim that the middle class do not consider their immediate neighbourhood as a source of friends (see Bott, 1957). Stacey writes that in middle class Banbury, 'Neighbours are to be acknowledged, but they are less often close friends. At Christmas, when social impulses are nearer the surface, they may be invited in for a drink, but at all other times of the year, the principle is 'hedge green, friendship green' (Stacey, 1960, p. 104). However, on Green Lea estate, many claimed that they
moved on to an estate of this sort in the hope of making friends. Indeed the reaction of most women when I asked them to name their closest friends on the estate, was that their friends were so numerous that it would be difficult for them to reduce the number to three or four. Yet at the same time they admitted to feeling 'closer' to their friends who lived away from the estate.

In attempting to define 'friendship' many suggestions were put forward, such as one who would provide stimulus, or companionship, supporter advice. Most seemed to feel however, that friendship should have an additional quality which they found difficult to define. This quality was not necessarily present in general interaction even though the latter might also offer comfort or support. The closest approach to a definition of this extra quality was 'affection' or 'warmth' in relationships. When this more precise definition of the term 'friend' was reached, many whom I interviewed were clearly unsure as to whether they could classify those individuals or couples whom they had already named as people with whom they interacted regularly, as friends. Remarkably few were certain that they would keep in touch with friends on the estate, should they move away from it.

The main characteristic common to all close friends named by interviewees, who lived away from the estate, was that they were scattered over different parts of the country. In addition they were people whom the interviewees had known over a reasonable period of time. Some had been friends since their school days. On the other hand it was noticeable that a substantial number of close friends listed, were former neighbours. From this one might reach the conclusion that the extra quality inherent in friendship as opposed to interaction, has developed over time. Moreover it seemed that in many cases, interaction itself had led to friendship. It might be assumed therefore, that social
interaction between residents which was initially initiated for utilitarian purposes, might develop into friendship over a period of time. Most of those whom I interviewed agreed that this could be the case.

Among the 'inner-oriented' category there are some who, although they look to the estate for their main source of friendship and support, do not fit in with the majority of people living on the estate. Only 4 of the 31 'inner-oriented' interviewed were of this type. These individuals seem to find their own associates over a period of time but it takes longer for them to do so and very seldom are these associates found among immediate neighbours. One example is Rosie, the wife of taxi driver Jack, whom I have classified as a 'borderline estater.' She encountered great opposition from neighbours when she first moved on to the estate. Her husband was a taxi driver and she herself had a part-time job as a bar maid and they had moved from a house in Wandsworth. 'It's a big old house. Jack's mum and dad are still living there. But we got coloured tenants living on the top floor and we can't get them out. Jack and me got tired of the smells, so we moved out. Jack chose this place, not me. He's mad on fishin' and he always come up this way. So I've got to put up with living here just for the sake of the bleedin' river.' Her accent was the source of much comment from neighbours. Some mothers were afraid that her son's accent would rub off on their own children and so they were, at first, ostracised. Despite the fact that Rosie had close relationships with relatives, she had no car, which made it difficult for her to maintain frequent contact with them. 'I nearly went mad when we first moved 'ere. I'm one of those who's got to have someone to talk to. I could see my neighbours with four or five women to coffee almost every morning, but she never asked me in. Mind you, it's not my style really - the embroidered tray cloth
and best cups and all that — but I would have liked someone to have a
chat to. Anyway one night Jack gets home and says there's a mate of his
living on this estate. So I goes round to his wife, tells her who I
am and we've got on fine ever since. They're like us, they like their
drink.' Rosie later obtained a job as barmaid in the pub on the estate
and her circle of acquaintances widened with drinking and drinks parties
as the common bond between them. Some of the others in this drinking
group were also misfits in their immediate neighbourhood and the
marriages of two of them broke up within the space of one year, with
considerable scandal attached to them. It was obvious, that although
she had succeeded in making friends on the estate, Rosie was not
altogether happy with the group in which she had found herself. 'I
like my drink as much as anyone, but I don't like to lose control of
myself. Jack doesn't like it either, but this lot (her 'drinking group')
is always making fools of themselves. Take Pat (an ex-night club singer
who was a member of the circle) — she's a whore. Everyone knows it.
Her neighbours won't have nothing to do with her. If people see me with
her, they'll think I'm the same as her. Sometimes she gets so bad she's
tight even when the little one comes from school. Last week the woman
next door to her found her on the floor and phoned me to come and take
the little one. I don't really want to lumber myself, but they know
I'm friendly with her and it will look bad if I say 'no, I won't help.'

This illustrates the way in which a person who does not fit in
with the main 'style of life' on the estate can be pushed into interaction
with a group with which she does not feel completely in tune.

The second category of women on the estate are the 'outer-
directed'. For this category most of their interests and contacts lie
outside the estate and the majority are without children. Some are
young marrieds who buy their first house or maisonette on the estate.
Also without children are those whose families have grown up and left home. These have come to the estate for their retirement. Their social contacts remain with their kin group or with their former neighbourhood. This is the most permanent category on the estate.

Most of the husband's earnings in this group are in the lower ranges of the income bracket and are not likely to rise spectacularly. Most of their social contacts are with their kin or with former neighbourhood friends of long standing.

There are some couples who, even though they have young children, can be described as 'outer-oriented'. These have parents of either spouse living nearby. They have less need of the mutual co-operation which contacts on the estate can give them. The services supplied in other cases by neighbours, such as baby-sitting, are in their case, performed by relatives. "We haven't used baby sitters since John was born (he was then 3 years old). Whenever we want to go anywhere we just bundle him into the car and leave him at mother's and then collect him the next morning. He would rather be there than with us." Of course most in this category also interact with others on the estate, but because of the absence of need for co-operation and support, the interaction is less frequent than in the 'inner-oriented' category.

Also in this category are those who, for certain reasons make a deliberate attempt to get off the estate and to keep up with associates outside the estate. Sometimes they have close kin living near and they are usually mobile. One of these women said, "When I spend all my time on the estate I have a trapped feeling. The world seems a very narrow place when I'm here and it's always a comfort to know that there is something outside it. Fortunately I have a few friends who live fairly near and I make a point of visiting them at least once a week. I spend the whole day with them then." Even these however cannot do without
PLAN OF SQUARE I

Row B

2 storeyed, 3-bedroom houses - 6 children

Pat
Jean

Green
Open
Space

Row C

3 storeyed, 4-bedroom houses - 16 children

Rona
Jean
Hazel

Row A

3 storeyed, 3-bedroom houses - 3 children

Dorothy
neighbours altogether. One woman told me, 'I've hated living on the estate. I would be happy in a house surrounded by a high wall. Here it's like living in a goldfish bowl. I try to get away from it whenever I can. I don't know many people, but I have one good friend who will always help me out with the children and I do the same for her. I think everyone needs someone they can turn to, who is near at hand.'

PATTERNS OF INTERACTION ON TWO SQUARES

While I was conducting the study it became apparent that there were differences in the intensity of interaction in different parts of the estate. In order to identify factors responsible for this I undertook a sample study of two squares in two different parts of the estate. On one I knew there was a great deal of interaction, while on the other social interaction was very limited.

The reputation of square one as a 'happy square' had spread beyond the confines of the square itself. A number of women whom I interviewed referred to residents of this square as 'a tight-knit bunch' or 'a sociable lot' or yet again as 'women who live in one another's houses.' American sociologists have written on the effect of the planning of a residential area upon the residents of that area (Whyte, 1956; Festinger Schaefer and Back, 1950; Orlans, 1953). I propose to begin therefore, by delineating the lay-out of square one. The plan shows 4 rows of houses which face this square - 25 houses in all. Of these, 13 houses are 3 storeyed, 3 bedroomed houses, 6 are 3 storeyed 4 bedroomed houses and 6 are 2 storeyed 3 bedroomed houses. Two rows open directly on to the green open space, the others are separated from it by a road. These 25 houses contain in all, 41 children. There is more interaction between Row C and Row B than between the other rows, and residents claim that this is because these two rows open directly on to the green. Both Dorothy in Row A whom I interviewed
and Ruth in Row D claimed that they had become 'involved' with others in Row B and C because these two rows were the first to be occupied. Dorothy and Ruth were the first to move into their rows and found themselves automatically included in the activities of the other two rows. Ruth, a particularly sociable individual, then introduced her immediate neighbours to the others as they moved in. Nevertheless, Rows A and B interacted less than did the other two rows. Table 13 distinguishes between the extent of social interaction according to row. I identified nine different areas of social interaction. These were coffee mornings, activities involving mutual co-operation (such as taking children to school) baby sitting, afternoon outings or shopping expeditions, evening 'get togethers' between women, evening 'get togethers' between couples, husbands' joint activities, large evening parties. Those who were involved in one or two of these activities I rated as having a low degree of social interaction, those who were involved in three to five of these activities I rated as having a moderate degree of social interaction and those who scored six or over, as having a high degree of social interaction. Those whom I interviewed supplied me with the information on the others in their rows in relation to these activities. Table 13 shows that only 10 are very much involved socially with one another and that Row A has the lowest rating in social interaction. Four families in this row had no children and both husbands and wives were at work all day. The remaining two families (those who rated as having a moderate degree of interaction) had close relatives of the wives living nearby with whom regular and frequent visits were exchanged. These relatives also helped the families in crises and with baby-sitting. In Row D, Ruth and her two immediate neighbours on one side and one neighbour on the other were linked together by a baby alarm system. However, only Ruth and one of these others were very
involved with activities on the square. Here again two of those who were only moderately involved had relatives with whom they interacted a great deal. The one woman in this row whom I rated as having a low degree of social interaction, had older children and was also an 'isolate.' Her husband drank a lot and used to beat her when he returned home late at night. Ruth told me that, 'It got so bad that we could all hear her shouting and even the children would wake up in the end. We all tried to help. The girls would invite her to the coffee mornings and to the parties but it got too much for any of us. She used to come and sit with me and monopolise all my time. She would even be here sometimes when Paul came home late in the evening. I had to put a stop to it. She once walked out and left the children. Well he couldn’t look after them; he’s hardly ever there — so we took it in turns to go in and see to them. He sent them off to boarding school after a while. She came back but she can see that we've had enough and she doesn’t bother with any of us now.' Another 'isolate' lived on Row C. Roma who was her next door neighbour, told me that, 'They live their lives in a different way. She seems less intelligent than other women around here and her husband seems to look down on her. Although their relationship does not seem, by my standards to be a happy one, she seems to have accepted her inferior position and does everything he wants. He is an aggressive man and has made a number of enemies, and possibly he doesn’t want to see her friendly with any of us. They also seem to resent the fact that our standard of living is higher than theirs and that we enjoy ourselves. When they first moved in their two little boys used to play on the square with the others, but every time the children quarreled the mother took it as a personal attack on her. She doesn’t let them play with the others now.'

The physical lay-out of the square therefore, does seem to
have an effect on the degree of social interaction between residents but its influence is outweighed by other factors, such as the presence or absence of children and the ages of the children. Also of significance is the extent to which the families interact with their own kin. The degree of reciprocity in the relationships is also of some significance as the example of the 'isolate' in Row D illustrates. Most couples participated in the large parties which took place once every two months and to which all residents on the square - with the exception of the two 'isolate' families - were invited.

I interviewed 7 of the 10 women amongst whom there was a high degree of social interaction. These 7 had certain features in common. The first of these was that all except one had husbands who were away from home for long periods, even by the standards of the estate as a whole. The husbands of 6 of the women travelled in the course of their jobs while that of the seventh worked very long hours. These women got together when their husbands were away. One of the difficulties which they encountered in recording the extent of their social interaction was that it was, to a large extent, dependent upon the number of husbands who were away at the same time. Another important factor was that 4 of the 7 lived some distance away from any close kin and 5 maintained only moderate or infrequent contact with kin. The other 2 lived near the wives' mothers (both fathers were dead) and both maintained very frequent contact. One of the wives had a part-time teaching job and while she was at work her mother came to look after her small children. The other was also helped by her mother who frequently came to babysit. These mothers however came to visit their daughters more often than their daughters went to them. Thus the close contact with kin did not take these women away from the estate. These were the only women whom I interviewed who mentioned neighbours as close friends.
The fact that most of these husbands are away from home for considerable lengths of time usually means that there is very little husband-wife co-operation in performing household tasks or in the care of the children. Most of the wives felt that their husbands would do more at home if they only had more time, but 2 were less charitable and took the view that their jobs gave the men the opportunity to opt out of tasks which anyway were distasteful to them.

The result of this was that there was a great deal of mutual co-operation between these women. Tasks such as decorating the kitchen for instance might be shared between them. Another shared activity was the weekly shopping expedition. Hazel told that, 'At first only Joan had a car of her own and she used to help all of us by either taking us with her or by getting stuff for us. Then Roma and Pat got their own cars which meant that all of us could do our main shopping together. Now we've all got cars so that it's not necessary for us to go out together. When I first moved here I hated this high density living and I couldn't wait for Mike to buy me a car so that I could get away from here. But now having a car doesn't make any difference really - there seems to be hardly any time left to get away anyway.' The fact that the square is time consuming was mentioned by many. Roma said that, 'At first I tried to make a few contacts off the estate - I joined the Dearing Festival and Drama Societies - but I've found the square so demanding of my time that I've had to drop my outside contacts completely.'

Roma who was a part time teacher - one of two whom I interviewed who was employed - claimed that her work made her more independent of the others. 'In the evenings I have essays to mark and classes to prepare and so I can't join in everything. I can't always accept invitations which people offer when John is away.'

When I asked these women why they felt that their square was
particularly friendly I received a number of different replies. Hazel, for instance said that the fact that the men got on so well together helped to consolidate them as a group. Some of the men would get together for drinks on a Sunday afternoon, or would co-operate in taking the children swimming or for walks when they were home. All men who were home would interact, together with their wives in small evening groups or in the large parties. However, the fact that men are away for much of the time and that all the initial contacts were made by their wives suggests that they are more passive than active participants in the social life of the square. Another reason for interaction given was intelligence. 'I feel that intelligence and a similarity in educational background must make a great difference to whether people get on well together.' When I investigated the educational background of the interviewees and their husbands, I found in fact, that there were great discrepancies in the educational levels of this group. Of the women, two had university degrees and one had attended grammar school to 'A' level standard. One of the others had obtained 'O' levels at a grammar school while the remaining 3 had left secondary school without obtaining 'O' levels. Four of the men had university degrees, two had obtained 'O' levels at a grammar school while one had left secondary school without 'O' levels. Pat felt that the common bond between the others — although she excluded herself from this — was that they were concerned with possessions and the appearance of the house. Jean also emphasised the point that there was no material rivalry between them: 'Most people here have a secure, and a high income. I think that a high income level takes the rivalry out of friendships.' Here again, although it was not possible to obtain details on income, there were obvious differences, according to the type of occupation of the husband, in salary level and certainly in the
security offered by the job.

A more detailed case study of one of the 7 women might serve to identify factors which foster greater interaction more clearly. I have chosen Ruth as I thought that as a 'borderline estater' her account might be more illuminating. Ruth, a beautiful, well dressed young woman, had been born and brought up in America and had come to Britain when she was 13 years old. Her husband, who was British, was a taxi driver. She was the most enthusiastic about the friendliness of the square residents. 'We moved here because Paul was mad about the type of house and the environment. Until that time we'd been living with Paul's Mum and Dad in a council house in Wandsworth. Paul is one who always wants to better himself. He felt that the kids weren't having the best chance in that area. All the other kids were rough and ours started to use bad language with them. As soon as he saw this house he fell in love with it and that was it. We've felt the difference in both the area and the people since we've been here. In fact we feel that our own outlook has changed quite a bit too. Certainly we've got less in common with old friends. After living here they seem so narrow-minded and I know they feel embarrassed because our house is so very different from theirs. Of course we still see Paul's Mum and Dad — I've always got on with them very well. We try to see them once a month but our visits have got farther and further apart because we hardly ever seem to find the time. They don't like coming to us — they'd rather we went to them. When we first moved here Paul began to get cold feet at having moved into such a superior neighbourhood. He said to me, 'You just wait until they know I'm a cab driver and they'll drop us like hot bricks.' I laughed because in America we're not class conscious like you British. Any man who works hard — even with his hands — is admired. Anyway I haven't found any snobbishness here — I'm
sure it just depends on your own attitude to people. In fact it was not until our fourth big party on the square that anyone even asked Paul what his job was. Anyway why should they? As far as I can see we're the same as anyone else around here. I share an interest in clothes with the other girls - in fact Paul always likes to see me dressed better than the others. Our children have as much as any of the other kids and the house certainly looks as good as anyone else's house - I've even got my own car now. Of course Paul has to work terribly hard - he works every night of the week - sometimes until the early hours of the morning. Still he doesn't seem to mind and because the girls around here are so friendly I don't notice it so much. Their husbands are away too, so there's no difference on that score either. I know I've got to put up with him being out at night if I'm to get all the things I want. Once we've got all we want for the house we'll start to put some money away for the kids' schools. At one party Paul had such an argument with Joan about schools. She was so cross with him because he said that he would send the kids to public schools if he thought it necessary. It made me laugh that a cab driver was more anxious to send his kids to the best schools than a university graduate. I think a lot of it is pretence though. I'm sure that most of them will send their kids to private schools if the standards of the state schools go down.

I think I've learnt a lot since moving here. When the girls get together we always try to talk about something outside the home. Paul is amazed that I get on with them as well as I do - after all I was barely 16 when I left school. He says it may be because of my accent. Because I'm American I don't have an English working class accent. One of Paul's workmates, Jack, lives on the estate too but his wife Rosie hasn't got on with her neighbours and her accent is
Plan of Square 2

Row C
3 storeyed, 3 bedroomed houses - 6 children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doris</th>
<th></th>
<th>Jennifer</th>
</tr>
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Road

Row B
2 storeyed, 3 bedroomed houses - 6 children

Row A
2 storeyed, 3 bedroomed houses - 3 children

Green
Open
Space

Fields and Metres

Road

Row D
1 child

Homes
awful. Mind you I don’t have much in common with Rosie either – so maybe it’s just her. She’s also jealous of the fact that we have so much – her Jack doesn’t work as hard as Paul, that’s why.

It’s nice to be able to have nice things when you’re young enough to enjoy them. Naturally we have money problems, but who hasn’t? We bought our carpet on the nine months system and my earnings at the chemists one day a week help to pay for the dining room suite. Sometimes we sit down and try to work out where it has all gone. We never budget – if you’ve never got enough to save anything then there doesn’t seem to be much point in budgeting. The second car was a luxury really. We’d borrowed part of the money for the deposit on the house from Paul’s Dad and we felt guilty about getting my car before we’d paid that off. Still Paul works hard and we never have holidays, so we must have something to enjoy.

Ruth’s case and the study of interaction on square one demonstrates the importance of symbols of status and a shared value system over and above occupational status. These status symbols are features of a shared ‘style of life.’ The demands of this ‘style of life’ result in prolonged absence of the husband from home. This in turn encourages social interaction between wives. This social interaction is based on mutual co-operation which can lead to friendship. It also leads to close channels of communication, which lead to the development of a shared outlook and a common system of values.

On square two, I knew from my initial investigations, that there was little social interaction. As the plan of the square shows, there are very few larger houses. Only 5 are 3 storeyed 3 bedroomed houses. The majority (Row A and Row B) are 2 storeyed 3 bedroomed houses. Row D is made up of ground floor flats and upper floor maisonettes. The 3 bedroomed houses as I stated at the beginning of
this chapter have a lower proportion of children than have larger houses and flats and maisonettes house a greater than average proportion of older couples or young couples, who have not yet started to have children. As can be seen from the plan the proportion of children on this square who are under 10 years old is unusually small.

The three households which had the greatest degree of social interaction were next to one another in Row B. Anne who lived in the centre house told me, 'Our children are more or less the same age and are always in one house or the other. We don't fall out over children's quarrels either like some mothers around here. We also have a lot in common - our interests are the same. Pam's husband and mine go away a lot in their jobs and if they are away at the same time we can keep each other company. It takes the loneliness out of it. The three of us help each other out with shopping and babysitting and things.' Even between these three families however, the degree of social interaction could only be classified as 'moderate'. Amongst the others interviewed the degree of social interaction was low. Sonia in Row A claimed that the number of older couples and those without children on this square made it difficult for those with children, 'As soon as they see children out on the square they're at their windows to see what damage they're causing. They're lucky that they don't live on other parts of the estate.' This tension caused between families with young children and older couples with no children or with grown up children was noted in a report on three Wates housing estates by a team of town planners and architects (Shankland Cox and Associates, 1969, p. 70). This report recommends that, 'Each housing scheme needs a variety of dwelling types so as to offer freedom of choice and to counter the danger of physical and social uniformity. This argues for a mixture of dwelling types. On the other hand, there may be tensions between
residents if, for instance, the dwellings likely to appeal to older people are placed in close proximity to common open spaces where children are likely to play."

Even between those families with children however, there was little interaction. Jane in Row A had one child who was the only grandchild of both her parents and her husband's parents. As both sets of grandparents lived within one hour's drive of the estate Jane saw a great deal of both of them - especially of her own parents. 'I can hardly keep my father away,' she told me, 'Twice a week at least he's here either to spend the day with Gareth (her child) and me or to take me over to Mum. Mind you I'm quite grateful really. This place is not a very convenient one to live in when you haven't a car and I've got more friends near my home than I have here.'

Mrs. Harries who lived in Row D had two children who were married and who lived in other parts of the country. She disapproved of the 'style of life' of the majority on the estate. 'All they think of is what they can get - spend, spend, spend - that's all they want to do. One car is not enough for them - they've got to have two cars. They have no idea what it is like to have to save for anything.' Mrs. Harries and two of her friends, also from Row D used to go out once a week to a Dearing Women's Club meeting outside the estate.

Jennifer in Row C claimed that one reason why people did not interact on the square was that some were jealous of others. 'Jonathon probably has too many toys I know,' she told me, 'but some people just can't accept the fact that some do have more than others. John who lives across the road was playing with Jonathon a few weeks ago and as the window was open I happened to hear him say to my Jonathon, 'Your Mummy thinks she's everything just because she has two cars.' Well a child of six must have heard that in his house first of all.'
Thus, one of the most important factors contributing to the low level of social interaction on square two was the relatively small number of families with children in relation to those families without children. Another was the different styles of life created by interests and activities off the estate, such as the interaction of some families with kin living away from the estate, or of a few older women in joining a social group outside the estate. Those women on the square who were 'inner directed' tended to have more communication with women who lived in other parts of the estate than with those on the square. It appeared also that there were a number of families on this square who were unable to maintain the symbols pertaining to a middle class status group.

In both square one and square two the extent of social interaction is affected by the planning of the estate. On square one for instance, Row B is the only row with cheaper, 2 storeyed houses, whereas on square two only Row C has the more expensive 3 storeyed houses. In the beginning of this chapter I pointed out the different income levels in these two types of houses. Interaction is also often greater between houses which open directly on to an open green. On square one for instance Row C and Row B were more socially interactive than were the other two rows. On square two however, the two rows — D and A which are not separated from the open green by a road have the smallest proportion of children under 10 years old living on them. Row D which is composed of flats and maisonettes appeals to those couples who are without children or who have only small babies. Nevertheless despite this, the physical influence of the residential area is less important than the effect of shared communication channels leading to a shared 'style of life'.

In this chapter I have attempted to identify the factors involved in the development of a shared 'style of life' which leads to
the formation of a status group. I began by paying attention to the occupation of householders, since at Green Lea, as in Freetown, occupation is one indicator of status. Another indicator is wealth which at Green Lea is related directly to occupation as the wealth of all the householders whom I interviewed (and I would assume that this is representative of the whole estate) is derived almost totally from occupation. In Freetown this is not the case as many derive their wealth from land and property as well as from occupation. At Green Lea therefore, I concentrated on a description of career mobility, while in Freetown the emphasis was on inter-generational mobility.

Occupation and wealth, important as they are in the formation of a status group, cannot account for it completely. In both situations an important factor in group formation was the threat to the group's respective privileges. At Green Lea the threat was felt in the field of education, and expressed itself through the struggle of the residents to have schools with a middle class character. The 'style of life' of the residents, expressed through symbols of status, the socialisation of children and social interaction led to shared norms, attitudes and values which distinguished the estate as a middle class status group.

In the same way, the threat to the Creoles as an ethnic group, resulting from their loss of political privileges (see Cohen, 1971) resulted in the development of a 'style of life' shared by rich and poor, which served to unite them as a group.

The social network of the Creoles facilitates the development of this shared 'style of life.' In the same way the interaction between women on Green Lea estate, leads to shared channels of communication. Women are, for the most part, confined to the estate. This means that their channels of communication are restricted, which in turn, promotes interaction between neighbours on the estate. Interaction leads to the
development of friendship and a shared 'style of life'. As I have shown, not all women on the estate will share this 'style of life'. Other factors, such as the extent to which they are involved in kinship relations, or the lay-out of the estate itself, influence the extent to which some will become involved. Nevertheless the predominant occupational pattern of the husbands, which involves them in lengthy absences from home, enforces mutual co-operation between the majority of women on the estate. In Freetown this co-operation is based on the wider kinship group. Green Lea therefore provides an example of the way in which a neighbourhood group in industrial society, can fulfil some of the functions performed by the kinship group in pre-industrial society. Mobility is an intrinsic feature in the occupational structure of industrial society. In order to cope with the problems imposed upon them by industrial society, the women on Green Lea estate co-operate on a reciprocal basis. This enforced association leads to social interaction and the development of group solidarity, which is displayed through shared status symbols and a shared code of behaviour or conduct.

NOTES

1. The incomes given represent those of initial house purchasers in 1964. There is no information available on turnover. The information on incomes was kindly made available to me by the builders, as was the information on the ages and occupations of initial house purchasers of the first 532 houses on the estate.

2. 'Spiralism' was a concept, coined by Watson (1964), and can be used to describe the career patterns of both managers and professionals working within large-scale organisations, as both groups work within 'formal hierarchies of statuses of large-scale organisations which provide the new professions with a ladder of promotion through which to advance their careers. The similarity of bureaucratic structures allows a professional man to start as a junior in one, climb through intermediate in several, to a senior position in yet another. But even if he remains in the same organisation, they operate on such a large scale that he is obliged to remove his place of residence as he leaves one branch for another. This mobility in
career and residence is characteristic of persons with scientific, technical and administrative professions and for this reason they have been termed spiralists.

3. 'Borderline estaters' is a term which I have coined to cover the four in my sample who, while they have officially middle class occupational status, do not have a 'social status' based on objective factors in their 'style of life' which matches this. Stacey (1960) makes the same point in relation to the assessment of social status in Banbury, where she feels that occupational status ranking alone, is an insufficient measure of a man's social status (p. 191).

4. See Alwyn D. Rees — 'Life in a Welsh Countryside' (1950) summarised in R. Frankenberg's 'Communities in Britain' 1966. Frankenberg (p. 50) writes that in Llanffihangel, described by Rees, 'It is from his kindred that a man acquires the beginnings of his reputation. The key question in placing a man is not here 'what does he do for a living?', or even 'Where does he come from?' but 'To whom does he belong?' 'What is his family background?'

5. Stacey (1960) points out that for people in the 'traditional system' there are many factors other than occupation alone, involved in their social status ranking.

6. This man was interviewed during the pilot survey. He was not one of the 42 interviewees who made up the final sample. His views however, on the contrasts between Green Lea estate and a local authority owned housing estate seemed particularly relevant to the discussion of class perspectives of estate residents.

7. For a detailed discussion of child-rearing patterns at Green Lea — see Chapter 4.
PART TWO: SOCIALISATION
The main pattern of recruitment to the professional class in a society where status is achieved rather than ascribed, is selection by merit. The mechanism through which selection is made is the formal education system. Yet built into any formal education system are other social and cultural factors whose influence on academic achievement is of supreme importance. All factors are subsumed in the socialisation process which is a vital part of the 'style of life' of a status group. Weber (1946) stated that the authority of a privileged status group is derived from this process of socialisation. The process has two aspects: formal training in knowledge and skills and informal training in a special style of life and thought. These two aspects are complementary and interdependent at every stage of the training. There has been a universal trend towards the standardisation of the formal training. The informal aspect of socialisation, on the other hand, varies both in form and in content from one culture group to another.

In Sierra Leone, as in Britain, the professional class is 'open', that is, membership is achieved through academic success. I propose therefore, in this chapter to study these two aspects of the socialisation process in relation to both the Creoles and the non-Creoles in Sierra Leone. Greater attention is paid to the informal aspects of the socialisation process among the Creoles as it is this group which dominates the professional class and I was anxious to determine those features in this process which had been instrumental in bringing about this success.
The Family and Early Child-Rearing Practices

The most important agent of socialisation, especially in the early stages of a child's development, is the family. Through the family a child learns many of the roles which he will be expected to play as an adult. He will also, through imitation and reinforcement, learn to acquire similar values and patterns of behaviour as those with whom he interacts most frequently and over the longest period of time, namely, other members of his family. Whether intelligence (which is an important basis of academic merit) is determined largely by innate or environmental factors, the importance of the family in a child's socialisation is beyond question. Patterns of socialisation however, vary according to the social class of the family. Various studies have shown that class differences in child rearing practices can be linked to class differences in personality, as well as to family authority and sociability (see Bronfenbrenner 1958, and Newsons, 1963). It is the family therefore that initially determines the status of the individual member and the family is instrumental in communicating the 'style of life' appropriate to that status. The process of communication is the socialisation of children.

The precise connections between early childhood experiences gained within the family and later adult personality features or behaviour patterns are not at all clear. The multiplex intervening factors in the socialisation process, spanning the lifetime of an individual, have so far made it impossible to link positively any one facet of the process, such as early oral behaviour, with a later personality trait. The speculative nature of the research which has so far been developed in this field, is noted by a number of writers (see Danziger, 1971, p. 71; Sears, Maccoby and Levin, p. 456). The difficulties in delineating connections within the socialisation process, are obvious.
Nevertheless, I would maintain, with Dansiger (1971, p. 71) that, 'As long as we maintain our faith in the proposition that childhood experience plays some role in personality formation we cannot avoid confronting the possible relationships between parent-child interaction and the development of the individual's personality, both in its desired and its undesired aspects.'

In this chapter I shall examine this early socialisation process within both Creole and non-Creole families, distinguishing where possible, as in Chapter 1, between professional and non-professional families. These groups will also be studied in relation to the formal aspect of the socialisation process, that is, to the school system.

The Creole Family

The overwhelming majority of Creole women of child-bearing age are in full time employment (see Table 6). Many of them hold high status professional posts which demand much of their time and energy. Nevertheless, because of the importance of fertility in the society, their employment does not discourage them from bearing children. Yet, in Freetown as elsewhere there is a differential in family size according to social status. The cost of the upbringing of children in Creole professional families is greater than in others and there is some evidence to suggest that these families do attempt to limit the number of children conceived. The Planned Families Association owed its existence and survival to the support and publicity given to it by professional Creole women. Nevertheless the stage of family planning does not appear to be reached in most families until there are at least three children in the family. Out of 15 professional women interviewed, the average number of children per family was 3.05.

There are two reasons why professional Creole women may feel under some pressure to bear children. The first is that they are very
much aware of their declining numbers vis a vis other tribes (Benton, 1957; Porter, 1963). The second is the insecurity in the position of women because of the disproportionate number of men to women in the society. If there are children of the marriage then the status of the wife is more secure than that of a wife who is barren. This is the reason why many legal wives without children may undertake the upbringing of their husband’s illegitimate children. In the same way, an outside wife may feel that her status as a mother is more secure than her status as girlfriend or ‘sweetheart.’

Regardless of the desire to bear children however, it might be assumed that the mother’s status as a full time member of the labour force, would affect her position as the source of warmth and food for the infant. Of the fifteen professional women interviewed, all who had children had returned to work before the first child was one year old. Of these, 7 had breast-fed for only six weeks before resuming work. In households where only the husband had professional occupational status, the average period of breast-feeding was six months for the first child. Subsequent children were breast-fed for shorter periods.

When mothers returned to work, babies were left, preferably with the grandmother. If the grandmother, or alternative relative, was not available, then a ‘native’ nurse would be employed to care for the child. Formerly Creole nannies were available and my informants stressed that these older Creole women could be entrusted to care for the children, ‘Just as our mothers would have done.’ They have no such faith in the trustworthiness of a ‘native’ nurse. They referred to the disparity in standards between the childrearing techniques of a ‘native’ girl and her sense of responsibility, with those of former Creole nurses. The underlying explanation for this disparity however, might be the fact that both Creole employer and employed would have shared common bonds.
imposed by either the kinship or the social network, which would in
turn, establish mutual obligations. The ideal pattern today for working
mothers who can afford it, is to employ a 'native' nurse to assist the
grandmother or other relative who has the responsibility of caring for
the child. In this way the burden on the grandmother is lightened and
the 'native' nurse is supervised. However, the motivation of the mother
to undertake full time employment is usually so strong that, in the
absence of a more satisfactory alternative, she is more likely to leave
her child in the care of a 'native' nurse than to stay at home and care
for the child herself. It is more than likely that a relative will be
found to care for the infant, however, and only 2 professional house­
holds in my sample had to resort to employing a 'native' nurse.

Traditional Fostering

This practice amongst the Creoles of leaving children with
grandparents or other close relatives is not a phenomenon associated
solely with the increase in female employment, but has been part of the
traditional pattern for some time. Even those parents who were not
forced by circumstances to do so would frequently send their children to
stay with grandparents for differing lengths of time. As Sinclair
(Forthcoming) points out, this pattern of traditional fostering should
not be equated with fostering in Western societies. Writers such as
Goody (1970) have shown that where fostering is a traditional practice
it appears to have no adverse social consequences for the child in
later life. Fostering is a traditional practice in Sierra Leone and
Little (1951) has recorded fostering practices among the Mende. Sinclair
found that in recent years the predominant motive for fostering has
become educational gain.

Amongst the Creoles, as amongst the tribal groups, children
are fostered for educational purposes. I found ample evidence of
children from relatively poor families being sent to the homes of wealthier relatives during their period of schooling. In the villages for instance children often had to travel some distance to get to school and it was then thought advisable that they should live in the house of a relative in Freetown during that period. Children who were illegitimate were also frequently fostered by relatives who would assist in paying their school fees. It was difficult however to obtain accurate information on this last group as many families will go to great lengths to conceal the presence of 'outside' children in their homes. In the case of one professional Creole family the grandmother was looking after the children of her daughter while the daughter was at work. When I drew up a list of the members of her household at that time, it included two other children who, the grandmother told me, were non-Creole wards. I later discovered that those children were her son's 'outside' children who had been fostered by their grandmother.

Sinclair lists other motives in Creole fostering practices. He claims that two fifths of all Creole children fostered in his sample, were fostered as a result of the geographical mobility of the child's parents. Sinclair refers to this as a socially defined crisis, as 'in most cases it would be theoretically possible for the child to accompany the parents.' One of his hypotheses is that children who are fostered tend to pass into the care of people of higher socio-economic status than their parents. Creole children who are fostered for reasons of 'social crises', to use Sinclair's term, do not fall into this category. These are not children who are fostered for purely educational reasons. The latter group almost invariably move from lower status homes to homes of higher status. Creole children of high status homes, on the other hand, frequently are fostered because of the geographical mobility of their parents as Sinclair states. Quite apart from this,
however, children may move from their parents household to that of their grandparents or aunts, for no such obvious motive. Lynch Shillon (1953) put forward, as one explanation, the fact that in the extended family the young adult mother is considered too inexperienced to look after her own children, who are then placed in the care of a more experienced adult. Another explanation was that children were fostered to alleviate the loneliness of the grandmother who might be living alone. In my own sample I came across instances of young girls being sent, or volunteering to go, to live with sisters who were coping with the strains of a new household or a new baby.

These, however, are the manifest motives for fostering among the Creoles. These motives can be seen to have latent functions, one of which is the strengthening of family ties. Sinclair points out that they probably also strengthen the lineage in some patrilineal societies as well as in matrilineal societies with virilocal residence. In my view in Creole society fostering strengthens links between kin. The importance of fostering for the Creole group as a whole, might help to explain the persistence of an institution which seems outdated within a group geared to achievement in Western terms. Such a group might be expected to use fostering only as a mechanism for social mobility.

All studies of social stratification in industrial society introduce the concept of social mobility. This social mobility is frequently accompanied and stimulated by geographical mobility (Watson, 1964). Geographical mobility may separate an individual from his wider family group (Parsons, 1955). Opinion is divided on the extent to which upward mobility in Western society does result in the disruption of the wider kinship group (Litwak, 1960), but it has nevertheless been established that geographical mobility, with its attendant loosening of kinship ties can facilitate the process of 'spiralism' (Watson, 1964; Bell, 1968).
In pre-industrial societies geographical mobility is also related to status in that studies of urbanisation have shown that the city attracts those who are motivated to achieve higher status (Little, 1965 and 1951). The Creoles however, are already established in the city. For them, geographical mobility involves travel outside Freetown and it is most often the professionals who are mobile. Yet this socially and geographically mobile group will leave their children with parents or relatives in Freetown even if the status of this foster family is lower than their own. Out of my sample of 21 professional Creole households, 14 had been mobile. Of these, 9 had left their children with grandparents in Freetown while they travelled, 3 had taken their children with them, one had placed her child in a European foster home on a semi-permanent basis and one man had looked after his children himself while his wife was studying overseas. Of the 12 remaining Creole households, 3 were grandmothers who were looking after their grandchildren while the children’s parents were overseas. Neither the grandmothers nor their deceased husbands had professional status but the parents of the foster children involved were all members of the professional class. Apart from these grandparents there were others whom I interviewed who were caring for the children of sisters, brothers, or even close friends, many of whom had a higher social and occupational status than their own.

According to the principles of a society where status is based primarily on occupation, children should pass from lower status families into the care of higher status families, as Sinclair hypothesised. However, if fostering is seen as an unintended mechanism for integrating the Creoles as a group, then this two-way passage of children, from poor homes to homes of richer relatives and from wealthy homes to homes of the less wealthy, provides an effective channel for communication.
between wealthy and less wealthy Creoles. In other words it provides a link between those who might otherwise be divided by the horizontal strata of the class and status hierarchy. Its functions for the Creoles as a whole can be compared with the functions of family ceremonials described in Chapter 1. There I tried to show how family ties and association ties reinforce the group consciousness of the Creole through a shared ‘style of life’.

I also mentioned in Chapter 1 the need for the Creoles to operate as an informal political group, using material from Cohen’s work (1971). In this context it is interesting to note that there is evidence that Creole fostering of non-Creole children has declined. Former writers on the Creoles (Porter, 1963) have commented on the instrumental role played by the Creoles in introducing non-Creole children to ‘civilisation’ through western education. Many Creoles related how their parents or grandparents when working in the Provinces had been asked to accept non-Creole children into their homes. Most Creoles treated this as a gesture of respect and regarded it as a duty to pay for the education of these children, although there were those, of course, who abused this ward system as it came to be called, by making excessive demands upon these children. At one time this ward system was the only mechanism for social mobility open to the non-Creoles. The wards not only lived in Creole family households, but also adopted the name, religion and ethnic identity of the foster families. This method of ‘passing into’ a higher status group is also referred to by Fraenkel, in her account of how tribesmen in Monrovia become incorporated into the Americo-Liberian community (1964). Today there is less evidence of Creole families accepting non-Creole children. In my own sample of 920 schoolchildren, 171 were non-Creoles. Of these, 167 were living with guardians of whom only 36 were non-related guardians. Sinclair too states
that a very small percentage of his sample were non-Creole children living in Creole foster homes. I appreciate that there must be a close connection between this finding and the nature of the sample under investigation. In my own case the fact that the sample was drawn from (4) 'status' schools may well have affected the number of non-Creole children found to be living in foster homes. Had the sample been taken from the 'non-status' schools the overall figures might have been considerably altered. However, there does seem to be some basis for stating that the number of non-Creole children in Creole foster homes has declined. Statements by both Creoles and non-Creoles supported this.

Sinclair puts forward the point that tribesmen prefer now to foster their children with fellow tribesmen, since they are too conscious and proud of their tribal identity to allow their children to be fostered in Creole households. The Creoles to whom I spoke, however, claimed that the decline in the Creole fostering of non-Creole children stems from the fact that the Creoles have grown tired of tribal ingratitude: 'We pay for their clothing and their schooling and then they turn against us and have only abuse for the Creoles. Sometimes as soon as they are old enough to earn money for themselves their parents come and claim them to take their wages. Now we have learned to spend our money on our own children.' My own view is that the decline in Creole fostering of non-Creole children could well be related to the need for the Creoles to consolidate their stand as a political group vis-à-vis other ethnic groups. I have no evidence to support the claim that Creole fostering from outside the group has declined at the expense of fostering within the group, but the fact that the latter form of fostering has persisted—other than for educational motives—indicates that it serves a function for the group as a whole. I suggest that that function is to strengthen the group against status cleavages by linking both professionals and
non-professionals in one status group with a shared 'style of life'.

**Mother-Daughter Tie**

It is noticeable that in this 'in-group' fostering among the Creoles, the grandmother - particularly the maternal grandmother - is the most favoured foster parent. This can be linked with the strong mother-daughter tie in Creole families to which I drew attention in Chapter 1. Even among the professionals the prevailing pattern is for a woman to return to her mother's house for some time after the birth of a child. If the home circumstances of the mother are unsuitable then the mother will come to the daughter's house to assist with the care of the new baby. In my sample 30 out of 32 Creole mothers claimed that their own mothers had helped in the care of at least one of the children after the child's birth.

This close relationship between mother and daughter stabilises the Creole family and counteracts the disruptive effects of the segregated and often hostile role relationships which exist between husband and wife. A large number of Creole families have a female rather than a male household head. Banton points out that at the time of his survey 42% of Creole households had a female head. From our own census on the Creoles taken from the Household Census, out of a total of 506 household heads in a total population of 2327, 161 were females and 345 were males (see Table 3). This relationship between females strengthens family bonds in the absence of a male household head. What is not clear is why this close relationship should exist, as children from all status groups spend a considerable amount of time in the care of grandparents. A clue may be found in the pattern of weaning.

Even in professional households weaning is drastic by western standards. Only 4 of the professional households had attempted gradual weaning. The most common method of weaning amongst this group was to give the child to the grandmother for some days or even weeks. One woman
told me, 'My mother would care for them and sometimes I would go away altogether so that they would not see me and so would not want the breast. My mother would start to give them rice to eat and meat in the soup. Sometimes they cried but there were many others there and they had plenty to occupy themselves with.'

On the basis of experience gained through the study of our own society as well as that of other cultures, it might be expected that sudden weaning would result in hostility towards, or rejection of the mother by the infant. Material presented by Albin and Thompson (1956) on weaning among Zulu children shows that sudden weaning in Zulu society alters a child's behaviour and produces a change in his social relationships; 'For the majority of our sample, the change towards the mother is permanent in its form - the child never again recovering the close weaning attachment to her'. I would tentatively suggest therefore that the assumption of control over a child by the grandmother at this period of weaning might be one mechanism for avoiding or at least reducing the hostility of the child towards the mother. Also the separation anxiety experienced by the child should the mother separate herself altogether from the child at this stage is not likely to be as intense as that experienced by the child whose mother is the sole caretaker.

It has been shown that the less frequent the interaction between mother and child, then the separation anxiety experienced by the child will also be less intense.

Sleep

This interchange of caretakers either within the same household or between a number of households does, in some contexts, prove to be an obstacle to change in socialisation techniques. Studies among the elite have shown that there has been a trend away from infant-mother bed sharing (Lloyd, 1970). The evidence which I obtained from my sample
supported this finding in relation to professional households. However, when children stayed with the grandmother the prevailing pattern seemed to be for the youngest child to sleep with the grandmother. One professional mother told me, 'My mother is strict with the children but there really is an affection between them. When they stay with her she calls them to her bed at night and rubs their heads until they are asleep.'

Aggression

Specialists in the study of personality development have deemed training in certain behaviour systems such as aggression, discipline, obedience, responsibility, sexuality, to be of great importance to the adult personality. On the basis therefore of some of the work already done in this field I collected material on these behaviour systems. Aggressive behaviour by their children was not condemned by five wives of professionals, but others pointed out that some control of aggression had to be established, especially when a child might be staying at the home of his grandparents, where space was likely to be more limited and where there might be several cousins of the same age playing within the same compound. Lambert (1966) reporting on the control of peer aggression in different cultural groups also gives this spatial factor as one explanation of the differences in reported practice between different cultural groups. In comparing a child in an American family with another in a Mexican family he points out that the American child who falls out with his playmate can always find another companion. Such is not the case with the Mexican child, 'The 'other children around' will usually be related also. And so his family has no such freedom. They must try to control his fighting or at least they must adopt an attitude which publicly displays their opposition to peer fighting.' Lambert also makes the point that within each cultural group
the degree of control of peer aggression will vary for, 'If a family has more children than the average for their cultural group then they will be more punitive towards fights that occur among peers.' In the same way within Creole society control of aggression is affected by the social class of the parents. Professional families living in larger and often more isolated houses, can afford to be more indulgent towards peer aggression than others. However because of the considerable interchange of children between families of different status, even professional parents exert considerable control over peer aggression. From my own observations fighting and bullying between children at a primary school which catered for children of professionals were very severely punished. At the same time there was some pride expressed in aggression between boys. It was certainly the case that mothers took a pride in their son's ability to give and take physical punishment.

These early child-rearing practices such as peer aggression, breast feeding and patterns of sleep, I have introduced because they are practices on which a great deal has been written by those engaged in cross cultural research. Whiting and Child (1953) described the aims of this research as being 'concerned with the problem of how culture is integrated through the medium of personality processes.' This cross cultural approach has been the subject of attack from a variety of sources (see Danziger, 1971, p. 134), despite the mass of empirical data gathered from many different cultures. I cannot therefore expect that my own superficial account of a narrow range of these infant practices, will do anything other than offer more descriptive data than might be at present available on a society and on different social groups within that society.

The main point of interest however, which emerges from this account of infant child rearing practices, is the effect which group
integration has upon these different aspects of socialisation. Traditional fostering has the effect of strengthening kinship bonds and links wealthy and poor within the same group. This has repercussions on other socialisation practices. As I pointed out, in professional families one would not expect to find infants sharing the bed with their mothers, although there is evidence that children from these families may well share the grandmother's bed when they stay in her house. In the same way control of peer aggression is also affected by the interchange of children between professional and non-professional households.

**Discipline in the Family**

Studies which have concentrated on the relationships between child rearing practices and specific adult characteristics, such as achievement motivation, have met with more success than those which attempt to link these practices with cultural integration as a whole. Even here however, there is need for caution, for as Banks points out, although 'there is enough agreement in these studies to provide encouragement for further research it is obvious that the field is an extremely complex one, and the work undertaken so far is no more than a very small beginning' (Banks, 1968, p. 93).

I have introduced discipline in this context since, in the first place, it is in keeping with most of the findings of studies on achievement motivation which stress the need for parental control in relation to the encouragement of such motivation. There is some consensus between research in this field. The importance of the involvement of and disciplinary control by the mother for instance, has been mentioned by many writers (Klein, 1969). Bronfenbrenner emphasises this when he says that 'high achievement motivation appears to flourish in a family atmosphere of 'cold democracy' in which initial high levels of maternal involvement are followed by pressures for independence and accomplishment'
A second reason for concentrating upon discipline is the overwhelming importance it plays in Creole life. The emphasis upon behaviour control is a noticeable feature of Creole family life.

Amongst the Creoles discipline takes two forms. The first form is training for independence, or 'responsibility training' as it is called by social psychologists. This is clearly related to the ideology of achievement. Many older Creoles complain that in recent years this form of discipline has ceased to exist. One woman told me, 'I was strictly brought up. If there were guests in the house then the children would go to another room. We had a special study time and a regular bed time. At six every morning a bell would be rung and we would have family prayers. Then we would do our tasks. We each had a job to do and our parents would plan our time and they would be up to see that we did it. Nowadays the parents are too lazy to supervise the children.'

It is true that most mothers have less time to supervise their children as they are in full time employment, but there is evidence that in Creole families there is still an attempt to control and plan the children's home life. Even in professional households where there are servants available to do the marketing and the menial tasks, each respondent emphasised that their children are given, and should be given, some household chores to perform. One interviewee was a resident student at Fourah Bay College while her children were left in the care of her mother who lived in the town. She complained that her mother was not giving the children enough housework to do. A lawyer's son told me, 'My family was wealthy enough to be able to afford two maids, but we each had our jobs to do.'

The data in Table 14 was obtained from the questionnaire sample of 520 children from 'status' schools. It shows the amount of household help given by children, according to the occupational category...
of the father. It is noticeable that although the children of professional fathers do undertake household tasks, the amount of time which these children estimate that they give to these tasks, is lower than that of other occupational categories.

This form of independence training is often closely connected with a high expectation concerning obedience. This arises from its emphasis on regulation and control. Amongst the professional Creoles for instance, there is a serious attempt to regularise meal times and bed times. Also closely linked with obedience is the cherished Creole value of respect. When I asked, in interviews, which values parents would like to see their children gain from their schools, 29 out of 33 mentioned discipline, 21 mentioned good behaviour and 15 specifically mentioned respect for their elders. Respect was emphasised less by the professional category than by non-professional households, which also punished for disobedience more frequently than professional households.

The second form of discipline follows closely from obedience learning. This punishment for irregular behaviour. Punishment, by present day British standards, is harsh and often bizarre. Children in school may be asked to stand with their hands on their heads for an hour or more, or to lie outside in the sun or rain, if it is the rainy season. This is in addition to the more conventional method of punishment - the stick. The schools and the home are in agreement on the subject of punishment. In fact some head-teachers say that they are forced by the parents into giving stricter punishment. Even those who had recently returned from England or the U.S.A. and who were, therefore, fully acquainted with the disapproval with which such harsh punishment in schools is regarded in these countries, were emphatic that discipline in the form of punishment was a necessary part of the training of the child. The parents' support for the school over the question of
punishment often means that a child is punished both at school and at home for the same offence. One ex-patriate teacher told me that she had made a mild complaint to a parent about his daughter's conduct in school and the next day this 16 year old girl was sent to school barefoot as a punishment. This was particularly harsh in a social group which places great emphasis on 'correct' dress. Punishment as a method of discipline is used by both professionals and non-professionals.

Harsh punishment therefore is a form of discipline accepted by all Creoles. Such repressive measures are generally held to inhibit achievement (see Drew and Teahan, 1957; Becker, W.C., 1964). Punishment however, is relative and what may appear to be harsh in one society may have a lesser effect in another where the overall level of punishment is any way higher. Dansiger writes that, 'Provided the level of parental severity is reasonably consistent so that the child can build up a stable internalised comparison level, very high levels of severity may be tolerated with relative equanimity, at least until the child is exposed to discrepant standards outside the home. The crucial effect lies in the establishment of the internalised standards as such, for this will determine the individual's response to various pressures to which he might be exposed as an adult' (1971, p. 83). Throughout the Creole network, a child will encounter similar attitudes towards discipline and this will encourage him to accept and internalise these standards.

Table 13 showing reasons for punishment given by schoolchildren, according to the occupational category of the fathers, does show that a smaller percentage of children of professional parents claim to be punished for disobedience, low marks and bad manners than children whose parents are in occupational categories 2 and 3. Nevertheless, the percentage of those children even with professional fathers
who admit to punishment for these three reasons is high. Table 16 on the other hand, which shows students' own perceptions as to why they need to study, gives a guide on the extent to which achievement motivation has been developed in school children. Despite the harsh disciplinary techniques and the fear of parents which such techniques might have been expected to foster in children, the overwhelming majority of students, claimed that they worked hard because they perceived its importance for their own future rather than from any fear of the consequences if they failed to achieve good results.

Writers on achievement motivation (McClelland, 1953) have stressed that an emphasis on the independent development of the individual is a necessary condition for the development of achievement motives. The home environment of a Creole child born into a professional family seems to fulfil this condition. Discipline, effort and competition which are necessary for the development of achievement motivation are features of the child-rearing process in Creole professional families.

**Discipline in the Schools**

Family discipline and control is supported and reinforced by the schools. For Creole society the home and the school are mutually supporting in upholding achievement values and in encouraging achievement motivation. One of the most important hurdles which the Creole child will meet in his school career is the selection test at the age of 11 years for entry into the Grammar School. The pressure on the child to succeed at this primary school stage is, therefore, tremendous. Pressure at home is strengthened by pressure at school. It is greatest in the 'status' primary schools where the future reputation of the school depends on their pupils' success. Mothers give the most help with homework as Table 17 shows, but fathers will also check their
Children's homework. Arts, crafts and sports are only enjoyed in 'status' schools and even then, in moderation. While I was in Freetown the Department of Education organised an Arts and Crafts exhibition by the primary schools. The official objective was to foster the development of these non-academic subjects in the schools. In one room four schools were displaying their exhibits. Out of these four, one was a 'status' primary school. From the latter, the representative teacher said that the children had made some of the exhibits, but she admitted that most had been made by the staff. The other three schools represented in the room displayed articles made only by the staff. One of the teachers told me that the children would of course have no time for such activity as they were too busy learning the three 'Rs'.

Booksellers complain that novels for children do not sell in Freetown. The poor cannot afford to pay for them and the wealthy buy only those books which will assist the child in his school subjects. The 'status' schools certainly showed a greater appreciation of the value of arts and crafts as part of the school curriculum. I was told by an expatriate teacher at one 'status' primary school that she had been amazed at the amount of expensive equipment for arts and crafts, which had been ordered from Calts in London, which was just lying unused in the school cupboard. It was hardly ever used as the school was so caught up in the competition for grammar school places that it was afraid to allow itself the luxury of diverting from the school curriculum.

Pressure of work does not stop at the school itself. In the final two years of primary school, before the selective entrance examination, children are given extra lessons outside school hours to coach them for this examination. Its importance to Freetown children cannot be over emphasised. It could mean the difference between success and failure in their adult lives. Professional and non-professional
families feel the need to provide their children with extra tuition. In the 'status' schools this is given by qualified teachers. Poorer parents may hire the services of the boy next door who may be attending a secondary school, or a relative who has achieved more than primary school education. All the families interviewed who had children of primary school age, confirmed that these children received lessons outside school hours. Of the 520 schoolchildren covered by the questionnaire, 70 were attending a 'status' primary school. All of these children claimed that they received lessons outside school.

Competition is natural to the Creole child. He will have been made accustomed to examinations at the end of every term since the beginning of his school career at the age of 5 years. Movement from one class to another is not automatic but is determined by the child's success in these end of term examinations. Rewards are given for good performance in school in the form of sweets, and sometimes even money. Rivalry and not group effort is encouraged. This is often done at the expense of harmonious relationships between children. My own daughter, who attended a primary school in Freetown, told me that one child might be left to report on the conduct of the others while the teacher was out of the classroom (9).

Maternal Warmth

Studies in the field of socialisation have tended to classify disciplinary techniques along a positive-negative continuum. The positive techniques, such as rewarding, praising and reasoning, are associated with love-oriented child rearing methods and child centred homes while the negative techniques such as physical punishment, scolding and shouting are associated with ego-centric parents. These findings are, it is true, oversimplified since there have been studies which complicate the issue by demonstrating that the findings may hold true
for children of one sex only (Mussen and Rutherford, 1963; Sears, Hunt and Alpert, 1965). Nevertheless in British and American society the continuum is generally accepted and has been applied to class differences in socialisation. At the one end of the scale are middle class families with positive child rearing techniques while at the other end of the scale are working class families with negative child rearing techniques (Newsons, 1963). The fact that achievement motivation is known to be a feature of middle class families has meant that these positive child-rearing techniques have also come to be regarded as fostering achievement motivation. Argyle and Robinson (1962) postulated that, 'Where children have warm and dependent relationships with their parents, parental demands and exhortations for achievement may be internalised and applied by the child himself' (Morrison and McIntyre, 1971, p. 43). There have been other studies however, which show that the connection is not as straightforward as it might appear. In "border-line middle class groups" in western society it has been found that there is a particularly strong emphasis on achievement motivation. On the other hand these families as Klein shows (1965), tend to be authoritarian and restrictive and sparing of affection and reward.

The foregoing description of patterns of discipline in the Creole family does not conform to the prerequisites of positive child rearing techniques. Nevertheless as I have tried to show, there is considerable emphasis on academic success. It would seem therefore even within our own society, as the example of 'border-line middle class groups' shows, that the connection between 'ideal types' of child rearing techniques and the encouragement or discouragement of achievement motivation, has been over simplified. There is evidence that different patterns of child rearing can be conducive to the development
of achievement motivation. One pattern is that adopted by the Creole parent—of rewarding for achievement and punishing for lack of achievement. Cross cultural studies have shown that in societies which have rigid, non-indulgent child rearing practices, the rewarding of achievement and the punishment of its absence are highly correlated with indications of achievement motivation. In societies where child rearing techniques are more indulgent it is more difficult to establish a connection between high achievement motivation and the use of rewards or punishment (Danziger, 1971).

The degree of parental warmth which exists, particularly in the mother-child relationship, is very difficult to assess. It is particularly difficult to gain an accurate picture using interview techniques since the responses of Creole mothers were likely to be adapted to their own conceptions of the standards of western society. Participant observation in support of interview techniques is probably a more reliable measure in this case.

From my earlier description of the harsh measures of punishment indulged in by Creole mothers, it can be assumed that there is an absence of a close emotional bond between mother and child in Creole society. This resort to physical punishment can be connected with the family structure. Barbara Lloyd (1970) suggests that the extensive use of corporal punishment may be an outcome of casual nurturance. 'The lack of a close emotional bond between mother and child, must, in a situation demanding strict obedience, result in the mother's inability to control behaviour without resorting to physical punishment.' It is, as I have already pointed out, a feature of the Creole socialisation process, that child rearing is shared between different adults and even different households. Yet I have also pointed out that there is a noticeably strong mother-daughter tie in Creole society. This appears
to be inconsistent with the use of repressive child rearing techniques and the absence of apparent warmth in the mother-child relationship.

A possible explanation may be found in the nature of the parental surrogates. Where possible the children will be cared for by the grandmother, in the absence of the mother, and there is considerable movement of children between the household of the mother and that of the grandmother. Lambert (1966) writing on the use of parental surrogates in a cross cultural perspective, writes that "kinship is very important in deciding who can be an acceptable replacement". The grandmother, therefore, by virtue of the close relationship and the stability in the relationship is a particularly acceptable replacement for the mother.

I must also point out though that amongst professional women I found that the motivation to work in a part-time or even full time capacity was so strong that if acceptable surrogates from within the close kinship group were not available, then I felt that these mothers would employ a native nurse to care for their children. So far the use of 'native' girls as replacements for the mother seems to be the exception rather than the rule. Their lack of kinship connections with the mother and their instability obviously make them unsatisfactory surrogates. However, if they are used more extensively as substitutes by the mothers, then the pattern of child rearing which I have been describing might be seriously affected.

To meet this increased demand for alternatives to grandparents as parental surrogates, there has been a drive in Freetown to promote nursery school education. At the moment the demand exceeds the supply and only professional parents are able to take advantage of it. The pressures of the educational system are such that many Creole parents also feel that formal educational training should begin at an increasingly early age. Some of these nursery schools will take children even at the
The nursery schools are available only to the children of professionals at the moment and they are seen as training grounds for the 'status' primary schools. The emphasis is on learning skills which children can use to advantage when they enter the primary schools, rather than on constructive play. If however, nursery school facilities are made more widely available then they will obviate the need for mothers to use 'native' nurses as surrogates. In this way child rearing will remain within the control of the Creole group (since these schools will certainly be controlled by Creole staff) and the values of the group can be transmitted to the children through these schools.

There was a great emphasis on order and control in the mother-child relationship, as opposed to warmth. One hospital nursing sister was describing to me the way in which she coped with her children during their school holidays, which did not coincide with her own holidays. 'I try never to leave them to their own devices, sometimes they will visit this aunt or that aunt but I see to it that I set them a problem, either in arithmetic or in English. They must finish this problem while they are out and then show it to me when they come home. In this way I can be sure that they are fruitfully occupied. If they do the problem well, then I may give them some sweets or chewing gum'. It is noticeable that material rewards such as sweets are given in place of a show of maternal affection such as a hug or a kiss. Another mother who was a full time resident student at Fourah Bay College and who therefore saw her family only at week-ends, used to set essays for her children to write. She would give them a topic before returning to the College on a Sunday and when she returned to her home the following Friday she would mark the essays and discuss them with her children.

I found it extremely difficult to make any overall assessment of the degree of maternal warmth present in Creole mother-child
relationships. This was partly due to the formal structure of parent-child relationships and to the dimension of 'respect' which enters into the relationship. It was also due to the difficulty of documenting in quantitative form the presence or absence of this quality. Mothers are certainly involved with their children even if the intensity found in the mother-child relationship in western society, is absent. Professional mothers particularly, often have a teaching role relationship with their children. It has also been demonstrated in child rearing studies that parental firmness does not necessarily contradict parental warmth. Densiger writes that, 'It must be emphasised that parental firmness and parental warmth and support for the child are quite different dimensions of behaviour, and that any set of parents may well receive a high score on both these scales' (1971, p. 84). The overwhelming impression gained from different studies in this field is that control by the mother is an even more important dimension in the mother-child relationship in the fostering of achievement motivation, than is maternal warmth.

**Father Role**

It is no accident that until now I have concentrated on the role of the mother in the child-rearing process, for the father's position in the Creole family is weak. In Chapter 1 I described the two types of Creole family - the 'outside' family and the legal family. In the former type the genitor does not live in the same household as the mother and children, and in the legal family, because of the social organisation of the society, men spend a great deal of time outside the home. It is the mother therefore who is mainly responsible for the care and upbringing of the child. From my own interviews there did appear to be some variation in relation to father-involvement according to the social class of the family. This involvement however, tended to be limited to the field of education. From my interview sample, 8 of the
16 professional fathers helped the children with their homework. Most of the P.T.A. meetings which I attended received more support from fathers than mothers and school functions such as Thanksgiving services or prizegiving ceremonies were also well attended by fathers. This support of school functions however, can be seen to link more with the connectedness of the Creole network, described in Chapter 1 than it does with father-child interaction.

Fathers do not feature prominently in other aspects of a child's life. There are a few fathers in families which correspond most closely to the western type family, who participate more fully in their children's upbringing but these are very exceptional. Even punishment of the children is mostly undertaken by the mother (see Table 18).

There are also limits to the involvement of the father even in the education of his children. Those children who are brought up in 'outside families' or in homes where there is no male head, will have to rely entirely on their mothers or alternative caretakers for support in their schooling. The father will usually accept financial responsibility for the schooling of his 'outside' children - particularly professional fathers - but there is likely to be some discrepancy in the standard of schooling received by 'outside' children and by legal children. In Chapter 1 I pointed out that the needs of the legal children are likely to be put before the needs of the 'outside' children.

Techniques of child rearing, like other social fields, are not static, but are adapting to social change. In the preceding description of child rearing techniques among the Creoles I have pointed to some indications of this change. Nevertheless there are still some consistent patterns of behaviour which can be identified and seen in relation to Creole society as a whole. The family is the most important agency in
the informal socialisation process, so that any discussion of parent-
child interaction must be of value in understanding the social
significance of factors involved in the formal stage of the social-
isation process.

The Schools - The Formal Structure

For the Freetown population even more than for the British
population, schools are the main if not the only channel for social
mobility. All formal academic institutions have, as Ben David has
pointed out, non-academic influences built into them (1963). Before
identifying and examining these influences however, I shall first
describe briefly the formal school structure in Freetown.

The pattern of formal education in Freetown is essentially
British and many of the existing schools had their origin in early
Mission Schools. From 1804 the Church Missionary Society and from 1811
the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, were active in establishing
educational institutions in the town. Most notable amongst these was the
C.M.S. Grammar School for Boys, opened in 1845 and the Female
Institution, later known as the Annie Walsh Memorial School, which was
founded in 1849, both of which attracted pupils from the whole of West
Africa. By 1966 there were 46 Secondary Schools in the country. Since
the beginning of the 20th century, however, the control of education
has gradually been taken over by the Government. Today the position is
that there is a dual system of control - local authority controlled
schools and mission schools. Most mission schools are now assisted by
Government grants. The Government pays 95% of teachers salaries for most
recognised schools, and this gives them a certain amount of control.
But many schools hold out against being taken over completely by the
Government in order that they may maintain a certain degree of in-
dependence. All schools are fee paying and the main discrepancy in cost
is to be found in the pre-secondary school period. Some primary schools make their fees so high that they are prohibitive to the lower income groups. Most of the children from these few select primary schools, will proceed to the more sought after secondary schools. Their classes are smaller than other primary schools and their equipment far superior. Despite the fact that fees in these schools are so high, there is a long waiting list for entry into them.

For the purposes of this study, I describe the Freetown schools as either 'status' or 'non-status'. The 'status' primary schools have the highest fees. These high fees almost ensure a child a place in the 'status' secondary schools. The success rate for these schools in the selective entrance examination for secondary schools, is very high. In 1970 the senior class in one of these 'status' primary schools obtained a one hundred per cent pass in the examination and nearly all were able to go on to the school of their choice.

The 'status' secondary schools are those from which a pupil is most likely to go on to higher institutions of learning. I included six in this category, although statistics show that this could be narrowed even further. In a survey of 98 female students at Fourah Bay College for instance, 55 had studied at one particular 'status' girls' school. The advantages offered by 'status' secondary schools are perceived by both pupils and parents and this is reflected in their choice of schools. From the two senior classes of one 'status' primary school, 75% of boys selected two 'status' boys' schools and 86% of girls selected one 'status' girls' school.

The oldest 'status' girls' school and the highest in academic terms, is the Annie Walsh Memorial School. Despite the fact that entry to this school is based on academic merit and that it should therefore be open to all classes and ethnic groups, the school is still regarded
as a Creole stronghold. The school aims at teaching its girls, not academic subjects alone, but also 'comportment' and 'correct social behaviour.' The head made it clear that she considered the child's home background very important in achieving these qualities. Despite financial difficulties the school has held out against complete government control. The 'old girls' of the school are leaders of various important social groups in the town and thereby have an advantage in fund raising. Of the 14 members of the Board of Governors of the school, 5 are ex-members of the Old Girls' Association, who give considerable support to the Principal in the running of the school.

Other 'status' girls' schools, such as the Methodist Girls' High School and the Freetown Secondary School for Girls, have also a high proportion of Creole students. This high representation from a particular ethnic group in 'status' girls' schools is not however a surprising discovery, in view of the connection between ethnic affiliation and 'status' secondary school membership to which Foster has drawn attention in his study of secondary school education in Ghana (Foster, 1965). He points out that, 'The greatest inequalities are apparent, however, in patterns of female recruitment. Here particular ethnic groups are very highly represented in secondary education, while other minorities are correspondingly hardly represented at all .......

This is precisely because girls are far less likely to be sent to secondary school than boys, and when they do enter these institutions, they are most likely to come from families with educational and occupational backgrounds that are well above the average.' (pp. 258-259).

In Freetown every secondary school aims at offering its students a 'grammar school' type curriculum. Only the 'status' secondary schools have staff and students capable of coping with such a curriculum, as the G.C.E. results indicate (Young, W., 1965). But the schools have
to meet the demands of parents. The one successful school in Freetown with a technical orientation, has been placing increasing emphasis on purely academic subjects in the curriculum. It so happened that this 'status' school was the only one which had originated for the benefit of boys from the Provinces. Many Temne and Sherbro to whom I spoke, referred to it as 'our school.' Its aim was to give a broader curriculum than that offered by the traditional grammar school and that curriculum included such subjects as woodwork, metal work and printing. Gradually the academic subjects have acquired precedence over the more practical subjects and correspondingly, Creole enrolment in the school has increased.

There is, in proportion to their numbers in the population, a large Creole enrolment in both boys' and girls' 'status' schools. Out of a total of 520 'status' schoolchildren in my questionnaire sample, 171— that is, only 32.9% were non-Creoles. Therefore, although the education system is officially an open one, certain groups are favoured at the expense of others. In this case it is the Creoles who are thus favoured. The whole focus of the schools is upon the retention of a narrow curriculum in secondary schools at the expense of a broader and more practical training. This form of training bestows the greatest benefit on those who are capable of entering the professional group.

Technical education in Freetown is tantamount to academic failure. The UNESCO Educational Planning Mission, in their report—'The Development Programme in Education for Sierra Leone, 1964-70'—stated that the total number of students enrolled in secondary education in the country in the year 1962-1963, was 10,652, while the number in technical and vocational education was 896. When these figures are broken down by the type of curriculum followed, it appears that only 25% of the total technical provision is devoted to conventional 'technical education,' that is the engineering and building trades.
Commercial training accounts for 24% of the places, while almost a half of the places are in domestic science. The following table gives an analysis of places in technical and vocational education 1962-1963, by type of course:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Technical and Vocational Education 1962-1963 by Type of Course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Full Time</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building Trades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.C.E. City &amp; Guilds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Apprentice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They conclude that 'it is clear that technical education is minimal in spite of the encouragement, financial and otherwise, offered by the government. The physical conditions and equipment are good, scholarships have been made available for overseas training of staff, the annual cost is about £200 per student as compared with £35 in other secondary schools, but the response and consequently the output is disappointing, especially at the technical institute level.'

This description of the 'status' schools in Freetown is necessarily brief since my main concern is with the informal influences operating within the formal school system. Nevertheless it is sufficient to illustrate two major points with which I am concerned. The first is
the social composition of the student body and the second is the value orientation of the schools and their pupils. From Table 19 it can be seen that there is a positive connection between paternal occupational characteristics and access to a 'status' secondary school and there is also a clear connection between this access and Creole group affiliation. It is true that geographical location is important in determining access to formal education. There are 'status' secondary schools in the Provinces (Sumner, 1963), but the overwhelming majority are situated in Freetown. This obviously gives the Freetown-based Creoles an advantage in obtaining access to these schools: The Development Programme in Education for Sierra Leone 1964-1970, showed by Table the disproportion of Secondary School places:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>No. of Secondary School Places</th>
<th>No. of Places per 1000 of Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Freetown</td>
<td>127,699</td>
<td>6,727</td>
<td>53 (35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Area</td>
<td>67,336</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>3 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo</td>
<td>209,003</td>
<td>1,947</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moyamba</td>
<td>167,651</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonthe</td>
<td>80,271</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pujehun</td>
<td>85,297</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenema</td>
<td>227,545</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kailahun</td>
<td>150,230</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kono</td>
<td>170,164</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonkalili</td>
<td>185,190</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koinadugu</td>
<td>129,275</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kambia</td>
<td>137,800</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombali</td>
<td>198,306</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Loko</td>
<td>247,252</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,183,018</td>
<td>12,446</td>
<td>5.7 (Average)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Location alone however, is an insufficient explanation of the ethnic differentiation in 'status' schools; the explanation must be sought in the value orientation of the Creole group.

Creole values in education are undoubtedly based on the British pattern. Hence the highest status is accorded to a 'grammar school type' curriculum. As I pointed out in Chapter 1, the highest prestige is accorded to those who gain an English education. For those who are educated in Freetown, the majority would like to proceed to a university overseas. Table 20 shows the number of students hoping to proceed to a university and the university preferences of these students, according to paternal occupation. The overwhelming majority of students want to proceed to a university and it is noticeable that school children with parents in the first 3 occupational categories hope to proceed to a university overseas rather than to stay in Sierra Leone to attend university. Table 21 shows the occupational aspirations of these school-children in terms of broad occupational categories from which it is evident that all children show a preference for the higher professions. If this is compared with Table 22 which gives the occupational preferences of the children's parents, it can be seen that although the higher professions still occupy a favoured position, far more parents choose nursing or teaching than do the children themselves. This may reflect a more realistic appreciation on the part of the parents, of the occupational opportunities available — especially for women — in the society.

These Creole values in education cannot be divorced from the economy as a whole. As Foster has already remarked in relation to the Ghanaian situation, 'It is... the analysis of the relationship between education, occupation income and social status that provides us with the significant factors determining the nature of educational development'.
Thus the occupational aspirations of school-children regardless of their socio-economic background seem high in comparison with those of their western counterparts. There are, however, alternative mechanisms for mobility open to school-children in a complex economic structure such as that of Britain. For Freetown school-children the schools are the only channel of social mobility and those occupations which command the highest prestige are also those which yield the highest income returns. The law, medicine and the higher ranks of the civil service are a very popular choice of profession amongst school-children, whereas only one child gave the Church as his occupational preference. Table 21 and 22 also reflect the low prestige rating given to business as an occupation.

School-Family Interaction

1. Language

Until now I have been discussing the family and the school as agents of socialisation as though they were completely segregated entities. In fact, not only does the family share the socialisation process with the school, but it will also influence the response of the child to the school. At this point it would be an advantage to identify specific areas of influence in which the Creole family encourages a favourable response from the child to the school situation.

One of the most important of these areas is language. Even in Britain where the language of the family is also that of the schools, sociologists have pointed to social class differences in the use of that language and, consequently the effect of these differences on the child's response to the school (Bernstein, 1960 and 1961). In Freetown children are not merely faced with class distinction in speech development, but also with the problem of learning through a foreign language. The formal language of the country is English. As in other African countries
formerly under British colonial administration, English is also the medium of education. Educationalists, while recognising the disadvantages of such a system, are hindered from proposing that English should be replaced by an African language or languages in the schools because of the technical problems—such as training and supply of teachers, the supply of equipment and teaching materials—which this would present (see Parren, 1969). Fluency in English moreover has significance over and above the mere acquisition of skills. Literacy for the Sierra Leonian is bound up with 'civilised' status. The fact that such a small proportion of the population of Sierra Leone is literate (less than 10% of the total population of the country—see Table 9) gives it added prestige. The fact that this proportion is so small is the concern of an increasing number of writers (see Samuels, 1969; Mesorer, 1966).

Despite the fact that the total of literate Sierra Leonians is small, nearly all the Creole population is literate. The Creoles have great advantages in the use of the English language. In professional circles, not only will English be spoken on formal occasions, but many will also force their children to speak English in the home. 'It is such an advantage to them when they start school, that we feel we must make them begin to speak English at home, before they start.' Creole children at birth are also generally given an English first name which is their official name, as well as a Yoruba name by which they are known to their family, and friends. At the 'status' primary schools children are punished if they speak 'patois' at school. In other schools, however, many children may not begin until they are 7 years old, and very many will have no knowledge of the English language at the time they begin. This poses great problems for the teacher who will have to conduct her lesson in English; she may have to simplify the lesson in order to be understood, or offer explanations in the vernacular. The problem for
the non-Sierra Leonian teacher is even greater. Because of the shortage of local, adequately trained teachers, Freetown is assisted by teachers sent by Peace Corps and the Voluntary Service Organisation. These young people are unable to help the children with this language problem in the way in which their own teachers can help them. This language barrier will be reflected in the children's reading, writing, learning and thinking.

2. Religion

The second major area in which both Creole families and the schools will interact, is religion. All Creole families will be members of a church which will feature prominently in the early life of the child. A Creole child accompanies his parents to religious service on a Sunday morning, followed by attendance at Sunday School in the afternoons. Even in homes in which the parents are more relaxed in their church attendance, the children invariably must attend. Sunday dress is as elaborate for the children as it is for the parents. Little girls wear dresses made up of 'better' fabrics, gloves, white socks and polished shoes with straw hats, often with ribbon streamers, on their heads. Small boys wear long trousers of heavy cloth, a formal shirt with a bow tie and a jacket. It is difficult for the stranger to Freetown not to be struck by the contrast that these children present with the barefoot, half-naked children who play around the outside of the church and jeer at the Creole children as they pass. The Creole child can sustain the insults as inside the church they meet other of their own kind and it is only with these that they need to communicate.

Religion and education are inseparable in Sierra Leone, as the schools grew up as a by-product of the Church. The first schools were mission schools and even today, although the government may have acquired some control over the school, the character of the original founding
mission is still stamped upon it. Four out of the 6 'status' schools which I included in my study had their origins in the mission school.

In interviews, each head teacher put the emphasis on encouraging Christian values in the children. One head said that although the Board of Governors - on which is represented the founding church - do not interfere with the curriculum of the school, 'as it was a mission school, they might object if too little attention was given to religious education.' The schools do admit non-Christian children. Indeed it is one of the controls which the government has imposed on the schools, that entry must be on the basis of academic qualifications, regardless of ethnic background. Nevertheless, all non-Christians have to attend Christian ceremonies. It was pointed out to me by one head that they can refuse, but it was evident that no one did so. Another head said - 'The children go to services at the church and also attend assembly and weekly prayer meetings. Those who are not Christian have to come, since they have to accept our rules when they enter the school.' Many, I was told, become converts as a result of this.

The highlight of every school's academic year is the Thanksgiving ceremony, held in the appropriate church. This is an important prestige symbol for the school. The children dress in special 'Thanksgiving' uniforms to listen to a service conducted by an elder of the church concerned, and the most noteworthy pupils participate in the ceremony. Proud parents, lavishly dressed attend the service and gather outside afterwards to watch the children as they march two by two to the accompaniment of a band, through the town, led by their teacher. Needless to say it is mainly Creole parents who will attend this ceremony. For Creole children the religious climate of the schools presents no conflict with their home background. This Thanksgiving ceremony I have just mentioned, is probably held in the very church
which they have always attended with their parents every Sunday of
their lives. For non-Creole, non-Christian children however, the
religious bias makes the gulf between home and school even wider. In
some of the schools founded by the missions, teachers and schoolmasters
are clergymen. For instance, the Grammar School which was founded by
the Anglican Church has until recently emphasised classics and theology
in its curriculum and some of its Principals have become Canons in the
Anglican Church. These schools therefore can be compared with the
public schools of 19th century England. Writing of the position of the
headmaster in these schools, Banks (1968, p. 132) says that, 'Even after
the introduction of laymen as masters, the headmaster remained a
clergyman. Frequently too, the headship of a major public school was
only, 'a stepping stone to higher things.' Promotions to deaneries and
bishoprics were common, and even an archbishopric was by no means out
of the question.'

The connection between the church and education is followed
to the higher realms of learning. At Fourah Bay College the
Principal is also a Canon of the Anglican Church and the Department of
Theology is well staffed. Its members are all Christian despite the fact
that a large number of the undergraduates are now non-Christian.

The Peer Group and the Social Network

For the Creoles the schools offer an extension of the social
network within which they have lived all their lives. The boundaries
of this network are laid down by the family before the child is even
exposed to the school. For the under-fives for instance, regardless of
the number of siblings or 'courtyard cousins' who might be staying in
the one household, play had to take place either inside the house or
within the compound. Creole children are never allowed to play
indiscriminately with others on the street.
At school their classmates will be predominantly Creoles with the same social, economic and religious background. If children bring friends home, they will be from families approved of by the child's parents. Working mothers who find it difficult to supervise their children if they are not at home when the children come from school make arrangements for these children to join clubs and organisations such as Girl Guides or Red Cross. Membership of these organisations will overlap considerably with that of their school or church.

Creoles can be frequently heard to complain that their children have become increasingly difficult to control. One woman told me that at one time the control of children used to be a community affair: 'If children were making a noise in the house while their mother was out then a neighbour would have the right to walk in and chastise them. If girls were not conducting themselves in a fitting manner in the street, then any Creole passer-by would feel it his duty to reprimand them. Now the town is too large and the population too mixed for this kind of control to be possible. Nevertheless the narrowness of the Creole total network still has its effect upon the child and particularly upon his response to the school.

Educational sociologists have shown that the more the values of the pupils are in conflict with those of the teacher, the lesser (12) will be the response of these pupils to the demands of the school. In Freetown not only will pupils have the same values as those of their teachers, but in many cases they will also be linked to them by ties of kinship. Most of the indigenous teaching staff at the schools are Creole. Those teaching at the 'status' schools are likely to be drawn from the Creole professional class. Most of them are trained and many have overseas qualifications. A pupil in a 'status' primary school may be the nephew of his teacher, who is the sister of the head teacher of
a secondary school. She in turn may be a close relative of an elder of
the church who may sit on the Board of Governors of her school. It is
easy to see the repercussions which these connections may have on the
school system. One day while I was sitting and waiting for an interview
with the head teacher at one of the less important secondary schools,
I overheard a conversation between two women. One was obviously angry
that her daughter had failed to pass her selection test for entry into
one of the 'status' secondary schools. She accused the head teacher of
that school of favouring one particular primary school, because the
head-teacher's sister was on the staff of this school. That sister,
it was claimed, had no professional qualifications, but was kept on the
staff of that 'status' primary school only because of her close kinship
connection with the 'status' secondary school.

On the other hand the pressure put upon children and teachers
within this close network is often harsh and severe. The daughter of
one woman holding an influential position, attended one of the 'status'
secondary schools. The girl's progress and conduct were the subject
of continual complaints from close friends and relatives of the mother,
who were also at the same time those responsible for her training. Finally
the mother was driven by anger and shame to shave off all her daughter's
hair as a punishment. Another girl told an English teacher who comment­
ed on how much she had enjoyed meeting the girls' parents: 'We would
rather you didn't know our parents. Too many of our teachers know our
parents already.'

The network becomes narrower and more exclusive as the
individual climbs the ladder of prestige. One can see this more clearly
by taking an example from the female students at Fourah Bay College.
Here girls are mainly recruited from one school (68% come from the Annie
Walsh Memorial School), so that fellow students are likely to be former
schoolmates. These female students have a number of sororities, one of which is regarded as being particularly exclusive. This sorority has 15 members. Of these, all except 2 had fathers who were in high grade positions in the civil service and all were Creole except one girl who was the daughter of a wealthy Freetown businessman, and all except 2 had attended the Annie Walsh Memorial School. The girls themselves say that members are chosen on the basis of academic and social performance: 'We watch the students for a whole year or two terms - initiation is late in the session. We see how they dress, how they behave to others, what part they play in public and social life, their exam results and their inborn gifts, such as public speaking or writing.' It does so happen, however, that most are Creole and recruited from the same school, and most are wealthy. This fact had not escaped the attention of the male students (many of whom are non-Creole) who boycotted one of the sorority's fund-raising dances on these grounds. The sorority prides itself in having the most 'select' group of female students. Members continue to help each other even after leaving College. If an ex-member has a post in the field of education or in the civil service, then this can be of great advantage to sorority members who are seeking jobs in this field.

Ceremony and Symbols

For the Creoles the interaction between these different agencies involved in the socialisation process - the family, the school, the church and the network - is emphasised through ritual. One such ceremony - although not an obvious one in this context - is the Christening ceremony. There are special guests invited to celebrate the Christening, both in the church and at the parents' home, but many other well-wishers will just call at the house and so food and drink must be constantly at hand throughout the day to serve to the visitors. The
child's spiritual future is linked with his worldly future. The child must be set on the right road to becoming a 'big man' and it is with this in mind that Godparents are chosen at the time of the christening. Godparents are considered to be guardians to the child and their influence, both spiritual and secular is important. The Godparent is most often of the same as, or of a higher social status than the parent, and they undertake to care for the child should anything happen to the parents. Under normal circumstances they take an interest in the child's welfare and give the child gifts at birthdays and on marriage, but in the event of a misfortune overtaking the family - such as the death of the father, then their help will often be of a more substantial kind.

One woman told me: 'After my husband's death Samuel's Godfather paid his school fees for him at the Prince of Wales School'. Indeed it is in furthering a child's educational career that the assistance of the Godparents will be most often sought. (Table 23 shows the sampled students' frequency of interaction with their Godparents.)

There are also other rituals which link together the different facets of the socialisation process. The annual school Thanksgiving service has already been mentioned, but other ceremonies too, such as those of prize-giving, give expression to a homogenous style of life which is the distinguishing feature of the Creoles as a group.

Another mechanism through which the group expresses its unity and distinctiveness is the display of symbols, such as the school uniform which has grown in importance for 'status' schools. All schools insist on uniforms, but 'status' schools - primary and secondary - have uniforms for different occasions. One 'status' primary school for example, had every-day uniform, a uniform for Thanksgiving ceremonies, and a uniform for sports-day. Even the 'status' secondary school which was originally set up for the benefit of up-country boys decided that
their students were coming to school sloppily dressed. To raise the standards of dress in the school, it was announced that every Thursday the school would hold a formal assembly, which meant that formal uniform had to be worn. One teacher at the school estimated that a large percentage of children are absent from this school every Thursday because they cannot afford the full uniform. One Thursday a number of boys were sent out of school as they were not wearing the regulation black shoes. This same teacher told me that her own son, who attended a different 'status' boys' school, had been suspended from the school for two weeks as he did not have the straw hat which formed part of the ceremonial school uniform. This hat, in fact, is never worn by the boys but always carried under the arm. It is certain that there has been greater emphasis placed upon 'correct' uniform over recent years, in 'status' schools in Freetown.

The emphasis on uniforms accentuates the differences between the 'status' schools and the non-status schools and the majority of the pupils of the 'status' schools are Creoles. The degree to which these high status educational institutions are self-recruiting is evident to any bystander watching the annual parade of the 'old girls' of the highest status girls' school. From some families as many as four generations of 'old girls' will march together through the town.

I am sure that a reader may argue that the benefits I have described in relation to response to schooling which accrue to the Creole professional child as a result of the socialisation process, might equally well be attributed to material advantage. My neglect of the material environment of the family has been deliberate. For despite their different material levels the children of Creole non-professionals will benefit from a 'style of life' which is shared with the children of Creole professionals. It is through the 'style of life' that characteristics such as values and attitudes are transmitted. And it is the acquisition
of these attitudes which makes certain sections of society more likely
to attain membership of a high status group than other sections of society.

Creole Non-Professionals

In order to illustrate the way in which this 'style of life' benefits the children of non-professional Creoles as well as those of professional Creoles in recruitment terms, it might be instructive to examine separately, certain aspects of the socialisation process of the non-professional Creoles.

Perhaps the key to the link between Creole professionals and non-professionals in the socialisation process lies in the description which I gave earlier in this chapter of traditional fostering among the Creoles. This practice which will involve children from professional homes staying in the households of non-professionals and vice versa provides a link between those who might otherwise be divided by the horizontal strata of the class and status hierarchy. It also makes for a considerable degree of uniformity in early child rearing practices among the Creole group as a whole. This interchange of caretakers fosters standardisation in such practices as weaning, bed-sharing, and control of aggression, within both professional and non-professional households.

The emphasis on discipline and control is present in non-professional Creole families also, and because these are likely to be living in areas which are not exclusively Creole, their efforts at maintaining the distinctiveness of the group are even more pronounced than those of the Creole professionals. These efforts are most evident in the villages. These were originally settlements of Liberated Africans, but as the Creoles moved from farming and trading to those occupations requiring more education, they gradually left the villages for Freetown. Richardson and Collins give a detailed report of this Creole emigration from the villages. The Creoles have been replaced by other tribes.
in most villages where Creoles are now but a small minority of the population. The Creoles complain that they have difficulty in keeping up their children's standards of conduct in the face of the example set by the children from other ethnic groups, many of whom will not even be attending school. While I was in Freetown one professional women's club offered assistance to one of these villages. Most of the women in the village were market gardeners and some would take their babies and small children with them when they went to the market to sell their produce. The club offered to help launch a baby-minding or informal play group, with the mothers taking it in turns to run the group. Free medical care and advice was to be given by experts. At first the idea was greeted with enthusiasm, but when the Creoles discovered that the scheme was to include all the village children, they rapidly withdrew their support. They did not want their own children brought into contact with non-Creole children nor did they want the mothers of those children to be given authority to supervise Creole children. The proposed scheme was, therefore, dropped.

The maintenance of the distinctiveness of the group is, therefore a significant part of the 'style of life' of the Creoles. For some, however, the struggle to maintain this distinctiveness is more difficult than for others and, as Banton has observed, 'In some villages where there are very few Creoles left, they have insufficient means to maintain their former standards and have been absorbed into native society although they never become truly part of it' (1957, p. 107).

One family in this category (although not a village family) was in my interview sample. Although it was very poor, the family wanted to emphasise the difference between 'we' and 'they'. The mother lived with her own mother and two of her seven children in a tin shack in a slum area. Both women were 'outside' wives. The family lived together in one room in a compound which must have contained at least 30 other
This woman and her mother were however, the only Creoles in the compound. The lack of privacy was highlighted by at least a dozen faces which peered in through the window and the open doorway. 'Oh we don't bother with those,' said the interviewee, indicating the onlookers with her hand, 'they are not like us, they speak their own language and they are dirty. We don't bother with them.' Yet even this family, which can only be described as 'borderline Creole' had 4 of the 7 children fostered by wealthier relatives and three of these children were attending 'status' grammar schools. Through traditional fostering therefore the children were able to remain within the Creole group.

This link between rich and poor which is maintained through the mechanism of traditional fostering, is reinforced through ritual. Such rituals as family feasts I described in Chapter 1 as having an important function for sustaining the Creole's style of life. There are also children's ceremonies which link rich and poor among the Creoles. One such ceremony is the birthday party, clearly an institution borrowed from the west. Table 24, which shows the relationship between pupils claiming to have birthday parties, and the occupation of their fathers, gives the not unexpected finding, that birthday parties are enjoyed mostly by professional families. During the course of my interviewing however, I found that certain features of birthday parties for Creole children differed markedly from those held in British households. In Britain, birthday parties are usually attended by friends of the same age and the same social class as the child. In Freetown, although a few of the child's own friends are invited, they are most frequently outnumbered by members of the child's immediate and extended family. Age groups are mixed and it is very common for two or three children in a family to be given a combined party, thus confusing the age groups even further.

Party games which are a common feature in British birthday parties are
replaced by dancing since this is an activity which can be shared and enjoyed by old and young alike. One of the most important differences however, is in the giving of the birthday gift which forms an important part of the ceremonial in birthday parties in Britain. In most households in Freetown any gifts which are brought are put quietly to one side, to be opened by the child at a later date. When I asked one mother why her child had not opened the birthday parcels immediately, she was obviously shocked and replied, 'We would never do that. There are many children who come, who will not be able to afford to bring a birthday present at all and we would not want them to be embarrassed by parading the gifts of others.' Birthday parties therefore, are ceremonials which perform the function of binding together the younger Creoles and which cut across social class lines.

Another channel for cross-cutting the divisions of social class is religion. In the villages the Creoles are even more involved in the church, than are their relatives who live in Freetown as, for Creole villagers, the church is the centre of their secular as well as their spiritual lives. Through the church, children from non-professional households will share a membership in the same organisations as children from professional Creole households. Their church membership also gives these children from non-professional households the same advantages in the formal educational system as those enjoyed by the children of professionals. The advantage of Creole children over non-Creole children in the field of language, which I referred to earlier in this chapter, is also shared by Creole professionals and non-professionals. The latter may not go to such extremes in forcing their children to speak English at all times, as do some professional Creole families, but nevertheless the children will be familiar with the use of the English language.

Studies on value orientations in education amongst different
social groups in western society, have emphasised the differences between these groups. Children of working class parents for instance have been found to have lower aspirations than children of middle class parents (see Pound, Halsey and Martin, 1956). Middle class parents take more interest in their children's education and are likely to encourage them to stay at school for a longer period (see Plowden Report, 1967). Banks (1968, p. 77) however, points out that such studies, which stress the non-achievement orientation of working class children and parents, have not gone unchallenged. Some writers 'have suggested that there is no genuine differentiation in the values attached to success and that the working classes put less emphasis upon it only because they perceive the obstacles in the way of its achievement.' Amongst the Creoles in Freetown however, the values of the professional group towards education are also shared by the non-professionals. The obstacles to success in the field of education, which might be faced by the non-professional group, are to a large extent removed, because the non-professionals share the 'style of life' of the professional Creoles. Table 25, which relates children's examination results to parental occupation, shows that there is little significant difference in academic achievement between the various occupational groups. Traditional fostering, family rituals, the church and a shared social network, all serve to unite Creoles into one group, across class divisions. Thus they gain educational advantages which would otherwise be denied to them because of the barriers erected by social class divisions.
As I stated in Chapter 1, my research in Freetown concentrated upon those factors in the 'style of life' of the Creoles which contribute to their occupational success. Yet since the problem of redressing the ethnic imbalance in Freetown schools is one which has for some time worried education policy makers in Sierra Leone, I must point to those features in the socialisation process of the non-Creoles which hinder their progress in the field of education.

The Formal School Structure

The development of formal education in Sierra Leone favoured the Creoles rather than the non-Creoles (see Fortex, 1963; Sumner, 1963). As the UNESCO Educational Planning Mission Report on the Development Programme in Education for Sierra Leone 1964-1970 shows, Freetown is particularly well endowed with secondary school places in comparison with other districts. Politicians in the Protectorate have campaigned for years for a more even distribution of educational opportunities. In a speech made to the Protectorate Assembly in 1949, Albert Margai stated that, 'For secondary schools, we have in the Protectorate one for boys and one for girls, as against five for boys and four for girls in the Colony' (Sumner, 1963, p. 322). He continued by giving examples of deliberate government discrimination in favour of the Colony at the expense of the Protectorate.

There is pressure on secondary schools by the Ministry of Education to accept a minimum number of Protectorate children. Nevertheless, it is clear that the total number of Protectorate children receiving secondary education is totally disproportionate to their numbers, especially in relation to the number of Creole children attending secondary schools. In 1963, of all children in the age-group 5-19 years
(totalling 617,448), only 17.5% were attending schools, and of all
children in schools, 91% were attending the primary schools and only 9% the secondary schools. The majority of these secondary schools are in Freetown. The heads of the 'status' secondary schools are reluctant to give any figures on the ethnic affiliation of their pupils. Even official statistics contain no details on ethnic distribution in secondary schools. The Creoles are vehement in their claim that division on the basis of ethnicity is an evil which has been exacerbated by the colonial powers to suit their selfish purposes. Nevertheless, it can be seen that this evasion of the issue of the ethnic affiliation of school children may well serve to foster even further the advantages of the professional Creole group. In the one 'status' secondary school in Freetown which originated for the benefit of Protectorate boys, Creole enrolment now exceeds that of any single tribal group and in 1969-1970 it was 40% of the total enrolment figure. From my own sample of 520 school children from 'status' secondary schools the non-Creole percentage of the total figure was only 32.9%.

Formerly children from the Protectorate who sought access to the Freetown secondary schools were forced to become 'Creolised' through becoming wards of Creole families. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, there are today fewer Protectorate wards in Creole households, but the ward system itself is still flourishing. Five of the 'status' secondary schools in Freetown have boarding departments. These however, can cater for only a very small proportion of the total student body of the school and they are also very expensive and therefore beyond the reach of the average applicant. Of the 171 non-Creole students attending the 'status' schools in my sample, 75% were living with guardians, 49% of this 75% were living with related guardians. The ward system therefore would seem to be still an important mechanism for social and occupational mobility.
Sinclair (Forthcoming) mentions that traditional motives for fostering among the non-Creoles have given way to educational motives. An analysis of 240 essays written by wards attending non-status schools, showed a high degree of dissatisfaction with their foster home conditions, even though the majority of these children were living in the homes of fellow tribesmen. They claimed that they were overburdened with domestic work and received insufficient money from foster parents to cover their fees, uniforms and books. In one non-status school, there were 369 children in 5 classes. Of these children 43% were wards. The absentee record in this school showed that 75 out of 159 wards were absent more than 40 out of 250 days and that these wards were also the lowest in terms of academic achievement. The evidence shows that the demand for education amongst Protectorate children is such that they are coming as wards to related or non-related tribesmen, who cannot cope financially with keeping these wards in school.

The Position of Women

Up to this point I have stressed the obvious material disadvantages faced by the non-Creole child in formal education. However, even if material conditions are held constant, there are still aspects of the socialisation process of the non-Creole child which militate against him in the formal school system. The first of these is the inferior position of women in non-Creole society. This has had obvious repercussions on the formal education of girls. Gladys Harding (1968) in an article on 'Education in Freetown', points out the glaring discrepancy between the opportunities made available to Creole girls in education, and those available to non-Creole girls. A notable feature of education in Freetown becomes apparent from the foregoing, namely, that particular attention was paid to the education of girls, both at primary and post-primary levels, by the missions which were responsible for bringing
education to Sierra Leone. Whereas in the hinterland of Sierra Leone... the education of girls is said to have lagged behind that of boys, this is certainly not true of the Freetown area (p. 145). The Interim Report of the Government Education Planning Group in 1961, entitled, 'Education and Economic Development in Sierra Leone,' shows that the number of girls attending school between 1950 and 1960 has risen but not rapidly:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Boys Attending</th>
<th>No. of Girls Attending</th>
<th>% of Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>24,381</td>
<td>10,139</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>34,168</td>
<td>14,766</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>56,937</td>
<td>29,287</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This report also shows that the dropout rate for girls is higher than that of the boys. This low status of non-Creole women in the academic field is a reflection of the low status which they occupy in the society in general. This must affect their position as a model for the child in the socialisation process. Table 26 which shows the relationship between ethnic affiliation and the parent responsible for discipline amongst students under 18 years of age, shows that 37.2% of Creole children claim that their mother is responsible for discipline in comparison with 23.4% of non-Creole children. Of the non-Creole children, on the other hand, 22.2% state that their fathers are responsible for discipline in comparison with 16.9% of Creole children.

Religion

Amongst the Creoles the importance of women in the socialisation process does not lie solely in the interaction of mother and child within the family. Women are also instrumental in forming and stabilising the Creole network, which also features prominently in the socialisation process of the Creole child. The church is an important agency in this
network and earlier in this chapter I outlined some of the advantages which this church affiliation gave the Creole child in the school system. These advantages to Creole children in education are balanced by the disadvantages to non-Creole children, the majority of whom are Moslem. There are no exact figures on the number of Moslems in the population, but Trimmingham (1962), writing on the spread of Islam in West Africa, estimates that at least half of the Mende and Temne tribes have converted to Islam and that there might be as many as 30% of the total population who would claim Islam as their religion. In view of this rapid spread of Islam, it is notable that not only were 32% of my sample of 520 school children non-Creole, but 73% of this 32% were Christian. Sumner (1963), states that in the early half of the 19th century the southern section of the Protectorate reacted favourably towards education while the northern section, because of the prevailing strong Mohammedan influence, reacted sharply and unfavourably towards the Christian basis of education and thus the northern part of Sierra Leone came to oppose education itself and all it stood for. Even in the southern section of the country, regions which favoured Mohammedanism reacted apathetically towards education' (p. 231).

In the same way, within Freetown itself, amongst the Aku, or Moslem Creoles, Islam has presented an obstacle to these children entering schools which had a Christian foundation. The early Christian Creole merchant invested his wealth in land and trade. Through education he achieved high occupational status. For the Aku, a western education was not possible. The schools of the Moslem community were Moslem, offering religious instruction in this faith. In the mid-nineteenth century, Savage, a Moslem lawyer (see Peterson, pp. 243-244) fought those in his community who were attempting to bring the Aku into the main stream of Freetown society. He attacked the famous Dr. Edward Blyden, the Creole
Christian who had defended Islam and who sought to bring Islam and Christianity closer together in Freetown. Savage argued that a Moslem had 'no need for an English education.' The Moslem schools which have been established in Freetown have had little impact on the secular and Christian oriented education system of Freetown. The Christian influence remains strong in the Freetown schools and the founding missions still retain a great deal of power in those schools which they helped to initiate. The Moslem schools do not equip a child for entry to the professional class. Thus the Moslem non-Creoles have, until now, been channelled away from entering the professions and thus from competition in the occupational field. The number of Moslem children attending Freetown Christian schools has been gradually increasing and even a few girls from wealthier families have made their way into the 'status' grammar schools and to Fourah Bay College. The percentage however, is still very small and although staff at the schools and college claim that the relationship between Moslems and Christians, and between Creoles and non-Creoles in general, is very good, it was obvious to me in the course of my interviewing, that this minority group are aware of being in an inferior position in relation to Christian Creoles. One Moslem student referred to a fellow Moslem at the university as 'an object of ridicule. She prays all the time and she dresses like a Moslem.' Of another, she said, 'She always puts herself higher than she is. She tries always to behave like a Creole although she is only a Mende.'

**Language**

Christianity and education for the Creoles, have gone hand in hand. Olson writing on religion in Sierra Leone, states that the approach of the early missionaries was 'a method of evangelisation through schools for children and youth (hereafter referred to as "the school approach")' (Olson, 1969, p. 32). Synonymous with the development of education is
the development of language. In churches as well as in schools English is the vessel for communication. This gives Creoles an advantage in the use of the English language even before they enter the school. Table 9 which indicates the level of literacy in English in relation to areas (including Freetown) shows that Freetown has a literacy level of 40.8% of its population in comparison with 7.7% of the total population of Sierra Leone who are literate. Also apparent is the high percentage of females who are literate in comparison with the figures given for other areas. Moslem schools in Freetown have concentrated on training children to be literate in Arabic and this has often been done at the cost of a training in English (see Fisher, 1969).

Traditional Societies

Demands for teaching in schools through the use of the vernacular, have not met with much approval (see Summer, 1963). One proposed method of coping with the low level of literacy and education in the provinces was through a mass education scheme put forward by Dr. H.A.S. Margai when he was medical officer at Freetown. The medium which he proposed to use was the Bundu society - the traditional female secret society. It was suggested that initiation ceremonies were to be put to educational purposes in the modern sense of the word. The girls were to be taught to read in Mende as well as being given instruction in physiology sanitation, domestic science, and child welfare. This was to be combined with the traditional teaching of the society. The scheme however, met with resistance from some chiefs the Protectorate Assembly on the grounds that it violated the traditional secrecy associated with the initiation rites.

These secret societies - both Bundu and Fobo - also put non-Creoles at a disadvantage in the school system. Many Creole families said that their non-Creole wards had been reclaimed by their parents when the
time came for them to go through the initiation ceremonies. Some non-Creole parents have tried to adapt to the demands of the school system by putting their children through initiation during the long summer vacation. The traditional societies in their present form, seem to offer little advantage in educational terms to non-Creole children who are involved in a western type educational system. In fact they can be a positive disadvantage in that they may take children out of the school system for differing periods of time. They also provide non-Creole children with a social network and affiliation which will not be of direct benefit to them in their educational career.

**Professionals and Non-Professionals in Non-Creole Society**

Of all these various features in the socialisation process of the non-Creoles which place them at a disadvantage to the Creoles in relation to education, perhaps the most serious is the division between non-Creole professionals and non-Creole non-professionals. Non-Creole professionals share the ‘style of life’ of Creole professionals. They are thus enabled to act as a group despite class and status divisions and they share a common value system. One of the most important of these values is the high esteem for education. Amongst the non-Creoles there is no such unity.

Little (1951) writes forcibly on the significance of literacy for the Mende people. An educated man is placed outside his native society. He becomes ‘a social hybrid.’ Olsen also emphasises the divisive effect of education upon the non-Creoles. *The response of the Sherbro and Mende people to schools and Christianity was cautious and distrustful. If parents sent a child to school they did not think of it as giving him an education but as giving their child away. Not only did western education... mean losing a potential farm worker, but it made a child unfit for manual labour. The child felt that manual labour and village
life and even his nearest relatives were beneath him. He became detribalised and westernised' (1969, p. 34). The fact that education can perform an economic disservice to traditional society has been mentioned also by education policy makers, as the following extract from a report on the Development of Education in Sierra Leone, 1948, illustrates: 'While therefore the present system does result in a gradually increasing number of young men and women becoming available for professional posts of different kinds and thus acquiring a growing share in the responsibility of administering the public service, the curriculum is not at present well suited to the needs of the majority. No one who has travelled around the Protectorate and has talked with the ordinary farmer can fail to be impressed by a widespread fear in the farming community that education, at least as practised in the schools at present, tends to discourage the children from remaining on the land when they grow up. The farmer, who naturally regards his land as his main asset, regards the schools therefore, with some degree of suspicion.'

For the majority of non-Creoles, education means not only a physical separation from his family, but also a psychological separation. It was no accident that the two non-Creole professionals in my sample, who had married Creole wives, were bringing up their children as Christians, indistinguishable from Creole children. In this way the children would be protected from the obstacles which their fathers had faced in their educational career. The majority, who fail to make it to the 'status' schools drop out and join the increasing army of unemployed, discontented school leavers, who remain in Freetown, alienated from their native society.

Conclusion

Although access to 'status' schools is officially available to Creoles as well as to non-Creoles, Creole representation at these schools
is totally out of proportion to their number in the population. Through an examination of the main agencies involved in the socialisation process, I have sought to detect those features in the informal process of socialisation — which always accompanies the formal — which might give one ethnic group an advantage over others in the field of education. There are a number of features in the Creole process of socialisation which contribute to their success, such as the emphasis on control within this process and the inculcation of achievement motivation by both the family and the school. The mother is always an important agent in the socialisation process of any society, and the relatively high status of women in Creole society in comparison with the low status of women in non-Creole society, must affect their respective positions as models within the socialisation process.

The contribution which language and religion make to the advantages of the Creole child in school, is obvious. Less obvious however, is that these advantages cut across the boundaries of social class. Through mechanisms such as traditional fostering, birthday parties and a linked social network Creole professionals share the benefits which would, in industrial society, accrue mainly to high status groups. The values and attitudes held by Creole non-professionals towards education, are therefore not at variance with those held by Creole professionals. The non-Creoles however are divided along class lines in the value which they place upon education. Success in the field of education implies a western 'style of life' which undermines the values held by traditional society.
1. As indicated in the Introduction, Section 2, the sample of 42 was obtained through the 'status' primary or secondary schools. All interviewees therefore, are either the parents or guardians of school children.

2. For a detailed discussion of traditional fostering practices in Sierra Leone as a whole, I am indebted to John Sinclair who allowed me to read a forthcoming paper on his research into the subject.

3. Morris, P., in Family and Social Change in an African City (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961) equates fostering in Nigeria with fostering in a western industrial society in that he assumes that the adverse emotional consequences which fostering has upon children in industrial society will also accrue to West African children who are fostered.

4. See Foster 1965.

5. See detailed discussion in Chapter 1.

6. See Dansiger (1971, p.109) on infant separation from mother: 'The quality of the previous relationship of the infant to his mother is one of the key factors determining whether an infant will show more or less severe signs of disturbance. Those infants who have been closely attached to their mother, show the most severe reactions on separation. Secondly, infants who are provided with a good substitute maternal care are less drastically affected.'

7. See Barbara Lloyd (1970, p.77). She states that in designing her questionnaire to investigate child-training procedures among Yoruba mothers (this research formed part of larger study concerned with diverse aspects of socialisation and personality development), 'direction was sought in the earlier work of Sears and colleagues who had studied the practices of American mothers (Sears, Maccoby and Levin, 1957) and in the related six cultures study of Whiting et al (1963)'.

8. See Chapter 1 on the importance of 'correct' dress as a symbol of status among the Creoles.

9. This emphasis on competition and rivalry in the socialisation process can be linked with a statement by Banton on social organisation among the Creoles, when he says that, 'Creole culture is not based upon a rigid social structure in which advance follows a prescribed pattern from birth onwards - as in tribal societies. Rather it is one in which advance depends almost entirely upon individual action, and it is possible for anyone to rise to the top if he has sufficient application and ability. Their social organisation does not lend itself to co-operation.....' (1957, p.106).
10. See Morrison and McIntyre (1971, p. 47), who define these groups as 'around the vague borderline between the middle and working classes, with fathers in low status white collar supervisory or possibly skilled manual jobs.' See also Note (3) of Chapter 2.

11. External signs of warmth and affection must also be seen in a cultural perspective. Wellesley-Cole (1960) writes of his early childhood experiences, 'mother did not actually kiss me; African mothers did not kiss their children. But she could not have been more motherly in the way she bustled my brother and me to have our tea' (pp. 15-16).

12. See Census, 'The Urban Villages' (1962) in which he describes the conflict between the student population composed mainly of children from an Italian working class male-dominated subculture and the middle class oriented school teacher who is also likely to be female.


15. I am grateful to Dr. Humphrey Fisher, for pointing out to me that there are 3 Moalem Secondary schools in Sierra Leone. Only one of these is in Freetown. The Freetown School was established in 1964. In 1966, when Dr. Fisher was in Freetown this school had not extended its syllabus to G.C.E. 'O' level standard. I am told that the school has now reached that standard. It will, however, be a long time before it can compete with the 'status' grammar schools in the number of 'O' level passes which it achieves.
CHAPTER 4

THE PROCESS OF SOCIALISATION ON THE GREEN LEA HOUSING ESTATE

The process of socialisation is one which is common to every social group. Its importance for recruitment to the professional class is, therefore, as great at Green Lea as in the Freetown situation which was described in the previous chapter. In this study of the socialisation process at Green Lea however, the methods used differ from those employed in the Freetown study. In Freetown the sample was not restricted to geographical area or to a narrow age range. The technique of participant observation alone was therefore, clearly inadequate and had to be supported by interviews and questionnaires. At Green Lea on the other hand the age range of the children was more restricted and all lived on the estate. Although material gained through formal interviews is used in this chapter the bulk of the data was gained through participant observation. My personal involvement with the school as a parent prohibited the use of questionnaires in the school. On the other hand the ease of access which I was allowed into the school made questionnaires unnecessary. Socialisation practices at Green Lea will be analysed in the same way as those of the Creoles.

From this discussion of socialisation practices at Green Lea there arise two secondary problems. The first is the extent to which the estate as a distinctive living pattern affects the socialisation process. The second is the effect of the physical environment upon adult socialisation. For although the early years are the most formative in the socialisation context, social learning continues throughout life. In this chapter I shall consider the extent to which that category of residents to which I referred in Chapter 2 as 'borderline estaters'
identify themselves with the estate and the extent to which living on the estate changes or moulds their socialisation techniques, particularly their attitudes and values which they will transmit to their children.

The Family and Early Child Rearing Practices

The position of the family as the principal agency in the socialisation process was discussed in the previous chapter. The form which this process takes must be affected by the family structure which, in its turn, is affected by the social structure. Parsons (1955) stressed the isolation of the nuclear family in industrial society. This isolation is a response to the demands of an occupational system which stresses the importance of mobility. Parson's view was attacked as being extremist by many sociologists of the family (see Sussman and Birchinal, 1962). He replied (1965) that the extreme concept of isolation was meant to indicate the redundancy of the family as an economic unit in industrial society. This was not meant to imply that all relationships with the family of origin would be severed, but that an element of choice enters into a man's interaction with his kin. This makes for a considerable variety in the pattern of kinship relations.

Kinship relations at Green Lea exhibited this variety. Although the population was, for the most part, geographically mobile, a surprisingly large number seemed to be living within easy reach of their kin. This may have been a particular feature of an estate situated near to the capital as London houses one fifth of the nation's population. Many of those in my sample who were living near to kin when interviewed, had previously lived elsewhere and had prospects of having to move again elsewhere. Twenty two of the 42 households interviewed had one or both parents of either spouse living in the London area. There was a greater tendency for closer contact to be maintained between the wife and her
parents than with the husband's parents, but this connection was not particularly significant as the mother-daughter tie is not the same as the close emotional bond portrayed by sociologists involved in family studies in traditional working class areas (Kerr, M. 1956; Wilmott and Young, 1957). Nor has it the significance for the family structure of the mother-daughter relationship in Freetown, among the Creoles.

The absence of any evident close mother-daughter relationship must have an effect on child rearing patterns. In relation to breast feeding for instance ante natal publications (see for instance Read, 1955) have long issued warnings to young mothers not to be dissuaded from breast feeding by older relatives. At Green Lea, neither the parents of the husbands nor of the wives in my sample had lived together in the same household during the early part of the child's life and one weekly visit was the most frequent interaction reported. From this it could well be assumed that older relatives would not have a significant influence on early child feeding patterns. Researchers have found that patterns of breast feeding in Britain are affected by social class. The Newsons (1963, pp. 171-183) summarise their findings on class trends in infant feeding in table form:

| Class Differences in the Proportion of Mothers still Breast Feeding at Different Times after Birth |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Still Breast Feeding at | 1 month | 3 months | 6 months | 1 and 11 | 11LMen | 1V |
| | % | % | % | 60 | 50 | 39 | 30 |
| | 39 | 34 | 24 | 22 | 12 | 11 |
| | 20 | 12 | 6 | 11 | 7 |

It would therefore have been natural to expect, from a sample which was drawn predominantly from Classes I and II and within which there was little interference from older relatives, that the percentage of breast feeding mothers would have been high. In fact only 7 of the 42 (5 of whom
were professionals) had breast fed for longer than three months. Many claimed that they had found breast feeding too restrictive. The average period of breast feeding was six weeks, although with second and subsequent children many were breast fed only for the first two weeks.

There was a small group of women living on the estate who belonged to the National Childbirth Trust. Three of the mothers in my sample, who had breastfed for longer than three months, belonged to this organisation. These formed a group who made a conscious effort to promote breast feeding. They gave moral support to each other and they tried to recruit new members. Two of these 3 members in my sample had the most child-centred homes of any in the sample. During the breast feeding period the household, to a large extent revolved around the child's feeding demands. The secretary of the local branch of the Trust, who was one of the 2 women interviewed told me: 'Although I had already breastfed my first 2 children, I was not a member of the Trust. It was my doctor who suggested that I joined, when I first moved on to the estate, as a way of meeting people. I was sceptical at first. I thought it was kinky. It gave Jimmy a good many laughs although now he doesn't find it quite so funny. I've become quite committed to the cause so to speak. We hold meetings regularly - often at my house.' The extent of her commitment was obvious from a coffee morning which I attended at her house. A large collection of pushchairs and prams outside the front door clearly indicated that there was a meeting of Trust members in progress. Of the 13 women seated in the main living room, most were accompanied by at least one toddler, while the hostess endeavoured to serve the coffee. The conversation - or as much of it as I could hear above the pandemonium of the children - did not centre exclusively on breast feeding or infant care, although these subjects certainly entered
into the conversation. For the most part the discussion was home-
centred and did not differ markedly in content from that which one
might hear in any casual gathering of young mothers and housewives.

Five of those present came from the estate while the rest were drawn
from the middle class area of East Baring. I came to the conclusion
that the main purpose of the meeting was simply to provide social
contact which would give these mothers moral support in their decision
to continue breast feeding. I realised also that breast feeding was
not the only issue involved. The permissive attitudes of these mothers
towards their children was evident from the destructive activities of
the children and the slight and mostly ineffectual restraint imposed
upon them by their mothers. For the five estate members who were present
this permissiveness was matched by a lack of anxiety about the appear-
ance and material condition of their homes. I do not wish to imply that
this was the case for all breast feeders, but it applied to those who
were members of the National Childbirth Trust.

The general attitude of estate residents towards this minority
group of Trust members was, on the whole, one of disapproval. This
disapproval was not of breast feeding as a method of infant feeding.
Most women were too well versed in the literature of the experts on the
merits of breast feeding not to feel a certain guilt at not having breast
fed for any length of time themselves. Disapproval was shown where
breast feeding denoted a specific pattern of child care which conflicted with the
prevailing pattern practised on the estate. A neighbour of one member
of the National Childbirth Trust told me, 'She's forever nursing that
baby. As soon as it cries she puts down whatever she is doing and feeds
it. You can see by her face that she's worn out. I feel sorry for her
but it's her own fault, she has brought it on herself.'

The main focus of criticism is upon the lack of routine in these
child-centred households. For most mothers on the estate one of the most crucial features of early child rearing is the establishment of a routine and a regular feeding timetable. 'Once you have a routine then life becomes much easier - you find you have time on your hands.' This conflicts with the attitude of the members of the National Childbirth Trust, one of whom told me that, 'Most mothers around here seem to want a baby so that they can parade it in a pram propped up on a frilly pillow while they look like fashion plates. They don't seem to concern themselves with the real needs of the child.' Other estate residents however, feel that their methods are amply justified by the contentedness of their babies. Mrs. Harries, the neighbour of the Trust member whom I quoted earlier, told me that, 'After all that effort during the day she's awake all night. That baby never stops crying. I thought that the whole point of demand feeding was to keep children sweet tempered, but she's got the most irritable baby I've ever heard. We never had any trouble at night with our two. They were put to bed at 6 p.m. and we didn't hear them again until 7 o'clock in the morning.'

I have given more prominence than was necessary to breast feeding as an early child rearing pattern because it introduces at an early stage, a conspicuous feature of estate socialisation and that is routine or control. The mother who can breast-feed and achieve a routine is the object of admiration. The one who is unable or disinclined to achieve this is the object of disapproval. This attitude is not peculiar to the estate. The Newsoms draw attention to such an implication in the literature on baby care, and conclude that, 'Despite a rather grudging concession to the baby's needs as an individual and not a stereotype, there remains the general underlying assumption that routine itself is, almost in a moral sense, good for babies, quite apart from considerations of the mother's convenience; and that failure to provide regularity in the life
of the infant may have serious though unspecified consequences particularly in relation to the child's later character development' (1963, p. 49). Bottle feeding as opposed to breast feeding is, in most cases, also more convenient for the mother and it is this factor which is responsible for the early weaning of babies from the breast among the professional Creole women and among the women on the Green Lea estate. In the Freetown situation the cause was female employment. At Green Lea however, the majority of mothers do not work until the children have at least reached primary school age. There the most common reason for mothers to decide not to breast-feed was that they found the practice too restricting. One mother concluded, 'You've got to be placid to be able to breast feed properly and you have to be prepared to take life easily and stay at home quite a lot. I'm too fond of rushing around here there and everywhere.'

This elaboration of feeding as an early child rearing pattern, also draws attention to the fact that a large proportion of estate dwellers do have shared attitudes and values in relation to socialisation. Those who deviate from the common pattern are the minority. Amongst this minority there are those such as the three members of the National Childbirth Trust in my sample, who seek support through membership of this organisation, for an alternative method of socialisation.

Weaning of children, unlike breast-feeding, provides a contrast with the Freetown pattern. It is a far milder and less drastic process than in the African setting. Only the few who had breast-fed for six months attempted to wean the child directly from breast to cup feeding. Most babies were allowed to continue feeding from the bottle until they were past their first year. Here again the importance of appearances to estate residents is noticeable, for there is general disapproval when a toddler is seen to continue to enjoy a bottle as a feeding vessel.
Those mothers who admitted to the fact that their children were still drinking from a bottle after the age of 2 years emphasised that they allowed their children to have the bottle at certain times of the day only - normally just before bed time - when it would be out of the sight of any visitors. This same rule was applied to the use of a dummy.

Toilet training practices also reflect a fairly high level of permissiveness. Fifteen of the 42 mothers claimed that they started training as early as six months, but the majority did not begin until the child was at least a year old. There was no physical punishment until the child was around 2 years of age. After that time a few mothers did admit to giving an occasional slap for 'accidents'. As one mother told me, 'I know I ought not to slap him for it but these polished wooden floors are so difficult to keep clean and he nearly always does it just after I've polished'. Mrs. Richards, a manager's wife also admitted to punishing her child, 'I've had problems of constipation with Susan and I'm sure that it's because I used to punish her whenever she made a mess in the house. I used to lose my temper. It's so much work cleaning up the mess.' Here again is the emphasis on the appearance of the house. It was obvious that many mothers felt a conflict between the level of permissiveness in child care which they felt they ought to be achieving on the basis of their reading, and the high standards of home care which they considered it necessary to maintain. A further reason for speeding up the toilet training process after the age of 2 years is that the local nursery school which accepted children between the ages of 2 and a half and 3 years, insisted on a child being clean and dry during the day as a prerequisite for entrance.

Aggression

Parental control in these early feeding and training practices has been related to later personality development (see Miller and Swanson,
In the same way, the long term effects of parental practices in later behaviour patterns have also been studied by sociologists and social psychologists (Whiting and Child, 1953). One such field of control is that concerned with aggressive behaviour.

Amongst the Creoles it was seen that parents exert considerable control over peer aggression because the interchange of children between different households will bring the child into close contact with others of his own age. Sociologists reporting on control of aggression in different social classes in Britain also point to a middle class control of aggression among children. The Newsoms (1968, p. 117-117) state that, 'Middle-class mothers and especially those in the professional and managerial class, more often stress their role as arbitrators in dealing with children's quarrels (as we suggested earlier, they are more inclined towards close supervision of the children's activities generally)'. At Green Lea however, middle class control of aggression is affected by the pattern of the estate itself. It is a development planned with children in mind. Houses are arranged around squares or in cul-de-sacs, so that children can play with others out of danger of the traffic. The individual gardens at the back of the houses are very small for play. Children therefore are encouraged to go into the communal area in front of the houses. In this way it marks a difference in style from the average middle class housing area. In the latter the gardens are generally larger and children are encouraged to play there - unless they go out accompanied by an adult. Until recently only in working class areas in Britain did children spend most of their time in free, unsupervised play with others of the same age, on the streets.

In the very early years - under four years - even a traffic free play area offers too many hazards for the young child, and children are confined to the house. At this stage, most mothers feel that the
foundations of sociability should be laid and the ideal arrangement is that 2 toddlers should play together in the morning or afternoon while the mothers share conversation and coffee or tea. Many combine afternoon walks with the small children in prams or pushchairs. In this way, not only are children encouraged to start getting along together but much of the loneliness which this stage of a child's development can bring to a young mother, (see Davron, 1966) is avoided. Some mothers will even try to adjust their own child's schedule so that the child's meal times and rest times will coincide with those of a friend's child. As one woman put it, 'They're two little girls of exactly the same age and it's nice for them to start being friends from this stage. Of course it's nice for me too. It means I have more spare time or company, whichever I choose.'

Children cannot be kept inside these houses for very long. They see other children playing in the front of the house and soon, most mothers, to gain peace, give in to their requests and allow them to play with other neighbours' children on the communal green or square. In many cases this has repercussions which seem to have not been anticipated by the parents. Children quarrel and fight when they engage in unsupervised play and parents are then faced with the choice of either intervening or letting the children sort out their own dispute. They soon learn that intervention may well lead to further rows, this time with their neighbours - the parents of the other children involved in the quarrel. This is a dilemma which has faced parents of children in working class districts for years and is clearly illustrated in the Newson's description of class differences in the control of aggression (Newson, 1968, Chapter 5). Of the two mothers who told me that they had moved on to the estate for the sake of their children, one told me that, 'The experiment has proved successful. They play outside all the time and I hardly ever see
them.' On the other hand the other mother had reacted differently to the estate. 'We thought it would be nice for Alison - as she is an only child - if we moved here. We thought she would make friends more easily on an estate like this. But it was a mistake. These children who play outside all day are so rough and Alison will not stand up for herself at all. I have always been opposed to violence of any sort but I can't see her always suffer in the way she does whenever she plays outside. I never thought the day would come when I would say to my child: 'Now you go and hit him back.' But now that is just what I do tell her.' Some parents do intervene personally in children's quarrels but this does not merit general approval. As one mother told me, 'I cannot understand why Ellen's mother so demeaned herself as to take up where the children leave off in their fights. Why can't she leave the children alone to fight it out for themselves? I never thought when I moved into an estate of this type that I should witness mothers shouting at each other like fishwives over the back fence.' The incident however, was rare and Ellen's mother eventually moved away from the estate.

Occasionally quarrels between children can lead to mothers withdrawing them from play with other children. In many cases mothers who do this are themselves isolated from the rest of the estate. One particularly sensitive French woman saw, in the other children's hostility to her child, the reaction of the estate towards herself, 'I hate to see Lisa watch them play through the window. Sometimes she cries so it makes my heart break. But I can't let her out with those wild children who will hit her. And their mothers do nothing because they don't like me, because I am a foreigner.' In fact however, although some children were outside the house the whole time, totally undisciplined play was generally not well tolerated. One woman told me, 'Of course I let my boys play with others in the row, but not all the time. I'm glad I have the car that
makes it possible for me to take them to a park somewhere, where they can play but where I can keep an eye on them at the same time.' The particularly aggressive children too are soon identified and isolated. The mother of a 4 year old girl, said of her neighbour's child of the same age, 'She's just a little cat. I can't let Rosalind out when Joanna is out playing otherwise she comes running in straight away with teeth marks on her. I want Rosalind to learn to play with other children but Joanna makes this impossible, so when she is outside, I keep Rosalind inside. I notice that other children give Joanna a wide berth too and of course her mother will never reprimand her.' Parents therefore, although they take advantage of the planned open space for children to play and try to encourage their children to get along with others, they do feel the need for a certain amount of supervision over the children and most try to achieve a balance between freedom and complete control.

There is a definite reluctance on the part of most mothers, to intervene when children quarrel, as it is recognised that this may lead to unpleasantness with other adults in areas where families live in close proximity to each other.

Control of aggressive behaviour on an estate of this kind can be compared with the control exercised over aggression in Creole households. Wherever children have to live and play in close proximity, either with cousins within the same compound or with neighbours on the same square, parents are forced to exercise some control over peer fighting. At Green Lea therefore, the physical structuring of the estate has visible effects upon the pattern of living of the residents. This in turn, has its influence upon the process of socialisation.

**Discipline and Training for Independence**

The form which parental control takes, varies from culture to culture and from one social class to another. Amongst the Creoles I
differentiated between two patterns of discipline. The first was training for independence. At Green Lea early responsibility training can be seen in the encouragement of young children to dress themselves, tidy up their toys and to go on messages. Most children by the time they are 5 years old can dress themselves and do up their shoe-laces.

As Table 27 shows, 37 of the mothers said that their children had been able to dress themselves completely at the age of 5 years. Twenty-three claimed that their children still needed help under the age of 5, and 13 admitted that they had given their children little encouragement to dress themselves completely, before they were 5 years old. Tidying up the toys is an activity which most mothers attempt to encourage, but few achieve complete success. Only 25 claimed that their children were always made to pick up their toys. Most mothers declared that they had started off by helping the children to tidy up but that they usually ended up doing the job themselves. The tidiness of the house was also of great concern to most mothers quite apart from the encouragement of responsibility in the child. As one woman told me, 'It's all very well to let him pick things up after him but it will take him half the afternoon before he's through. Jack (her husband) will be coming back expecting the house to look ship shape.' However, even those who fail to persuade the child to clear up his toys are obviously aware of the fact that this is a desirable goal at which they should aim. Three mothers in fact were so conscious of the importance of independence training in both dressing and tidiness that they devoted time to devising ways in which the child could be encouraged in these fields. One had organised a timetable for the child which was pinned to the wall of his bedroom. The other two had worked out reward systems on the basis of points gained for achievement. Only 3 stated that they made no attempt at all to encourage tidiness in their children. Lack of conscious training in both
dressing and tidiness was connected with a more permissive pattern of child rearing than that generally adopted on the estate. It was also connected with a lack of routine and control which I have already mentioned in relation to feeding patterns and toilet training. On the whole, these mothers tend also to be less house conscious.

Young children under 5 were not encouraged to go to the shops alone. The estate is divided into two parts by a major road and 50% of my sample lived on one side of this road and 50% on the other. The shopping centre is on the south side so that children living on the north side would have to cross the road in order to go to them. It was unthinkable to any of the mothers concerned, that their children should be allowed to cross that road at such an early age. Even amongst those families living on the south side however, none reported that they had allowed their children to go to the shops unaccompanied although many said that they tried to encourage their children to go with messages to neighbours’ houses, so that they would get used to taking such a responsibility.

There was no attempt here, as in Freetown, to train children at an early age to perform household chores, nor was there any emphasis on obedience training. When asked which values mothers would like to see their children gain from their schools, none mentioned respect for their elders and only five mentioned good behaviour.

As in Freetown however, there is an emphasis on control and order in children’s lives and this is often started from the first few weeks of a young child’s life. The importance of routine in relation to early feeding habits has already been mentioned and it is also important that a child’s sleeping patterns are regularised. The mother’s whole week is then planned to fit in with this schedule. It took me two weeks to obtain an interview with one young woman. She could not fit me in
easily into her timetable, although I knew she was not employed and had only one six months old baby. This illustrates the importance that these mothers attach to an ordered life for the child.

This order includes, for most children a regular, early bed time. The average bed time for the under fives was 6.30 p.m., for the 5 to 7 year olds 7 p.m. and for the 8 to 10 year olds, 8 p.m. Those who put their children to bed considerably later than the average were most unpopular. It made it difficult for those children who had gone to bed early to settle down, and adults regarded the noise of children at play in the evening, particularly during the summer months, an invasion of cherished privacy. One mother, whose children’s bedtimes were far more flexible than the average, told me that one Sunday evening her children were playing outside, when her front door bell rang. It was a schoolteacher parent, also living on the square, 'She was very angry and told me that if I couldn’t control my children any better she would personally see to it that they were taken indoors. She said she was going mad trying to mark papers with the children making such a noise.'

This seems to be in keeping with the importance which middle class parents in general, attach to their evening’s freedom. Both the Fowsons (1965, pp. 224-225) and Gavron (1966, p. 106) point out that middle class wives far more than working class wives demand an evening free from child and household cares as a right. In Gavron’s sample 79% of middle class parents went out together once a week. Yet even if there is no desire to go out, the evenings are looked on by most women as a period when they can once more re-emerge as individuals and can enjoy the company of their husbands or friends.

Most children seem to have learned to accept their early bed time routine without protest, although some mothers complain that the very fact of living on an estate of this sort make it difficult to get
the children indoors and away from their friends. A few mothers - 4 out of 42 - did say that they had difficulty in persuading their children to go to bed at a reasonable time. These mothers were also found to be those less rigid in other forms of control and less routine minded. The attitude of neighbours to this minority was not only that they were doing positive harm to the children, but also that they were letting down both themselves and their husbands. 'She looks as though she doesn't care about anything anymore and I think it very unfair to her husband. It can't make him look forward to coming home.'

The Creoles placed less emphasis upon the appearance of their homes than did the residents of Green Lea, but they did attach great importance to respect for private property. Estate parents also teach respect for property. Children are taught not to jump on the furniture, to take their boots off at the front door, to eat food in the dining room and kitchen only, and not to carry it through to the lounge. Outside the house the children are allowed to play on the communal greens or paved areas. They must however, learn that the small green patch of lawn in front of each house (around which, according to a regulation in the lease, residents should not grow a hedge or erect a fence) is the private property of that particular house. They should also not damage any trees or shrubs which might have been planted on the green.

Residents feel that such rules are necessary with so many children living in such close proximity to one another. The preoccupation of the majority with the appearance of the house and the estate, again plays its part in this form of control. One woman told me that, 'You must teach children to respect furniture and ornaments and so on in their own homes, otherwise they cannot be expected to have any respect for other people's property.' Comparisons are often made by those on the estate between their own children who respect the property of others and
children from the Council Estate who have no such respect for private property. There is a parallel here with the Creoles. When they want to highlight their own behaviour with the 'uncivilised' behaviour of the non-Creoles they frequently point to the fact that the latter have never been trained to respect private property.

On the other hand, unlike Creole middle class women who are able to obtain a considerable amount of paid help both in the care of the house and of the children, the estate housewife has to care for both with little assistance from outside agencies. Only 2 of the 42 interviewed women had 'au pair' girls living in to help with the children and 13 had a small amount of paid help with the housework during the week. Yet at the same time they have to struggle to maintain a balance between giving their children the freedom which they feel they ought to have, to play, while at the same time maintaining high standards both in their personal appearance and in the appearance of their homes. To neglect appearances would be to fall short of the middle class image. Children therefore have to be restrained from causing damage within the home.

The Newsome (1963, p. 223) portray the middle class dilemma picturesquely, 'Ideally the middle class woman has a tasteful and well run home into which it is possible to invite visitors at any hour. Once babies arrive however, the reality frequently includes piles of dirty and malodorous clothes in the kitchen, toys all over the house, a rackful of steaming nappies hiding the fireplace and dribble (or worse) on the living room carpet. Under those conditions she may find it difficult to reconcile her ideal self-image as a mature sophisticated woman with her roles as a house-bound baby-minder, nappy-washer and domestic slave.'

Disciplinary Sanctions

The second form of discipline which I considered in the analysis of patterns of socialisation among the Creoles, is punishment for
irregular behaviour. It is here that the greatest gulf occurs between patterns of child care among the Creoles and those practised on the Green Lea estate. Creole parents employ physical punishment as a means of control to an extent that would be considered extremely harsh by British standards. However, as I stated in Chapter 3, punishment is relative and what may appear to be severe punishment in one society is less so in another where the overall level of punishment is anyway higher. In Britain, as we know from the literature (Kohn, 1959; Sears, Maacooby and Levin, 1957; Newson, 1968; Hiday, 1956; Bott, 1957) the extent to which physical methods are used at all as a means of constraint varies with the social class of the parent. Only one of the mothers whom I interviewed disapproved of smacking children under any circumstances. The majority approved of it in moderation and under certain conditions. Five of the mothers said that they often felt ashamed at having given in to their own tempers and to having hit their child, "I mean, how can we expect our children to control their tempers when we cannot control our own?" The findings from this sample fit in with those of the Newson (1968, pp. 411-456) that middle class mothers try to restrain themselves in the extent to which they use smacking, as a punishment for irregular behaviour. Most say that they try to reason with a child wherever possible and that when they resort to smacking they explain their actions to the child. One mother whose child was not talking at the age of 4, said, "Although he can't answer me, I still try to explain to him where he went wrong and why I'm angry. I don't know how much of it is going in, but I feel I have to try."

Particularly harsh reaction by the mother to a child's naughtiness is frowned on by others. One woman said of a former friend, "I can't go there any longer as I used to. Once she gets angry with Alison then she just loses all control over herself and goes on hitting and
hitting her. I just couldn't stand it and my Sandra would get upset too. Of course she's sorry afterwards and can't do enough for them, but it's too late then.' Another woman was isolated by others on her square for the way in which she punished her boy. I tried to interview this woman but I was repeatedly refused an interview. An immediate neighbour said that she could hear the child being beaten and his crying disturbed her to such an extent that she had several times been driven to ring their doorbell to ask them to stop. This was an exceptional case. Neighbours had also reported it to the school which had, in turn, referred both the boy and his parents to an educational psychologist.

Estate parents therefore feel that order and control are necessary conditions for their children's social learning. They prepare the child for adjustment to a middle class estate of this type and for achievement at a later stage. Above all else moderation in socialisation practices - particularly disciplinary practices - is advocated. There is general disapproval if excessive demands are put upon a child or if there is excessive permissiveness in the child care methods. This is in accordance with most of the evidence given on the socialisation practices of middle class parents which is summarised in Klein (1965). She concludes from the evidence given in a variety of studies, that traditional working class mothers tended to be both more indulgent than middle class mothers and also more punitive. The greatest social class differences she found, were in the consistency and deliberateness of parental discipline.

Achievement Motivation

The consistency, time and planning which the middle class mother gives to her children, assist the children to internalise her values. Amongst such values, that of achievement orientation is particularly prominent. Most findings so far of studies concerned with
the effects of child rearing on later personality development have been
tentative and frequently contradictory. There are so many possible
intervening variables that it is very difficult to predict that child
care method 'y' will produce personality type 'x'. There are some points,
however, upon which studies conducted to date, are agreed. One of these
is that parental values and behaviour do affect the presence or absence
of achievement motivation in the child and his subsequent academic
performance. Amongst other points of agreement are that achievement
motivation correlates with reward for independence, with maternal in­
volveinent and high maternal achievement demands (see Winterbottom, 1958;
Rosen, 1956), and with love-oriented techniques of discipline where
parental values are internalised by the child.

First I would like to examine the behaviour of estate mothers
in relation to rewards. Mothers in the sample were asked how they would
react when a child succeeded in relation to various tasks - such as
putting on a vest, doing up buttons - involved in independence training.
Of the 42 mothers, 9 said that they would show their pleasure demonstra­
tively by hugging the child, 15 said they would praise verbally, 11 gave
material rewards, such as sweets or ice cream and 3 did not encourage
independence training in their children at all. Different methods are
used with school age children. One mother gave her son set tasks to
perform and would withhold his weekly pocket money if all were not
completed satisfactorily. Another set up a time table showing the jobs
each of her three children had to perform each day, and the child had
to complete each one in the order set by the time table. Yet another
was told by the teacher of her six year old boy, that his performance in
the undertaking of personal tasks, such as dressing or washing himself,
was slow in comparison with other children in his age group. This
mother devised a points system. The ideal was that the child should
attain a certain number of points each week. Points were gained on the basis of time taken to perform certain tasks each day, such as eating meals, washing hands, tying up shoe laces. The child tried each week to better his score of the previous week. This mother claimed that it was a great success and that he can now keep up with other children in his class.

These techniques can be viewed as 'achievement-oriented' devices and are techniques more likely to be used by middle class than by working class mothers. They highlight the common value held by the majority of residents on the estate, that routine and control are necessary for the child, both for day-to-day living and to help the child adjust to training for independence. Both excessive control — particularly in the form of punishment — and excessive permissiveness met with disapproval. The most permissive mothers and those who established least control over their children did not encourage the development of independence in the child. These children were most dependent upon their mothers and the small ones refused to leave their mothers. One morning I invited a group of four mothers whom I knew had differing attitudes towards child rearing, to have coffee with me in order to discuss various aspects of child care. Each mother brought a child with her. One of these mothers had highly permissive attitudes towards children. Her child refused to leave her side, while the others, when their initial reluctance had been overcome, began to play with the toys provided. After a short time this two-and-a-half year old child began to whimper. His mother picked him up and began walking up and down the room with him while still talking to us. 'You'll have to forgive me for standing up' she apologised, 'but I know Peter. Once he starts crying he won't stop until I walk around with him, he won't let me sit down again now.'
This was an extreme case of mother-child involvement and one which would have met with disapproval from the most of estate residents. Until now I have introduced the concept of the 'majority view' in many different contexts. It is indeed an interesting feature of the estate that a common set of values, norms and attitudes appears to have developed in relation to the socialisation of children. This development of a 'standard' pattern is the result of propinquity, homogeneity, and shared communication channels which establish interaction between estate residents. The physical layout and design of the estate plays a part in the formation of a common 'culture'.

The physical features of the estate - particularly the density of population and the 'visibility' factor (see Debriner, 1963) - also affect the content and form of controls which have to be imposed upon the children. This emphasis upon control may seem to contradict studies in achievement motivation which have argued that excessive demands made of a child for routine behaviour, cleanliness and so on, can have a repressive effect upon the development of achievement motivation. I do not feel however that the control established by the majority on the estate could be described as excessive. Indeed 'excessive' behaviour of either a rigid or permissive nature, was discouraged. Even though extremes as Daniels (1971, p. 83) argues in relation to high levels of severity, may be tolerated provided they are consistent with those which the child has grown to expect from the culture or environment in which he is engulfed. A certain degree of parental firmness is deemed necessary for the encouragement of independence in the child (Cooper, 1967).

In the same way the repressive effects of physical punishment - which was such a prominent feature of the Creole process of socialisation - also contradicts many findings on achievement motivation, which emphasise the importance of parental warmth and support. Here again the environment...
of the child is of great importance, since 'the type and level of parental demands and supports, as well as the manner in which they are presented to the child, are also limited by cultural and subcultural norms and rules' (Denziger, 1971, p. 77). The concept of 'severity' is itself relative and thus the resort to physical punishment may well not be as inconsistent with the encouragement of achievement motivation in the West African setting as it would be in the British setting.

Maternal Warmth

Positive child-rearing techniques to which I referred in Chapter 3 and which are identified with middle class patterns of socialisation, focus on love-oriented child rearing. Cross-cultural investigation of socialisation has therefore chosen 'maternal warmth' as one of the universal dimensions of parent-child relationships. As might have been expected the findings vary from one study to another, as the role of the mother within the family structure will vary from one culture to another.

The position of the mother within the Green Lea family structure is certainly different from that of the mother within the Creole family structure. Creole women are, for the most part, in full time employment. Alternative caretakers are available to care for their children. Even if the mother is not employed the child may be left for varying periods of time with the grandmother or other close relative. On the Green Lea estate there are few acceptable parental surrogates. The mother may be given assistance by kin or neighbours, but this is only to give her a few hours respite, or in cases of emergency, such as the hospitalisation of the mother. For most of the time, whether she likes it or not, the mother has to be present with and responsible for her child. The extent to which she becomes emotionally involved with her child depends on a number of factors, apart from her own personality.
These include the mother's education, the extent of her social interaction on the estate and whether or not she is employed.

As I stated in Chapter 2, the extent to which a woman on the estate desires to return to work depends upon her educational background and her husband's occupational status. Nine of the 42 women interviewed had entered part-time employment after the youngest child's fifth birthday. Two whose children were under that age, declared their intention to return when their children were five years old. Three mothers undertook further training after the children were five. One had attempted part-time teaching before her youngest child was a year old. Her mother assisted for two years. She then undertook full-time teaching and brought an 'au pair' girl to live in with the family. Only two other mothers were in full-time employment after the youngest child was 5 years old. One of these had only one child whom she had placed with baby-sitters from the age of 2 until the child was old enough to attend nursery school for a full day, while she went to work as a full-time secretary. This child was frequently left for hours on her own in the house during the day while the mother was at work. This was a very unusual case and one which met with great disapproval from neighbours, to whom it represented parental neglect. Most of those who returned to part-time employment after the child was 5 did not feel that their children had been neglected because of their outside interest. On the contrary they felt that the child was a lot happier because the whole 'force' of the mother's interest did not now focus on the child alone. Those mothers who were in full-time employment admitted that they found it difficult to maintain a close interest in their children's activities and to cope with the demands of the job. The full-time school teacher said, 'I find that when I come home the changeover from one world to the other is often more than I can cope with. I come back after having
listened to the problems of eighteen year old boys all day, to find I have then to listen to the problems of my own children. I must confess that my home coming gets later and later so that I can reduce the time I have to spend with the children. It’s not that I don’t love them, it’s just that my patience won’t stretch that far."

The majority of mothers are at home with their children throughout the day while the children are under school age. Even if they take part time jobs after that time they usually see to it that they are at home by the time the children return from school. The Fawcets (1963), echoed by Gavron (1966), have pointed out the adverse psychological effect which continuous contact with the first child, can have upon a young wife particularly as she may also be socially isolated through the birth of her first child. Gavron (1966), however, unlike the Fawcets (1963), claimed that the impact of a first child is more severe for a working class mother than for a middle class mother, but this was largely due to the housing conditions of the working class mothers in her sample. On Green Lee estate, housing conditions presented no obstacle to social contact. Indeed the estate was planned with the object of building a community. However, the extent to which social interaction took place, varied considerably, as illustrated in the comparison of two squares in Chapter 2. In the same way the intensity of the mother-child relationship also varied and there was some evidence, in my sample, to show that it varied with the degree of social interaction and with the educational background of the mother.

On square one which was described in Chapter 2, there was a considerable amount of social interaction. From a sample of 7 women interviewed all were involved in social activities involving others on the square - such as coffee mornings, occasional evening parties or combined visits to local swimming pools or theatres. There were a large
number of children living on this square, most of whom played freely on the communal green. While mothers were at coffee in the morning, these children who were not at school played outside in the square when the weather was fine and in the garages when it was not. On the evenings upon which parents went out, baby alarms which had been installed between houses in the same row, were used, so that the problem of babysitting for those who were going outside the square, was solved. When an evening party was given, to which most of those living on the square were invited, then children would be left alone with parents dipping out from the party at intervals to check that all was well in their house. The degree of social interaction on this square therefore, made room for a greater degree of freedom in children’s play during the day while at the same time it gave a greater amount of freedom to the parents concerned. Even on this square where there was a high degree of social interaction however, the extent of the involvement of the mother with her child varied among the 7 women whom I interviewed. Three women were noticeably more involved with their children than were the other 4. Of these 3, one had completed ‘A’ levels and 2 had university degrees. These 3 imposed greater limitations on their children’s play than did the others. The children’s bedtimes were earlier and the mothers spent more time in special activities with the children. One mother told me that she made no attempt to teach the children academic subjects, but tried to involve them in activities which in her opinion, they did not have the opportunity to enjoy at school, such as cookery or clay model-making. Another said that she liked her children to spend at least part of their time indoors so that she could watch their activities. She claimed that she herself did not push them into anything, but she liked to be around so that she was there when needed – either for help in academic work or in games. The third mother was a teacher, who admitted, 'I'm no good at any sort
of play with the children, but I spend at least an hour before they go to bed, discussing their school work with them and giving them various exercises to do. This mother had taught her three children to read before they started primary school. The other 4 mothers from this square admitted that the children were left to a considerable extent to play by themselves with only the minimum of supervision from them. One of these mothers in fact had a part time job in a local shop and during the school holidays, would leave her two boys to play with the others on the square without making specific arrangements for them. Only one was involved in teaching any of her children at home and in this case she had been asked to do so by the primary school which the child attended. None claimed to have concerned themselves with creative play with their children. Of these 4, one had reached G.C.E. 'O' level standard at a grammer school; the other 3 had left secondary modern schools before reaching this stage.

On square two which was also described in Chapter 2, the degree of social interaction between inhabitants is very much lower. There were fewer children on the square and a larger proportion of older couples whose children had left home. There was, however, little interaction even between those children who were living on the square. Of the 7 women whom I interviewed only one had older children. Amongst the others, the main form which social interaction took was as co-operation in taking children to and from school and occasional babysitting for each other. There was little social interaction between couples on this square and no large morning coffee groups. Only one, Anne, claimed that she interacted a great deal with neighbours who formed a small 'pocket' of interaction in the square. Anne told me that although her children play indoors most of the time, rather than outside in the square, they do spend a considerable part of their time in the houses on either side,
'And that eases the burden on me quite a bit.' The remaining 5 women stated that they spend long periods on their own with their children. One young mother with two small children said, 'I didn't think I could be so lonely. Sometimes I think the walls are closing in on me. When it's too wet to go out with the kids, I keep hoping someone will call on me - but of course nobody ever does.' This particular mother was 'deviant' in the sense that her methods of childrearing were considered to be over-permissive by others living on the square. For this reason they tried to avoid having too much contact with her or with her children. The 3 mothers who were most involved in conscious child training or in creative activities with their children were also those who had had a longer period of schooling themselves. Two had university degrees and one had nursing training after 'A' levels. For the other 3 who were also 'involved' with their children, their activities with their children took a different form. They took the children on frequent walks and visits to parks and also saw that they had private lessons in such things as ballet, swimming, ice skating. Two mothers who had parents living nearby took their children on frequent visits to grandparents.

The comparison between these two squares shows that where there is a great deal of social interaction between adults, the intensity of the relationship between mother and child is less than it is when there is little social interaction between neighbours. However, if the educational level of the mother is higher than average then, even in areas where there is a great deal of social interaction - she is more likely to be involved with her children than mothers whose level of education is average or lower than average.

The Newsoms (1968, pp. 161-163) found that in their sample of mothers of four year olds, the professional and managerial class mothers were far less restrictive over their children's play than were working
class mothers and they showed that fewer professional and managerial class mothers emphasised neatness and cleanliness. From the different patterns of child care which I witnessed on the estate I would suggest that the mother's educational level is a more important variable in this context than the overall class position of the household as measured by the husband's occupation. There are two possible explanations for this. The first is that the educated mother is more aware of the advantages of play in the child's education, through her wider reading on educational principles. The second is that the greater the intensity of involvement of mother with child, the more 'elaborate' the developed code of speech (Bernstein, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961). Intensive involvement of mother with child involves both in a verbal relationship.

Of my sample of 42 mothers, 36 had children of nursery school age and over. Six of these claimed that they had made no attempt at all to educate consciously, their children either through formal methods or through constructive play. Of the 20 who had children attending nursery schools, only one said that she objected to her child learning to read at such an early age. The others felt that it was a good preparation for primary school. Some mothers even added to the learning process by giving the child additional lessons at home. Mrs. Richards said, 'I'm glad that the school has made Sandra interested in learning to read. It makes it far easier for me to teach her at home. After all there is not much that a school can do in only two and a half hours.' All mothers of nursery school age children said that they spent some time each week listening to their children reading or learning to read.

Many mothers of primary school age children also supplement at home the tuition given to their children at school. Thirty-two mothers had children of primary school age. Of these, 25 taught their children in one form or another at home. This was particularly evident with
those who had children who were approaching their eleventh and final year in school. One mother of a 10 year old said, 'I bought a book with exercises in it as preparation for the 11 plus. I do a little bit with him every night because I can't see that the school is preparing him for it at all.'

The intensity of the mother's involvement with her children varies therefore with the intensity of her social interaction on the estate and with the education of the mother. The intensity of interaction between mother and child is not necessarily a measure of maternal warmth. It could well be the case that educated women feel it their duty to involve themselves with their children either in their play or their learning process. As the comment of one of the mothers in Bott's families with 'loose-knit' network illustrates, involvement does not necessarily mean warmth in the relationship. This mother told Bott, 'You must forgive me if I sound half-witted, but I've been talking to the children all day' (Bott, 1957, p. 310). It can be argued that involvement with children adds the dimension of 'support' to the relationship between mother and child. This 'support' for the child is an important feature of the findings on achievement motivation. The development of high self esteem in the child and the encouragement of achievement motivation in the child are dependent on the fact that parental demands should be balanced by parental support (Coopersmith, 1967; Baumrind, 1966; Bronfenbrenner, 1958). It is difficult to isolate maternal warmth from this maternal support.

As Chapter 3 pointed out, the intensity found in the mother-child relationship at Green Lea is absent in the relationship of Freetown mothers with their children. Creole women are in full time employment whereas at Green Lea involvement with their children has become a substitute for employment. The demands for academic training in addition
to that provided by regular schooling are met, in Freetown by extra
lessons provided by the school or private tutor rather than by the
mother herself as is the case on the Green Lea estate.

**Father Role**

As among the Creoles, the role played by fathers in the
majority of families at Green Lea is weak. Thirty of the 42 fathers
in households which I interviewed, hardly saw their children on week­
days and many were also frequently away from home at week­ends. Seventeen
of the men worked for large organisations and their jobs, described in
Chapter 2, involved a considerable amount of travel either overseas or
to other parts of the British Isles. Some of the men were away from
home for six weeks at a time or longer. The others felt that they were
at a critical stage in their career cycle and frequently had to stay late
at their place of work — which was generally in London. Long hours of
work, together with the time taken up in commuting meant that fathers
rarely had time to see the children before leaving for work and most of
the children were already in bed by the time the men returned in the
evening. The majority of mothers — even those whose husbands returned
earlier in the evening — said that they wished their husbands could
spend more time with the children. One mother with a young child said,
'David has spent most of the time travelling since Louise was born.
Because of this he hasn’t yet learned how to be a father.’ Yet another
said, 'John is out of the house before we wake up and often he’s not home
until after midnight when I’m already asleep. I’m tired of being mother
and father to the children.’ The gulf between father and child was
keenly felt by most mothers, even by those who were more tolerant of
their husbands’ absences. 'He does what he can with them when he is home,’
one told me, ‘but of course it’s not enough because the only time of the
week he can really see them is on a Sunday and he has to have some relax-
Some women consciously attempted to bridge the gap between father and child: 'I know he's tired at weekends, but I try to push him into taking Michael swimming on Sundays. After all, a boy needs his father.' Only 4 of the wives expressed full satisfaction with the extent of their husbands' activities with the children. Two of these were 'borderline estoters' and 2 had husbands in the managerial class. But all had regular hours and returned home early in the evening.

However, as in Freetown, the main field of interest for most fathers in relation to their children, was education. For many the interest was mainly theoretical. For instance, the majority of fathers made an effort to attend the schools' 'open night', at which they discussed their child's academic progress with the teacher. When the school changed the time for interviews with parents from the evening to the afternoon, the head teacher received a number of protest letters from fathers who were unable to attend as a result of this change. Education has also been a major issue for discussion at Committee meetings of the Residents' Association (the overwhelming majority of whose committee members have been men). These have taken a close interest in the overall educational policy of the area and have been instrumental in bringing about a change in that policy. Some men take a more direct interest in their children's education. One father in a family which I interviewed, was forced to spend a large part of his time travelling abroad. Yet, by letter, he kept himself informed of his children's progress at school, stage by stage. I was shown one of his letters, and enquiries about the level which the children had reached in arithmetic and the reading level attained and so on, formed the bulk of the correspondence. Another father, who left the house at 8.30 a.m. every morning, gave his two sons tuition in arithmetic and reading for one hour before he left each day. He was coaching his children for their public school entrance examination. His
wife said, 'Raymond is determined that the boys will get a 'good' education. He has chosen private education because, in his job, as insurance manager, he sees how important the 'old school tie' can be.' Many of those parents who opt for state schooling also try, as far as their time allows them, to give their children some extra coaching in school subjects, especially in the year in which the children sit the 11 plus examination.

The role of the father on the Green Lea estate is, therefore, in many respects, similar to the role of the father in Creole society. Fathers are away from home a great deal and this prevents them from having much contact with their children. On the other hand they are very much aware of the necessity for high educational attainment for their children. In interviews I did not ascertain whether there was any differentiation between the sexes in fathers' ambitions for their children. Parents claimed that they felt education to be equally as important for girls as for boys, but studies which have probed further than this (Aberle and Haegel, 1952; Brun-Olbrandsen, 1962) show that even middle class parents do, if necessary, discriminate in favour of the male child in relation to education.

The concern of both Creole fathers and fathers on the Green Lea housing estate with their children's education is a reflection of their own status striving. At Green Lea most fathers are too involved with their jobs to have the opportunity to devote much time to their children. The fact that the field of education has a place of priority in the short time at their disposal, illustrates its significance. Those fathers with high status jobs but without professional qualifications, were slightly more involved in their children's education than were the professionals, although the percentage for both groups is high. The greater concern of those without professional qualifications themselves
may reflect their own insecurity. The Pahls' (Pahl J.M. and Pahl R.E., 1971) study of managers gives evidence of this same preoccupation amongst those in their sample. The four managers quoted at length in this study (pp. 253-256) on their attitudes towards success, mention the importance of education for their children and, in particular, of gaining professional qualifications. The Pahls themselves draw attention to this (p. 261) and write that, 'It is significant that both in our pilot studies and in the extended interviews with our managers there is an emphasis on ensuring that offspring should either marry or train to be a professional. It was rare for anyone to have ambitions for themselves to have, or for their children to have, their own business or organisation. However, the professional was perhaps seen as someone who could hold his own against the system. His skill would be his capital and this could not be devalued.'

The School System

Having established the importance of education to parents on the estate, I would like now to examine the opportunities for schooling which confronted parents on the estate.

1) Nursery Schools

There were no local authority nursery schools in the District. Within easy reach of the estate there were three private nursery schools, two of which had been organised, presumably in response to an increase in demand from estate parents. All families which I interviewed in which there were children of nursery school age, had made use of these private nursery schools. Mothers were eager that their children should start nursery school as soon as the school would take them - this was normally from the age of two and a half years. This pressure for infant schooling did not arise only from selfish motives on the part of the mother, but also from a genuine belief that their
Children should be given preparation for formal schooling at as early an age as possible. The overwhelming majority of children at these nursery schools came from middle-class families.

At these nursery schools the seeds of competition between children are sown. One of the nursery schools with which I was familiar taught children to read and write. The school made a point of asserting that no child is forced or pushed in any way. They waited for the children themselves to give some indication that they were ready for learning. Nevertheless, the fact that they did teach children, increased the mother's awareness of the academic development of their children. One woman said of another, 'I do wish she wouldn't keep on asking me which book Jonathon is on now. It makes it very embarrassing for me, because my Jonathon is getting on like a house on fire, while her boy is nowhere near starting to read yet.'

ii) Primary Schools

The estate did not suffer only from lack of nursery school places, but when it was built the number of primary school places in the area was also insufficient. Green Lea estate is situated in West Dearing. Until the estate was built, most of West Dearing was composed of local authority housing, and factory owned housing, which served a large factory estate. The only existing non-denominational primary school in West Dearing was situated in the centre of the Council estate as it had obviously been designed to serve the needs of the residents. When a middle class estate was built, the original house buyers were told by the builders that a primary school would be built on the estate itself. The school was built and accepted its first pupils in March 1967. Even before the school was completed however, it was clear that the number of places which would be available would not be sufficient to cope with the demand from the estate. Provisions were made for temporary classrooms
to be added, but nevertheless, it was obvious that there had been a
gross miscalculation in the number of primary school places which
would be needed. For the purposes of education therefore, the estate
was divided into two parts - one part was the north side of Burnham
Road, the other part was the south side. The estate on the south side
of Burnham Road formed the bulk of the school's catchment area. Parents
living on the north side of Burnham Road, who had children of primary
school age, received a circular from the Director of Education stating
that the initial intake that year could cover all children of primary
school age on both north and south sides, but there was no guarantee that
younger siblings on the north side, who would form part of a future
intake, would be accepted. In the future, children living on the north
side of the estate were to be sent to the other primary school and only
those living on the south side would be eligible for the estate school.

Most parents who received the circular signed an agreement
that they accepted the Education Department's proviso, in the hope that
by the time their younger children were ready for entry to the school,
the Education Department would have retracted its proposed policy. Some
parents however, immediately opted out of the state system and chose
to send their children to private schools.

As the school year proceeded, it became increasingly obvious
that there would be difficulty in finding sufficient accommodation for
the following year's intake of children. Parents started protesting,
first to the school, then to the Director of Education for the County
and finally, a few wrote directly to the Ministry of Education. One
mother, despite repeated rejections, took her small son to the head
teacher every morning for a month. Those who were not prepared to put up
a fight and who could afford to do so, made arrangements for their children
to attend private schools. The school on the estate was the only middle
class primary school in West Dearing. The battle fought by parents was
directed as much towards keeping their children out of the primary
school catering mainly for working class children, as it was towards
obtaining entrance to the estate school. One older (in terms of years
of residence) resident of West Dearing (a professional), who lived
outside the estate wrote a letter to the Ministry of Education to complain
that by creating a school catering for the needs of the estate alone, the
Department of Education was creating a one-class school, and thereby di­
viding the district along class lines. The protests of such individuals
were not as effective as those of the Residents' Association, which, as
I shall attempt to show, formed a more vociferous pressure group.

iii) The Residents' Association

The Association came into being in 1965. For the first year
of its existence the reports of the committee meetings were concerned
mainly with the development of amenities on the estate. In the latter
half of 1966, the Committee minutes showed a growing concern of members
with the inadequacy of the new primary school being built on the estate.
A questionnaire was distributed asking for basic information on the
number and ages of the children in each family on the estate. The
response showed that the new primary school would be inadequate for the
needs of children on the estate. A sub-committee of the Residents' Association, concerned specifically with education, was set up. This
sub-committee provided a link between the Council's Department of
Education and the Residents' Association. Two district councillors
lived on the estate and one of these put forward the views and findings
of the Residents' Association at meetings of the Education Committee.
A further census of the estate was undertaken by the sub-committe which
reconfirmed, without a doubt the fact that the school population on the
estate had been grossly underestimated. Meetings were arranged directly
between the sub-committee of the Residents' Association and the Director of Education and the Education Committee and news items were drafted and given prominence in local newspapers covering the critical situation with regard to both primary and secondary education in Dearing. The outcome was that the Director of Education gave way on the zoning regulations relating to Green Lea estate school. Younger siblings of children already attending Green Lea school were to be allowed to attend also (although in future all first children from families living on the north side were to attend the other primary school). Another result of pressure was that plans for the building of a second primary school in West Dearing were to be pushed forward, with demands that the recommendations of the Plowden Committee be put into effect and that the age of transfer of children from primary to secondary school be raised from 11 to 12 years.

In September 1970 the primary schools in Dearing were reorganised in line with the recommendations of the Plowden Report. Green Lea school, instead of keeping children until the age of 11 years became a two-form entry first school and a new Oak Lodge School was opened as a middle school to take children from 8 to 12 years. At the same time, Greystone Lane, the infant school on the Council estate also became a first school and Grimsdyke (which had been a junior school for 7 to 11 year olds, admitting those children who had started off in Greystone Lane) changed its status to that of a 'middle school'. This change was one of name only as Grimsdyke's children continued to be recruited from Greystone Lane and the bulk of the children continued, therefore, to be working class. The building remained the same, as did the facilities provided by the school. The school population of Oak Lodge however was recruited primarily from Green Lea school and thus remained predominantly middle class. The school building was new, the sports grounds extensive and
the equipment modern and expensive. The material differences between
schools can be compared therefore with the material differences which
exist between 'status' and 'non status' schools in Freetown, described
in Chapter 3. A few of those residents from the north side of the estate
whose children had been refused entry to Green Lea school and who had,
therefore, put their children into private schools, had these children
transferred at this point to Oak Lodge school as there was little
pressure for places put upon this new school in its early stages.

It is interesting to note that from the early years of the
Residents' Association the north side of Durham Road showed less interest
in the activities of the association than the south side. There was a
preponderance of committee members from the south side and the Association's
recruiting officers constantly complained that they had difficulty in ob­
taining membership fees from residents on the north side. The main reason
for this was that the chief concern of the Association since its in­
ception had been improving the educational facilities, ostensibly for the
whole West Dearing area, but actually for the benefit chiefly of the
residents of the estate. After the initial intake in 1967, the majority
of families on the north side did not fall within the catchment area
for the Green Lea school and this coincided with the lessening of interest
by these families in the Residents' Association. I myself participated,
as a committee member in the recruitment of members from this side of
the estate. Most of the reluctance of residents to join the Association
did seem to stem from the fact that they felt that the Association no
longer served their interests. One mother whose child attended a private
school said, 'There seems to be little point in attending general meetings
because the discussion always centres around changing the school system,
and since we sent Mark to a private school, I don't feel the same
interest in the subject.' Another older resident said, 'I'm not joining
because I can't see what's in it for us. They're not concerned with our needs at all. All they're interested in are the children and the schools. Every newsletter we get is mostly to do with schooling. I can't see why they can't leave the schools alone to get on by themselves.'

The Residents' Association, through its sub-committee continued its interest in the Green Lea school by providing a link between staff and residents in the absence of a Parent-Teacher Association. It did not however limit its interest to the field of primary education. After the Association's initial success in being a primary agent in securing a reorganisation of primary schools in the area, it turned its attention to secondary schooling. When the estate was built the system of secondary schooling was that at 11 children would sit a selection examination for secondary schools. Those few who were successful would go to grammar schools. Most of those who were unsuccessful would go to the local secondary school, known as Downhill School. Parents could, however, if they insisted, send their children to one of two other secondary schools in the area. Most of the residents of West Dearing however, at the time the estate was built, sent their children to Downhill School. In 1967 a representative of the Education Sub-Committee of the Green Lea Residents' Association investigated the facilities provided at Downhill School. It was found that the curriculum provided by this school was very narrow and that it could not possibly equip pupils for university entry. No 'A' level courses were provided at all - indeed the standard five 'O' level passes were unlikely to be achieved - and no foreign languages were taught there. However, it was obvious that this school would have to cope with an increasing intake of pupils as it was a policy of the County Education Authority not to build further grammar schools. The percentage of children for whom grammar school places were available - already low - would steadily diminish as the population increased. In
addition to the inadequacy of Downhill School there was also a physical limit to the number of pupils which it could accommodate. Downhill School could accommodate 450 children, while the estimated number of children of secondary school age, from the estate alone, by 1971, on the basis of the house to house census undertaken by the Residents' Association, was 600. Special newsletters were sent to residents relaying the gravity of the situation. The assistance of the local M.P. was sought and public meetings between residents, the M.P. and the District Education Officer were arranged. A new secondary school, catering for the Dearing area, was subsequently proposed. This was to incorporate the pupils of Downhill School and the future intake from primary schools. The completion date for this new school was set for 1973. The secondary school was to become part of a comprehensive school system, which was approved by the County Education Committee. The Education Sub-Committee of the Residents' Association then joined forces with other interest groups in the area to form a Parent's Action Committee which aimed to pressure the Council into putting the approved scheme into operation.

iv) The Green Lea Primary School

Now that I have examined briefly the main issues regarding education in the West Dearing area — especially as far as they relate to the residents of Green Lea — I would like to discuss an important institution for the Green Lea population — the primary school. I have already described the efforts made by parents to have their children accepted at this school, but not all parents were satisfied with this school for their children. Out of my sample of 42 households, 12 sent their children to private schools. Of these 13 8 lived on the north side of the estate and were amongst those who had failed to get their children accepted to Green Lea school. Five however had originally sent their children to the estate school and had later withdrawn them and
sent them to private schools. Only one mother out of the 5 claimed that this had been her original intention. Her husband felt that he had been held back in his job because he himself had not had the benefit of a public school education and was determined that his sons would be given that advantage. The other 4 parents of children who had been withdrawn from Green Lea school claimed that they had not wanted to give their children a private school education but that having seen the way in which their children were advancing at Green Lea school, they felt that their children would be better off in a formal and more competitive system.

The school's head teacher confirmed that children had been withdrawn from the school because, 'Parents have become over-tense about the 11 plus and where their children will go to after this. They put pressure on the child, which in many cases, leads to emotional problems among the children.' Parents' over-involvement with the academic progress of their children originated from their anxiety to obtain good secondary school places for their children which would then give them an opportunity for university entrance. They felt that the teaching at the school was not sufficiently formal and that too much time was devoted to free activities. They wanted to know where their children stood in order of merit in relation to others in their class. One teacher told me that one of the most striking features of her interviews with parents was their competitive attitude towards their children, when the policy of the school was to discourage such keen competitiveness and encourage group activities. Many parents complained that children were not adequately coached for the 11 plus examination. The head felt that parent's intensity was increased by the inadequate secondary schooling facilities in the Dearing area. The main aim, she claimed, of parents in transferring children to private schools was that they would be 'crammed' to equip them for the 11 plus examination. Pressure from parents had, she
felt, led to a number of children from the school being referred to educational psychologists. Another cause of emotional disturbance — in the opinion of the head — in children in the school was the particularly high level of geographical mobility of the households.

The 11 plus results of Green Lea school in the year before it became reorganised as a first school for the under 6 year olds, were, however far better than those of the other primary school in West Barking. As a new school on a middle class estate it had no difficulty in recruiting teachers and the staff turnover had not been high. A number of teachers in fact were recruited from the estate itself and this reinforced the link between home and school background. Grimsdyke School suffered the disadvantage of a high turnover among its teaching staff. At that school there was no pressure upon children from parents, to compete in school work. In fact many parents do not want their children even to sit the 11 plus examination. In the first place it is not likely that they will succeed and in the second place it is much simpler for them to attend the local secondary school than it is for them to have to travel to schools further afield. The school at Green Lea also made use of certain symbols which emphasised its middle-class character and so distinguished it from schools such as Grimsdyke. One of the most noticeable of these is uniform. From its very early days, the head teacher at Green Lea school had emphasised the need for school uniform. The desirability of correct uniform was brought home to the children themselves in a variety of ways, inside the school, so that they in turn pressured their parents at home into providing it. Pupils were also encouraged to take a pride in the school itself. Every year for instance, there was the ritual of the 'school's birthday'. A large cake was cut by the oldest and the youngest child in the school, cards were sent to the school by individual classes, and a few of the governors or local councillors were
invited to witness the ceremony. It was also the only primary school in West Dearing which offered French on the curriculum. It was the school's 'middle class' character which pleased many parents. I often heard it said that the school had 'the cozy atmosphere of a village school.' The head teacher invited parents to school functions and to help out in the school on specific days of the week. She had held out against the demands of certain parents for a Parent-Teacher Association ostensibly because the demand was not widespread amongst parents, but I felt that another reason was that she feared pressure from parents.

This 'ritual' associated with Green Lea school and its absence in the other primary school is designed to develop in the children a pride in their school and possibly to encourage their belief in the school's superiority. Ritual was used for a similar purpose in the 'status' schools in Freetown. At Green Lea as in Freetown the significance of uniform as an index of social status is important. In both situations it indicates membership of a privileged group to which others are denied access.

v) The Secondary School Stage

Because of the inadequacies, previously described, of the secondary school system, the second critical period in the early school careers of Green Lea children is at the time they sit their 11 plus grammar school selection examination. As I have already said, few children succeed in this examination. The parents of those who fail have, until now, made every effort to ensure that their children will not be forced to attend Downhill School. One mother kept her 12 year old daughter away from school for some months until the Council relented and allowed her to attend the secondary school of her parents' choice. Another father went every morning for one week to petition the Director of Education. His daughter also was allowed to attend a secondary school outside the
immediate area. With the building of the new comprehensive school however, the plan is that selection for grammar schools should be abolished and that the new school should incorporate the existing Downhill School and accommodate all primary school leavers in the Dearing area. The academic standard of Downhill School has, over the past two years, been raised in preparation for this reorganisation and the curriculum has been considerably widened. Nevertheless parents express considerable concern over the amalgamation of the two groups of children. Their concern is not merely with the mixing of different academic levels but more with the mixing of children from a primarily working class area with those from a primarily middle class area, and the difference in the orientation of children which this implies. Of the 26 parents who had children attending Green Lea primary school the majority said that they would rather have their children state educated than privately educated, but 19 said that if they did not feel that the secondary school situation was satisfactory for their children by the time these children reached that standard, then they would consider sending them to private schools.

School-Family Interaction

As the preceding paragraphs have indicated there is no conflict for the child at Green Lea between his home and school surroundings. Parents are encouraged to participate in various aspects of the school's life and a high proportion of women from the estate are members of the teaching staff. As in the Freetown study I would like to point to a specific area in which the family can be seen to evoke a favourable response from the child to the school situation.

Language

This area is language development. In the Freetown situation the critical importance of language in a country where the language of
teaching is not the native language of the country, is evident. The importance of verbal control and development for the socialisation process is equally evident. The crucial importance of linguistic learning for the child's intellectual development has been noted by many writers (see Luria and Yudovitch, 1959; Luria 1961; Baldwin, 1955; Liublinskaya, 1957; Weir and Stevenson, 1959). Social class differences in language learning and development in Britain have been extensively reported by Bernstein (1958; 1959; 1960; 1961). Where language is restricted, intellectual development is restricted and academic performance is, in turn, affected. The involvement of mothers with their children at Green Lea encourages the development of an 'elaborate' code of speech in the children. Linguistic development is further encouraged by the school. Regular school assemblies and social functions to which parents are invited and in which children are encouraged to perform or merely to speak, all help to promote the child's linguistic development and strengthen his self confidence.

Religion

The second major area of interaction for both family and school in the Freetown situation, is religion. At Green Lea however, the church plays little part in the socialisation of children. In Freetown it played a vital role in the education of Creole children and in giving them distinctiveness as a group. At Green Lea the church had no such function to perform. It was the schools that provided both the secular and religious (scant though it was) education for the child. A few parents on the Green Lea estate objected to their children being given any religious instruction at all in school, but the majority were either unconcerned or thought it was a good thing as it was something which the home was not prepared to provide. The second function which the church provided in Freetown — that of maintaining the distinctiveness of the
Cresole group, is also one which the church cannot provide for the Green Lea estate. There were no churches built on the estate itself. Most churches were situated in the predominantly working class area of West Dearing. For children from Green Lea to attend the Sunday schools organised by these churches, would mean associating with children living outside the estate who attended different schools. One mother started to send her daughter to the Methodist church Sunday school. The child was reluctant to attend because she had no friends attending with her. The mother thought that the child would attend more readily if she herself were to take some interest in the church. She started therefore, to attend one of the social groups attached to the church, once a week. Before long however, she gave up attending and gave me her reasons for so doing. 'It really was no use. I found I had nothing whatsoever in common with the other women there. Their outlook is different from mine - it's narrower altogether. Now I know why Anne (her daughter) objected so much to going to Sunday school. The others are just not children of her own kind.' One teacher at Green Lea school asked a class of thirty children, how many of them had ever attended a church service and only two children replied in the affirmative.

The school therefore can be seen to reflect and indeed emphasise the character of the estate as a middle class group. Its school population is recruited almost entirely from the middle class and the symbols which it displays identifies its pupils as part of that middle class group. This is in direct contrast with the primary school in the working class area. It also encourages linguistic development and interaction between parents and the school. The school therefore, binds households as well as children within the one group. The church cannot perform a similar function for the estate as most churches in Dearing are situated in working class settings.
The Under-Fives

The formal schooling of a child is however less important in the socialisation process than the informal training which accompanies it. Much of this informal training is given by the family before the child even reaches the age of formal schooling. According to the survey carried out by the Residents' Association in 1967, over half of the child population of Green Lea was under five years of age. They claimed that 263 of the total population of 580 children on the estate at that time, were under five years of age. Mothers have more control over children in this age group than they do over children in the older age groups. Nevertheless, even at this age most mothers encouraged their small children to play with others of the same age on the estate. A few attempted to attract other children to their homes by employing various devices such as putting a plastic swimming pool or a box of toys, on their front lawn (which was not enclosed). If they wanted play to be restricted to just one or two children then they could employ these same devices in the back garden, which was not enclosed. When children are very young mothers frequently bring others from the same age group as their own child, to tea. The invitation has to include the child's mother when children are so young. This was acceptable to most women however, as this is the stage when most mothers are very home-oriented and as much in need of company themselves as are their children.

As soon as children were old enough to be allowed to play on the front green - usually at 3 to 4 years, since squares are reasonably traffic free - their social horizons within the estate widened. The size of the 'play group' varied not only according to the actual numbers of children living in the immediate area, but also according to the degree of social interaction between adults, as I pointed out in Chapter 2 in comparing the degree of social interaction on two squares. On
square one for instance, where there was a considerable amount of social interaction between adults, children also interacted a great deal. On square two where there were anyway fewer children, there was little social interaction between adults. A few of the mothers here were 'isolates' in the sense that they did not agree with the values and attitudes of their neighbours and these used to withdraw their children from the 'play group'.

The Five to Ten Year Olds

In general though parents tended to regard the 'play group' as having a positive value - especially for younger children. One mother told me, 'I find that the children do not need to be taken on holiday any more. They get enough relaxation playing with their friends and that is what they also prefer. My Alison was very cross last year at having to come with us to Edinburgh and leave her friends behind.' Another said, 'I don't know how I would managed with three children in a different type of area. Here it's so easy, you just open the front door and the children go out and play and you don't see them again until mealtimes.'

The square play group tends to reflect general neighbourhood attitudes. For instance one child of an 'isolate' mother was never fully accepted by the play group. Her clothes did not fit in with those of the other children and she had fewer toys. She was teased by the group. The mother then withdrew the child and protected her. This in turn made it even more difficult for the child to enter the group at a later stage. The 'play group' sometimes developed games which involved co-operation on the part of the mothers. One game which developed on one square was 'bead swapping.' The craze for obtaining and exchanging beads involved all children on the square, both boys and girls under the age of 8 or 9 years and including a few who were older than this. Mothers, aunts and grandmothers were plagued with demands for old necklaces and bracelets.
which were then cut up and bartered. Two mothers refused to co-operate and to indulge their children's whims. These two children in turn were cut out of the 'play group'.

The 'play group' was based on mutual exchange. There had to be mutual exchange between children and this in turn depended on a similarity of social and economic status between parents. For instance a group on one square developed an interest in roller skating. Many of the children already possessed roller skates and most of those who did not were eventually given them so that they would be able to continue to play with the group. One child's mother however, resisted the pressure put upon her by her own and other children to provide roller skates. At first other children lent this child their skates occasionally, so that she would not be completely left out. After a while however, some of the other mothers noticed this and began to object. Eventually children refused to share their roller skates with this child who had nothing to give in return and the child dropped out of the group.

The child who has too much materially, is in as much danger of being rejected by the group as the one who has too little. One child was actually avoided by other children on the square because, although she had an abundance of toys, her mother objected to other children making use of these toys without giving anything in exchange. One woman, who had reconciled herself to the principle of 'give and take' told me, 'I have had to reconcile myself to the fact that if I buy anything for Mark then I must be prepared for it to be torn or broken by other children. He goes to their houses and I'm sure he damages other children's toys, so I must expect the same thing in return. Because of this I try to keep down my spending on toys to an absolute minimum.'

The principle of reciprocity can be seen in operation at birthday parties which are important social events on the estate. Most
children under ten years have them — if they do not then they in turn
are not invited and are therefore, outside the group. Most of the guests
will be of the same age and sex as the child for whom the party is given.
Just as there is reciprocity in the issuing of invitations, so also
there is reciprocity in gift exchange. Most gifts cost between 25 and
50 pence. Small gifts are then presented to the children attending the
party when they leave. These are known as 'going home' presents. One
mother told me of the mistake which she made when giving her son his
first birthday party. 'For 'going home' presents I bought all the
children two Penguin books each. I realised my mistake when I found
all the mothers of the children I had invited were thanking me for the
gift and apologising for the insignificant birthday presents which they
had sent.' Most parties have an established ritual which includes tea,
organised games, gift giving — to the child whose birthday it is — and
gift receiving, in the form of 'going home' presents. Sometimes extra
attractions may be provided, such as a hired clown or conjuror or a film
show. Where there is a great deal of social interaction between the
children concerned then these extras also tend to become part of the
established ritual. On square one for instance, where children do
interact a great deal, all the families interviewed said that they had
provided some extra gimmick, to make the birthday parties more interesting.
When children grow a little older — from eight years upwards — some of
them were given a theatre outing as an alternative to a birthday party.
Fewer children could be invited on an outing however, and where the
'play group' was large then it was more difficult to use this as an
alternative to the traditional birthday party.

Some mothers however, regarded the 'play group' as a threat
both to them and to their children. The values of the peer group reflected
the general values of the neighbourhood. If a parent was not in agreement
with these values, then she withheld the child from the group. One mother for instance, felt that the 'play group' was too undisciplined. Her own children did not attend Green Lea school and so they had no close friends in the 'play group'. When her children returned from the private school which they attended in the afternoons, this mother would take them in her car to a nearby park, so that they would not be tempted to join the group.

The Over Tens

When children reached the age of ten and over, the 'play group' - especially in the evenings after school - diminished noticeably. At this stage many parents were concerned that their children should have supervised work. If they were not given homework at school then parents themselves often set the children exercises to do at home. Children's horizons begin to widen at this stage and many mothers encouraged them to bring approved school friends home for tea. This is also the age at which some children join organised clubs such as guides or scouts.

The peer group - or 'play group' as I have often referred to it in this chapter - is therefore, a very important socializing agency on the estate. The houses themselves do not offer much space inside for the children to play and back gardens are extremely small. The front green, or paved area which is open, facilitates therefore the growth of a large 'play group'. Most parents seem to approve of the existence of the play group and some even regard it as an asset to them in the upbringing of their children. There are a few however, who disapprove and who regard it as a threat. The reason is that in order that children should play together in this way, their parents should share similar values and enjoy comparable social and economic status. If parents do not share similar values then they find it necessary to withdraw their child from the group. The 'play group' offers children on the Green Lea estate the
opportunity of communication with other children of similar background. This has the effect, in fact, of reinforcing the value system of the home and the estate against that of the surrounding area.

Earlier in this chapter I pointed to the existence of a common set of values and norms which existed on the estate in relation to socialisation practices. In the same way common attitudes and accepted patterns of behaviour develop between children. It can be seen also that the greater the degree of interaction the greater the likelihood of the development of common attitudes and values. In Chapter 2 when describing friendship patterns and social interaction between estate residents I suggested that friendship can develop from intensive social interaction based on mutual exchange and the development of mutual obligations. This can develop where communication channels are restricted to a homogeneous group. In the same way friendship can be seen to develop between children and the importance of reciprocity in the formation and maintenance of this friendship can be seen from the examples which I have given above.

*Borderline Estaters*

I would like at this point to fulfil one of the tasks which I set myself at the beginning of this chapter, which was to see to what extent the estate changes or moulds the socialisation techniques of the families living in it. I shall do this through case studies of two 'borderline estaters' — the two to whom I referred in the previous chapter. I chose these two partly because both were talkative and forthcoming on their attitudes to the estate and to their own 'style of life', partly because they were given as examples in Chapter 2, and this will give continuity to the case study in both cases.

Rosie and Ruth as I described in Chapter 2 had adapted to the estate in completely different ways. Ruth's 'style of life' fitted in
with that of her neighbours and the estate in general while Rosie had found it more difficult to adapt and had eventually adjusted through joining a minority group within the estate itself. When she first moved on to the estate Rosie had one boy of 13 and one boy of 5. The 13 year old immediately went to Downhill school and the small one went to Green Lea school. Rosie was clearly unperturbed about her elder boy's school. 'I don't know why they 'ave to make such a bleedin' fuss about these schools anyway. I can't see nothing wrong with John's school,' she told me. 'No he don't have no friends on the estate my John. They're a toffee nosed lot and he don't talk proper enough for them like me. All his friends come from 'is school and the council estate - he don't bring them home - he goes out and meets them outside. He's no good at school - he can't spell. Maybe if I'd tried a little 'arder with him he'd have been better - but I couldn't be bothered. I don't mind playin' or dancin' with them but I've got no patience to teach them. All John wants is to get 'imself a motor bike. He hasn't thought no further than that.' Rosie had made no effort to find out who John's friends were and made no attempt to invite any home.

When I asked her whether her upbringing of her children had been affected at all through living on the estate Rosie's reply was vehemently negative. Yet her description of her younger boy presented an interesting contrast with that of her older son. 'My Stephen now - he's different altogether from John - much quieter. Talks nicer too. When we first came 'ere them smoozy little kids next door wouldn't play with 'im so my John goes and bashes them. Now they're alright with him though. I even gets on better with the mother - she takes Stephen to school for me in her car and I collect her kids from school sometimes. Stephen brings a friend from school home sometimes and he goes to 'is house too. I met his other friends when I gave 'im a birthday party.
When John had a birthday, gran and grandad and my brother and his wife and Jack's (her husband) sister used to come round and we'd 'ave a family party. Now we're too far away from them to do that and Stephen wants a party like what his friends have. He's clever at school too is Stephen. Jack and me want to see the head mistress and she told us. Jack's been sitting with him at night since then learning him arithmetic. He never did that with our John.' This difference in treatment between sons may be it is true, as Rosie herself would have claimed, the result of personality differences in the children themselves. It may be however, that through living on the estate she has, unwittingly become adjusted to a different pattern of socialisation.

Ruth, as I pointed out in Chapter 2 was very well adjusted to the estate. She lived on the square on which there was a great deal of social interaction and Ruth and her husband Paul shared the 'style of life' of the others on the square. During my first interview with her she kept repeating how happy she was to be living on that square and how many friends she had made. Both she and her husband continued to maintain a very full social life despite the fact that Paul worked late most nights of the week. Her two children who were 6 and 4 years old were, Ruth claimed as well integrated as their parents. When I asked her whether she felt that her upbringing of children had been affected at all by living on the estate, she replied, 'Oh sure, living here has made it much easier for me with the children. I don't know how I would have faced living anywhere else with two small children and a husband who is working most of the time. As it is now my neighbours' children and mine play together all the time. They've either got my children or I've got theirs almost every day. Some days when there's no school I hardly see the children all day. There are so many kids on this square that that keeps them fully occupied.' Ruth admitted that neither she nor Paul
devoted much time to doing things with the children. Paul’s never here when the kids are awake — he’s never yet been home when either of them has had a birthday party. For the last two years one of the girls on the square has come in to help me with it. I suppose that I’ve got time to do things with them and yet I don’t know where the time goes. In the morning I do what I have to do in the house and then some of the girls will get together for a chat and a coffee. The same thing happens in the afternoon or we go out to the shops or somewhere. Anyway the kids are usually so happy to be left to play on the square that I’m sure they gain a lot through being left to get on with it by themselves.

Some months later I had a second interview with Ruth and the report which she gave me of her children indicated a change in her attitude as far as her children were concerned. It seemed that she had been having problems with David, the 6 year old boy. He’s been having rows with the other kids — he just doesn’t seem to be able to play with anyone any more. At home he takes it out on me — he punches me and kicks me. It’s affecting my life because the other girls around here won’t let their kids play with him when he’s so aggressive and if I can’t let him out to play with the others then that ties me down too. Until now I’ve been working on Saturdays at the Chemist but I can see I’ll have to give that up. I just can’t trust him any longer to play on his own on the square. It’s not so easy even to go out at night with him like this.

We had a baby alarm which we shared with our neighbours on either side, but Susan (one neighbour) told me last week that she and Dick (a neighbour’s husband) have decided that now that the children are getting older they feel that a baby alarm is not sufficient. She was very nice about it but I’m sure it’s because they feel that David is too much of a responsibility. Miss Hughes (the head teacher) at the school called Paul and me to see her some weeks ago. They’d been having a lot
of behaviour problems with David at school and she said that he needed some help from us with his school work too. They thought that one of his problems was that he saw too little of his father. It’s true too, Paul saw so little of them it’s a wonder they recognised him. Anyway he doesn’t work every day of the week now - he’s started taking Sunday or Saturday off and he’s been either playing with the kids at home or taking them swimming on a Sunday morning with a few other fathers. He tries to come home early too on at least one working day. I can’t see any improvement in David yet but I’m hoping it will come.

In this account it is possible to see the subtle techniques of control which neighbours on the square are employing. This was confirmed by other neighbours on the square with whom I had follow-up interviews. The general feeling on the square was that these particular children were left too much to their own devices with too little supervision from their parents. When the eldest child began to show signs of disturbed behaviour, this gave neighbours on the square an excuse to withdraw their own children from playing with David and his brother. The mother was thus forced into closer contact with her children. The techniques of control here are not easy to perceive, even by the mother herself. The majority of residents on this square interact a great deal and form a close knit group. Outright condemnation of Ruth for lack of care for her children would thus have meant the disintegration of the group.

These two examples of the ways in which two women who cannot be thought of as 'representative' of the estate, unconsciously adjust their socialisation practices to fit in with those of the majority, indicates that there is a common set of values and attitudes predominant on the estate or at least within the neighbourhood group in relation to child-rearing practices. These values and attitudes are transmitted
through a shared 'style of life' which distinguishes the estate as a middle class status group from its working class environment. The norms which develop in the socialisation process are reinforced by the peer group. In the same way, the standardisation of child-rearing techniques among the Creole in Freetown also develop through shared channels of communication which form part of a shared 'style of life'. This shared 'style of life' distinguishes the Creoles as an ethnic group and a privileged status group from other groups in the society.

The importance of education to a middle class status group is illustrated by the efforts of Green Lea residents to obtain better schooling for their children. Their success in this endeavour is evident from the middle class character of the schools which were created for the benefit of the estate. This distinctive character is displayed through high material standards and emphasised by symbols of status and ritual. A comparison can be made here with the 'status' schools in Freetown which are predominantly Creole and which also make use of symbols and ritual to emphasise and perpetuate their status.

Socialisation practices on the estate can be seen to prepare children for achievement in the academic field. Mothers offer considerable support to their children while, at the same time they encourage them to be independent and there is an emphasis on order and control in a child's life which are necessary conditions for the development of achievement motivation. At the same time these socialisation practices are, to a certain extent, conditioned by the estate itself. The house as a status symbol and the 'face to face' characteristic of the estate, modify socialisation practices so that extremes, either of indulgence or of harshness, are frowned upon. Most aspects of this process of socialisation on the Green Lea estate can be compared with socialisation for achievement among the Creoles. However, there is one prominent feature
of socialisation among the Creoles which conflicts with the pattern at Green Lea and that is the disciplining of children. The harshness of the Creoles in regard to the punishment of children ostensibly contradicts much of the writing on the encouragement of achievement in children. However, as I mentioned earlier in this chapter 'severity' is relative and seemingly contradictory techniques may therefore achieve similar results in different cultures. Just as socialisation practices at Green Lea are modified by the design of the estate itself, so are socialisation practices among the Creole modified by the inclusion of both professionals and non-professionals within the one group.

2. The following table summarises the results of the Green Lea, Residents Association Education Survey.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Children Attending or going to attend Private Schools</th>
<th>State Places Required</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 5 yrs.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 10 yrs.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 15 yrs.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONCLUSION

Many sociologists employ three different dimensions in the analysis of social stratification. The first is the economic dimension, the second is the status dimension and the third is the power dimension. In this study I have concentrated on the second dimension — that is the status dimension. Through an analysis of the 'style of life' of two different socio-cultural groups, I have attempted to show how each of these groups use their 'style of life' as a mechanism through which they secure their recruitment to the professional class. A 'style of life' is a set of behaviour patterns characteristic of a status group, including values and attitudes. A 'style of life' is normally shared by those in a similar economic position. Wealth however, is only an indicator of 'style of life'; it by no means determines status group formation. In the two groups which I have discussed, wealth is derived primarily from occupation. Although it does not directly account for 'style of life', occupation is an important index to membership of a group which is characterised by a shared 'style of life.'

Occupation

In both the African and the British situations, occupation is the principal index of status ranking. In Freetown as in Britain the professions command the highest degree of occupational prestige. Banton (1957, p. 97) emphasises two points in his outline of social stratification in Freetown, 'The first is that social distinctions largely correspond with the prestige of different occupations and the second that sources of prestige derive overwhelmingly from British values institutionalised in the government civil service.' In Freetown, the Creoles continue to predominate in the most prestigious occupations. Thus status and ethnicity have been fused in a single reference group.

In both the British situation and the West African situation
therefore, success in life is evaluated in career terms. The accepted pattern is a sequence of jobs with a correspondingly increasing amount of responsibility, remuneration and prestige attached to each. This point is emphasised by Watson when he states that most middle class people 'enter into life careers of an almost identical pattern, whatever the nature of their work and the considerable variation in salaries. This pattern is a progress up the latter of promotion through competition for higher posts with greater responsibility and with higher salaries and prestige.' (1964, p. 144). The Green Lea sample was overwhelmingly one of 'organisation men' most of whom were midway in their spiralling career process. Not all of these were professionals however, although their incomes and life styles corresponded with those of the professional. These non-professionals displayed signs of insecurity in relation to their own occupation which were reflected in their attitude towards their children and their children's education. All were under considerable pressure to succeed in their careers. This pressure from the work situation coincides with a particularly sensitive period in the family cycle – that of the child bearing and early child rearing years.

Because of the repercussions which this spiralling process had upon the 'style of life' of the Green Lea inhabitants, Chapter 2 paid attention to career mobility patterns. The latter were not emphasised in the same way in the Freetown study. The narrower range of opportunities offered by the more restricted labour market prohibits the development of 'spiralism' on the same level as that of the British group. By this I do not mean that the opportunities for social and occupational mobility are not available. The ward system, described in Chapter 3, is a mechanism for social mobility used by the Creoles as well as non-Creoles. However, the opportunities available in Britain through the occupational structure for the 'self-made man' to rise to the social position of the
professional are not available to the Sierra Leonian. For this reason Chapter 1 gives a description of inter-generational mobility among the Creoles to demonstrate the development of their present day occupational patterns.

High occupational status both at Green Lee and in Freetown, yields high monetary rewards. Both groups use a large proportion of these rewards in purchasing symbols of status. At Green Lee these symbols are the main indicators of status, as there is little common knowledge of the occupations of the male householders and many households are removed from their families of origin. Status symbols at Green Lee have also the latent function of distinguishing the estate inhabitants as a middle class group, from the working class neighbourhood.

The monumental importance of the career to middle class males in industrial society has been discussed by sociologists in both Britain and America (Seeley, Sim and Loosley, 1963; Pahl and Pahl, 1971; Watson, 1964). The demands of the career clearly affect husband-wife relationships. Chapter 2 showed the effect of mobility, which middle class career patterns demand, on husband-wife relationships at Green Lee. For the majority in this estate career promotion depends on mobility. This mobility has two aspects: the geographical aspect which is involved in a change of jobs, which means a change of location for the whole household, and mobility within the job itself which results in lengthy periods spent away from home. The Pahls state that for men in the managerial category their very choice of marriage partner may depend on that partner's attitude towards mobility (1971, p. 261). Mobility affects the involvement of the husband, both on the estate and within his own family. The repercussions which mobility has, upon the socialisation process, are discussed in Chapter 4.

In Freetown among the Creoles marital strains spring from a
different source – from the presence of 'outside' wives and illegitimate children in an ethnic group which is formally monogamous. This strain has its effect on the occupational structure in that it pushes women into seeking employment. The lengths to which many women are prepared to go in order to achieve high occupational status can be seen in Chapter 1. Their success in achieving this aim, in turn, intensifies hostility between spouses as it presents a threat to the social status of the husband.

**Education**

In both Britain and Freetown, the main channel for achieving high occupational status is education. Studies such as that of Glass (1940) in Great Britain and that of Foster (1965) in West Africa have demonstrated the importance of education in social mobility. In both situations access to education is formally open to all. As cross-cultural studies of educational opportunity have shown however, (see Foster, 1965; Turner, 1964) the social class and the status background of the child is clearly related to access to 'status' schools and to academic achievement as a whole. Banks points out that even in the superficially 'open' American educational system, 'There are important status distinctions, which operate as hidden selectors' (Banks, 1966, p. 59).

I have attempted to identify and analyse some of these 'hidden selectors' operating in the 'style of life' of both groups, in the 'informal' education process which always accompanies and is woven into the formal. Particular attention was paid therefore, to the process of socialisation and to the role of the main agencies in this process. Superficially there are glaring differences in the socialisation process of these two groups which inhibit any comparison between them. The church for instance, as an agent of socialisation, features prominently
in the Freetown situation while its influence is negligible at Green Lea. Other differences also stand out, such as the mother-child relationship, which is far more intensive at Green Lea than among the Creoles. The status of the mother in the two situations is also different, as are the individual features of the child rearing process. Discipline in Freetown is very harsh by British standards and there is a far greater emphasis on obedience training.

Despite these differences however, I feel that there are sufficient common bases to enable a comparison to be made. The most obvious is the one I have been discussing in this chapter, namely that in Britain and Sierra Leone, the professions top the occupational status hierarchy and this status is achieved through educational attainment. The same strategies of educational selection apply in both cases. Both correspond to Turner's (1964) 'ideal type' of 'sponsored mobility', reflecting a common ideology. The pattern of education in Freetown was modelled on that of the British. In Freetown however, because of the lack of alternatives in secondary education, the 11 plus selection test for grammar schools and particularly for 'status' grammar schools, not only continues but has also intensified. In Britain, although the Government in 1966 pledged itself to a policy which involved a change to a comprehensive system of secondary education, that change-over has been very slow in coming about and at Green Lea, although plans for a comprehensive system have been discussed and approved by the Ministry of Education, there is still a selection test at eleven and parents are very involved in preparing their children for this test.

It is not academic attainment alone which is put to the test in a competitive educational situation but a whole process of socialisation. The more successful the process, the more it will have encouraged the development of achievement motivation. In both the Creole
process of socialisation and that practised at Green Lea, training for achievement is prominent. The techniques for the development of achievement do, however, differ. Banks (1968, p. 46) writes that the process which follows early selection in Turner's ideal type of 'sponsored mobility', "has the nature of elite status, and covers not only special skills, but an indoctrination in the standards of behaviour and the value systems of the elite group." These features of a privileged or elite 'style of life' however are instilled through the socialisation process, before this stage of selection is reached, through early child rearing techniques, the social network and the general environment of the child.

A feature common to the child rearing process of both groups is the absence of a dominant father figure. The absence — for short or longer periods — of the male model in the socialisation process is a problem with which researchers in personality development have been concerned for some time. A study by Tiller (1958) for instance, compares two sets of Norwegian families, one in which the father was present and the other in which the father was absent. It indicates that father-absent-boys are likely to show signs of immaturity, poorer peer adjustment and compensatory masculinity features. The evidence in this field, however, is far from being conclusive. There are so many intervening variables in the process of the personality development of the child that any cross cultural comparison based on one variable alone — that is, father absence — is clearly impossible. What is possible however, is a comparison of the compensatory mechanisms for father absence employed by the group in both situations.

I use the term 'group' deliberately, as 'style of life' can only operate effectively in promoting educational success among children, in the group situation. An important common feature in the two situations
which I discuss here, is that in both I am discussing a group rather than a category. In both there are features of the socialisation process which are common to that group and which help to foster achievement motivation within the group. Amongst the Crecles the interchange of children between families of different statuses produces a uniformity of values and, to a large extent, of socialisation practice. The main feature of this common socialisation process is the emphasis on discipline and control which many studies on the encouragement of achievement motivation have deemed to be important (see Bronfenbrenner, 1961 and 1958). Amongst the non-Crecles, not only is there less emphasis on discipline and control, but they are divided in the value which they place on education and academic achievement. At Green Lea also there is emphasis on control and here too there is a certain uniformity in the socialisation process which is maintained through social interaction between adults. This social interaction is fostered partly by the design of the estate itself.

'Style of life' and its Effect Upon Group Formation

In the preceding discussion I emphasised the need for examining the informal influences which are built into the process of recruitment for occupational and thus social status. These influences can only be perceived through an examination of the 'style of life' of both these groups.

'Style of life' serves as a mechanism for articulating the organisation of a group whose members are threatened from the outside. This is why, in the Introduction, I discussed the significance of 'style of life' in relation to privileged status groups. If a group has no privileges which it needs to protect, then the necessity for a 'style of life' which will distinguish that group from others in the society, will be obviated. The higher the status group, the more clearly defined is the 'style of life' which distinguishes it from lower status groups.
At Green Lea, it is the 'style of life' which distinguishes the estate as a middle class group. The estate residents did not build walls to segregate themselves from their working class neighbours (see Collison, 1963). Nevertheless symbols such as houses, dress and cars, did give outward expression to the 'style of life' of a middle class group. The less conspicuous aspect of the 'style of life' of the estate was expressed through the socialisation of children, in preparing them for the process of recruitment to the professional class. It was in relation to the education of children that the main threat to their 'style of life' was felt by estate residents. Their anxieties are reflected in their efforts to produce more adequate schools, with a school population recruited primarily from the middle class.

In Freetown the threat to the Creoles as a group stemmed from their loss of political power. Cohen (1969) writes that if class cleavages overlap with tribal groupings, then the privileged group will be identified as a particular ethnic group. 'Cultural differences between the two groups will become entrenched, consolidated and strengthened' (p. 194). In Freetown the privileged are identified with the Creoles, but the Creoles were deprived of formal political power by the legislative reforms of the 1950s. In order to retain their privileged position therefore, the Creoles have used their 'style of life' as a mechanism for the articulation of group organisation. Cohen, in three papers (1971; forthcoming (a) and (b)), has discussed the importance for the Creoles as a political group, of different aspects of their 'style of life'.

Because of the anomaly of their situation as a privileged ethnic group and yet a group which lacks formal political control, the Creoles 'play down' or avoid emphasising their ethnic identity. Yet this identity is clearly expressed by them in relation to other groups, through their
distinctive 'style of life'. This situation is not without its parallels in other cultures. Packard (1959, p. 29) when describing changes in the national economy which had affected the class structure in the U.S.A., claims that the really wealthy in the U.S.A. have learned to be discreet about their wealth and the way they use their power since, 'They have learned that in modern America you can exert power only by denying you have it.'

Cohen (1969 (a)) suggests a theoretical framework for the analysis of informal political groups. Within this framework he demonstrates how groups of this type have 'sought to find solutions to a number of basic problems in political organisation' (p. 201). I propose here to use part of this framework, in order to show how both groups under discussion have used 'style of life' as a mechanism for organisational articulation.

1) Distinctiveness

The first problem in group organisation is that of distinctiveness. To operate effectively, a group must define its membership and its sphere of operation, by defining its identity and its exclusiveness, within the context of the contemporaneous political setting. A privileged status group will try to prevent men from underprivileged status groups, from infiltrating into its ranks' (p. 201). The Creoles have coped with this problem of distinctiveness in a number of ways. The first is through claims to superiority based on their western or 'civilised' 'style of life'. The importance of 'civilised' status to a person's social position is commented upon also by other writers on the West African scene (see Fraenkel, 1964; Lloyd, 1966). This claim to 'civilised' status is supported by pressure from the Creole group upon its members to retain both its social and its economic heritage.

Symbols of status, which include possession of educational
qualifications as well as the more obvious symbols such as housing, dress, food and cars are also important factors in the distinguishing 'style of life'. There is evidence to suggest that those symbols which clearly identify the Creoles as a collectivity, have been re-emphasised since their loss of political control. Thus such symbols as uniforms, social parties to celebrate festive occasions like weddings, and customs such as the wearing of the 'ashu' by a group of women, have become increasingly important, over the past twenty years.

A privileged status group which is attempting to retain and consolidate its interests in the face of competition, will try to encourage marriage within the group. The rituals and ceremonial surrounding engagement and marriage amongst the Creoles emphasise the importance of marriage within the group. The gossip and scandal accompanying mixed marriages which fail, serve to strengthen the norm of group endogamy. The very proliferation of 'outside families' can be seen as a mechanism for maintaining this endogamy. The number of females between the ages of 25 and 45 amongst the Creoles is almost twice that of the males (see Cohen, 1971). If the majority of these women did not become mistresses and the mothers of illegitimate children, then they would be more likely to have children by non-Creole men and thus weaken the distinctiveness and unity of the Creoles.

Endogamy is of crucial importance in maintaining and developing the distinctiveness of the group in establishing friendships and alliances between groups and individuals' (Cohen, 1969, p. 203). This function of endogamy has been also pointed out by writers on British social groups. Frankenberg (1966, p. 93) pointed out that marriage in the Welsh village of Glyncirgog, 'still creates 'political' alliances, and this is perhaps part of the reason that marriages between first cousins do not occur.' The Creoles form a network of overlapping and
cross-cutting matrilineal, patrilineal and affinal relationships. The flexibility of the family system enables close friends to be treated as family members and it is possible for these, eventually, to be incorporated within the kinship group. This flexibility allows also for 'outside children' to be included within the legal family. These kinship links intensify informal interaction between people within the Creole group.

A further feature in the process of maintaining the distinctiveness of a status group is that which Cohen (1969, p. 203) has called 'homogenisation.' By this he means a process through which common values and common cultural elements are emphasised, whereas differences within the group are minimised. Amongst the Creoles, rich and poor are combined within the one status ethnic group. The barriers which such divisions between socio-economic groups would normally create, must therefore be alleviated. Traditional fostering which allows for the passage of children between high status households and households of lower status is one method of lessening cultural differences within the group. The church and religious organisations also allow for the interaction of both rich and poor within the same network.

The use of symbols of status as a mark of distinctiveness is common to many social groups which have a shared 'style of life.' One such symbol at Green Lea for women and children particularly, is clothing. Uniform for instance, which is also used to great effect by the Creoles, identifies a 'middle class' primary school. Nearly all children at Green Lea primary school wore a uniform and parents were under considerable pressure to purchase the appropriate uniform. Children from the primary school in the working class area on the other hand, wore no school uniform.

'Hyths of origin' were obviously not as developed at Green Lea as they were among the Creoles but from the residents' own perceptions
of the estate, it is evident that they feel that its character as a middle class residential area justifies its claim to privileges. This middle class character is sustained by status symbols.

Because of the narrowness of the age-structure of Green Lea it was not possible to see whether group distinctiveness would be further encouraged through endogamy. The estate however, is a group which is fairly homogeneous in social status. Interaction within the group gives rise to shared norms. A number of studies on mate selection have established that marriage partners are most likely to be chosen from those with similar values and social class background (see Goode, 1964). One of the reasons in favouring homogamy, it has been suggested, is propinquity (see Hollingshead, 1949). Catten and Smircich (1964) state that, 'It is possible that propinquity produces a substantial degree of homogamy and that the familiarity of homogamous marriages gives rise to homogamy norms.' Residential segregation by class therefore, is a way of ensuring that mate selection will be made within the same status group.

Interaction within the estate leads to the development of shared norms, beliefs, values - all of which can be subsumed under the term 'group culture'. A group culture which can effectively govern behaviour can only be developed between people who interact with one another over a period of time, within the same material environment. This is a factor which certainly contributed to the development of Green Lea culture, but among the Creoles it embraced those from different material backgrounds. At Green Lea many residents found that their attitudes and tastes had been moulded or modified through their interaction on the estate. This standardisation in norms was particularly noticeable and effective in the socialisation process. Residents used subtle techniques of control to show their disapproval of those who...
deviated from the accepted pattern.

A parallel situation which demonstrates the development of a 'group culture' through the association of individuals with similar shares of the scarce values of society is described by Sealey, Sim and Logasly (1963) in a study of Crestwood Heights, a suburb of Toronto. This detailed description of life in this suburb demonstrates how 'success values' are transmitted and accepted by both adults and children. Here too its effect on the process of socialisation is evident. The authors write that through informal and formal learning processes there is an attempt to foster competition, balanced by co-operation, in children. Those parents who express anxiety at the early emancipation of their children, find it difficult to enforce their own patterns of control as the norms have been set by the children and the other parents. This community could be described as more 'child centred' than the Green Loa estate, but common patterns which develop in the socialisation process can be identified in both.

ii) Communication

The basic premise for the existence of a group is that there should be communication between its members. Frankenberg (1966, p. 18) claims that a group 'generally carries the implication of social interaction between the individuals comprising it. Further, its members are often seen as having aims in common which impose a group boundary. In other words there are not only members but also individuals who are definitely and clearly not members. This interaction may be accompanied by a specific 'style of life' which will distinguish that particular group from others within the society. Shibutani (1962) writes that shared perspectives are the products of common communication channels. The latter are more important than geographical area in establishing a common 'style of life.' Each social world then is a culture area, the boundaries
of which are set neither by territory nor formal group membership but by limits of effective communication.' (Shibutani, 1962).

In Freetown, although ethnic groups tend to favour certain residential areas above others, the tendency has been for these ethnic groups to become increasingly residentially mixed. This is a trend which Banton recorded as early as 1957. 'The tendency of different tribal and ethnic groups to settle as separate units, created discrete social areas, but gradually settlement and land use became everywhere more and more mixed, different ethnic groups being interspersed with one another' (p.82).

Despite the fact that there is no discrete Creole residential area, interaction is kept principally within the Creole network. The church, schools and societies are the main formal channels for interaction supported by numerous rituals, ceremonies and informal social events. In fact the average Creole may be so involved in events within his own network that he has no time for others. In this way, the group is insulated from intensive interaction with those outside the group and the 'style of life' is preserved.

Kinship ties for Green Lea residents, as I attempted to show in Chapter 2, are not obsolete. They affect the extent to which some women interact with their neighbours on the estate. Nevertheless for the majority of residents the degree of their social interaction is greater with neighbours than with kin. Apart from the Residents' Association, there are no formal or organised channels for interaction on the housing estate. On the surface, the estate residents are a mobile category with little common basis for interaction. Many writers have commented upon the inability of the mobile middle class in industrial society to create enduring social relationships. Seeley, Sim and LeCompton (1963) write that, 'Mobility is, as we see it here, the highly developed pattern of movement from one job to another, from one place of residence to another, from one city to another, from one class position to another. To the
individual, therefore, moving must not only hold the promise of material reward and added prestige, but, in spite of cost and labour, it should itself be 'exciting.' The chance to meet new friends, the known but as yet untried amenities in the distant city, together with the exhilaration of leaving behind the frustrations of office, clique, and neighbourhood, help to make moving more than tolerable. The man and woman of the Heights have few bonds that cannot be broken at the promise of a 'promotion.' They have been prepared for this from the cradle' (p. 139). In the same way Elan (1956, p. 290) argues that the mobile are 'marginal men' and that the 'dilemmas faced by mobile individuals in their interpersonal relations inhibit social integration and are responsible for many aspects of their attitude and conduct.'

Mobility certainly affects social relationships and hence communications and many wives at Green Lea saw the next move not with the excitement described by Seeley Sim and Loosley of the Crestwood Heights residents, but as something which had to be tolerated for the sake of a higher income. Mobility also affected the resident's choice of a new housing estate as residential area. There they were likely to meet others in the same position as themselves and thus interaction would be easier. Mobility at Green Lea has a dual form. It means not only a change of residence from one area to another, but even more important, it means mobility within the job itself. This results in men's absence from home. The literature on the middle class suggests that wives in this category can expect a close relationship with their husbands based on co-operation in both household and social activities. Absence from home however, obviously makes this goal unattainable. The inner-directed group — who form the majority on the estate — thus turn, in the absence of other channels of communication, to their neighbours on the housing estate for support and friendship.
Friendship is an emotive term and many will doubt whether interaction between suburban neighbours on such a housing estate, can justify the label of friendship. *Humans* (1961, pp. 51-63) elaborates upon the link between interaction and liking. He puts forward three main propositions which may govern elementary social behaviour. The first is that, 'the more valuable to person a unit of activity other gives him, the more often he will emit activity, including sentiment, rewarded by other's activity.' The second is that, 'the more valuable to person in the activity other gives him, the more valuable is the approval or liking person gives other.' The third is that, 'the more valuable to person the activity other gives him, the more valuable the approval he gives other and the more often he emits activity, including sentiment, to other.' The interaction between women at Green Lea with its instrumental basis can easily fit in with the first two of *Humans'* propositions. The third, which indicates that sentiment and interaction are linked together and that an increase in one will lead to an increase in the other, is also substantiated by the patterns of friendship reported by residents at Green Lea.

An underlying principle involved in interaction amongst Green Lea residents or amongst the Creoles, is reciprocity. This view of human relationships as a system of exchange has been held by many theorists (see Levi-Strauss, 1949; *Mauss*, 1954). Reciprocity can be seen in the Creole situation in the links between women. Grandmothers care for children while mothers study or work and daughters give assistance to elderly mothers. The flexibility of the Creole family, just as it allows for non-kin to be included within the family group, allows also for kin who are 'on the fringe' and who persistently fail to participate in family ritual and affairs, to be excluded from the family (see Cohen, forthcoming (a)). At Green Lea, much of the social interaction between
women on the housing estate has, at first, an instrumental basis. There must be reciprocity in this situation for the interaction to continue. Interaction itself can develop into friendship over a period of time, and develops through the fostering of mutual obligations.

This discussion of the way in which 'style of life' is instrumental in creating and supporting a privileged status group gives rise to two separate theoretical issues. First is the problem of ethnicity in the Freetown situation and the second is the problem of community in the British situation. The first – ethnicity – which is the process through which a tribal group is redefined for political purposes, has been discussed by social anthropologists (Cohen, 1969; Barth, 1969). Earlier in this section I pointed out that 'style of life' became a mechanism of control in defining the Creoles as a group, as a result of their loss of formal political power. The 'style of life' is instrumental for the Creoles as a whole and not for professional Creoles alone. Ethnic affiliation cuts across social class divisions and unites rich and poor through mechanisms such as traditional fostering or the inclusion of outside children within the wider kinship group. This gives a common 'style of life' based on a shared system of values, which is of benefit to all Creoles in the recruitment process, regardless of their material resources. Sinclair, (1971) in a paper on class images in Sierra Leone, concludes that tribe has become a subsidiary factor in social class. My own findings however, suggest that while the Creoles themselves give less outward emphasis to ethnic affiliation, since it is not in their political interests to do so, as a group they display a specific 'style of life' which is synonymous with that of a privileged status group. This was reflected in perceptions of class and status presented by non-Creoles.

Ethnic group cohesion is dependant on an efficient system of
communication. I have already described the way in which 'style of life' serves to facilitate communication amongst the Creoles. In addition, it must be pointed out that the mass media - the most powerful instruments for communication - were, and still are to a large extent, in Creole hands.

The second theoretical issue which affects the British study, is one with which a large number of British sociologists have been preoccupied over the past twenty years, and that is the concept of community. Various definitions of community - based on a defined geographical area are put forward by Frankenberg (1966). Other writers, while retaining the notion of 'community' remove from it the necessity for any geographic basis (Webber, 1963). Stacey rejects the usefulness of 'community' as a tool for sociological analysis, but nevertheless points out the value of studying a local social system (1969).

Green Lea does not fit in with most of these definitions of community, nor can it be called a local social system. It has no kinship basis, contains no major social institutions, nor is there 'a structure of overlapping groups, as well as a structure of overlapping roles' (Stacey, 1969). Despite all this, it is a locality within which social relations have developed. It serves the primary group requirements of child rearing and, for the children at least, it functions as a community. The majority of estate women are 'inner directed' and develop bonds through a system of mutual obligations. The fact that the estate is primarily middle class makes it easier for them to establish these links. For the women too, therefore, who are restricted to a locality, Green Lea can be said to be a community.

Durkheim foresaw the decreasing emphasis on locality as a basis for social relationships as part of the general process of social change. He did not claim that territorial divisions will disappear
altogether 'but only that they will become of less importance. The old institutions never vanish before the new without leaving any traces of themselves. They persist not only through sheer force of survival, but because there still persists something of the needs they once answered. The material neighbourhood will always constitute a bond between men; consequently, political and social organisation with a territorial base will certainly exist. Only they will not have their present predominance, precisely because this bond has lost its force (1960, pp. 28–29). This process certainly presents an accurate reflection of Green Lea as a community for male householders. They are involved in the process of 'spiralism' and they interact with others in their individual occupational network. For the women, however, the social relationships which they develop on the housing estate can be seen as a regrouping which serves the primary group needs of the women and children and which counteracts the forces of alienation present in the process of urbanism.

Mobility, which is the keynote of the occupational structure of industrial society, takes men away from their home and locality for long periods, at a time when their wives are particularly tied to the locality through childbearing and child rearing. Although they interact initially because of common needs rather than common interests, the latter can, and often do, develop from the former. An estate drawn from one social class provides an acceptable primary group for the socialisation of children and this is one reason why so many wives of men in this occupational category choose to live on this type of housing estate.

In both studies the group is articulated by the potential threat to its status from the wider society. It seeks to protect and retain its privileges through a common 'style of life'. The Creoles as an ethnic group developed a 'style of life' which crossed class barriers. Thus privileges which would normally accrue only to the highly privileged in
the recruitment process, are shared by the ethnic group as a whole.
Similarly the women and children at Green Lea created a community which could express a common 'style of life.' Through this 'style of life' the children can be protected from the threat to their achievement in the educational field presented by a working class neighbourhood and an inadequate schooling system.
THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE RECRUITMENT PROCESS

The second significant theme in this study on the relationship of 'style of life' to the recruitment process in the two socio-cultural groups, is the crucial role of the women. I emphasise the role of women not because I interviewed them more intensively, but because they are the pivot of both groups. For the sake of clarity I shall organise my discussion of the position of women in these two groups in relation to women's roles in production, reproduction, marital relationships, socialisation and the maintenance of group stability.

1) Production

In 1957 Banton wrote that, 'women in Freetown are seizing every opportunity that lends itself to an improvement of their status' (p. 199). Yet this is not reflected in the figures given in the 1963 census on the distribution of the total working population among the major occupational groups according to sex. (see Table 5). According to these figures, out of a total working population of 39,263, there were only 9,616 females. Of these females however, 10.7% were in professional employment, which percentage is more than twice that of the men (4.4%). Most of these professional women are Creoles. The employment opportunities available to Creole women are very much greater than those available to non-Creole women, because of the differential in educational level between these two groups. The figures presented in Tables 5, 6 and 7 confirm this.

This opportunity for Creole women in the employment market affects their position within the family. It gives them an 'instrumental' as opposed to a purely 'expressive' role. Parsons (1954, p. 79) predicted role conflict within the family in industrial society if there would be competition for occupational status between husband and wife. There are certainly strains in husband-wife relationships within Creole families which are accentuated when the wife has a higher occupational
status than her husband. On the other hand it is the strain in marital relationships and the insecurity which women feel either inside or outside the marriage, which drives them towards achieving as high an occupational status as possible. Occupational status will at least bring with it some economic security. Creole women are able to achieve this even though it frequently means further educational training after marriage, because they are freed from many of the household responsibilities which beset their counterparts in industrial society. The Creole family system is also sufficiently flexible to accommodate children while mothers are studying or working, as the total responsibility for the socialisation of the children rarely rests with the mother alone.

If the occupational rivalry between husband and wife does, as Parsons suggests, lead to friction in husband-wife relationships, there is no evidence to suggest that the absence of such rivalry necessarily leads to harmony in these relationships. Non-Creole women have fewer opportunities in the employment market than have Creole women and Little (1951) refers to the inferior legal status of women in relation to men since, 'in the eyes of the 'law' a woman is generally looked upon as a minor and, except in certain circumstances, is not allowed to sue on her own account in court. Legally she cannot be held directly responsible for her actions and, if married, is supposed at all times to be under the authority of her husband, or of one of his male relatives...Any work she does is... for the sole benefit of her husband and his relatives' (p. 163). Even a woman's children will belong to her husband's patrilineal kin group. The following statement by Rene Dumont sums up the position of non-Creole women in traditional society: 'the African woman experiences a 3-fold servitude through forced marriage; through her dowry and polygamy, which increases the leisure time of men and
simultaneously their social prestige; and finally through the very unequal division of labour' (1962, p. 210). It is significant that a number of professional non-Creole marriages in Freetown are monogamous. The status of women in monogamous households is higher than that of women in polygynous households and recent trends in the education of non-Creole females suggest that in time their occupational status will also rise.

In Britain, the alternatives that are open to the Creole woman in the care of her house and of her children, are not available to middle class women. Middle class women do not feature prominently in the occupational structure. Dahlstrom (1962, p. 176) summarising the moderate ideological position on the sex roles states that, 'The most common pattern proposed is for the wife to work while young, leave her job and devote herself to children and home during the years of active motherhood and then pick up the threads of her occupation when the children have grown up.' This standpoint however, is a serious obstacle to those in professional occupations where 'the years of active motherhood' may be vital years in the occupational spiral. In fact Dahlstrom suggests that because of this necessity for prolonged absence from the labour force, women's initial choice of employment is influenced by their future role as wife and mother.

At Green Lea the fact that women had anticipated their future roles as housewife and mother was reflected in the discrepancy in the standards of education reached by the women in relation to those of their husbands. This discrepancy can be seen in Table 12. Sixteen women had not attended grammar school, 13 had attended grammar school to 'O' level standard, 13 had attended grammar school to 'A' level standard. This is in comparison with 18 men who had professional qualifications and 17 who had attended a grammar school or public school at least as far as 'O' level. The Pahts (1971, p. 109) also find a
difference in the education level of the husbands in their sample from the level of education of the wives.

Whatever the cause of this discrepancy in academic standards between men and women, the fact remains that when these women emerge from the child rearing phase of the family cycle, their husbands, who had higher academic qualifications than their wives to begin with, have spiralled upwards in their occupational hierarchy. The Green Lea householders were, for the most part, spiralists — that is they were upwardly mobile — and this social mobility had been accompanied by geographical mobility (Watson, 1964). Upward mobility however, frequently coincided with the child bearing and child rearing phase. This, for the women, is the most demanding period of the family cycle and yet they receive little support from their husbands who are themselves at a critical stage in their careers. The Fahlis (1971, p. 25) who also make this point, state that to the wives a job or career seemed unimportant. I would suggest that this should be treated not as an admission of satisfaction with the housewife role but as an indication of a lack of alternatives.

The opportunities available in the field of employment to women at Green Lea were limited. I have pointed to the difference between the educational standard of the wife and that of the husband. In addition, while the wife is tied to the house, the husband will have advanced within his own career. When such women are finally free to take up an occupation therefore, the jobs for which they qualify are not in harmony with their husbands' occupational status. Many will become immersed in the role of housewife rather than undertake jobs for which their working class counterparts can just as easily qualify. There was an indication that more wives on the estate with older children were turning to further study as a possible path to higher status employment. Even those who had
previously attained a higher level of education found that their prolonged absence from the labour force made them apprehensive of returning to their former careers. This is partly the result of a lack of confidence which results from a long period of absence from the labour market during which time women are largely restricted to their own home and local area. Oavron also makes this point when she writes that, 'The period of early motherhood...is a time which involves a great loss of confidence to many a young woman' (1966, p. 133).

In the Freetown situation it is insecurity in male-female relationships which encourages both married and unmarried women to contest for occupational status. A considerable degree of this insecurity is economic. Employment for Freetown women is facilitated by the availability of alternatives both in the housekeeping and the child rearing fields. Occupational status leads to a tension in role relationships within the family and a change in the status of women in the society. In Britain too it has been shown that it is economic need which provides the greatest spur for women to undertake paid employment after marriage. It is primarily working class women who have been affected by this economic insecurity.

Even among graduate wives the economic factor has been shown to be significant. The British Federation of University Women found that the proportion of working women dropped from 61% where the husband's income was £1000 a year or less to 46% where the income was over £3000 (1967). For most middle class women status is achieved through the occupational status of their husbands. Even in Sweden, where female equality in the economic field has, for some time past, reached a level as yet not achieved in Britain, a woman's status is largely determined by the occupational status of her husband. An article by Baude and Holmberg (1967) compares the replies given in an ILO Report, 'Women in
a Changing World' (1963, p. 107) by member governments to enquiries regarding their official attitudes to female participation in the labour force. They report that 'the common thread running through these... official replies was the attitude that men were the primary family providers while women were provided for; women and not men were to bear the major responsibility for the care of the child and the home; hence, gainful employment could conflict with the family responsibilities of women but not those of men.' They then give the different stand taken by Sweden. 'The official Swedish position is that labour legislation should not differentiate between men and women apart from the case of rules relating to childbirth. Responsibility for the care of the children and family should devolve upon men as well as women. Society should promote the entry of women and men to the labour market without discrimination.' Despite this official line on the position of women in the field of employment however, there is still evidence in Sweden of the conflict between woman's roles as wife and mother and her occupational role (Dahlstrom and Liljestrom, 1967). In Sweden as in other industrial countries it appears that the educational level of women is lower than that of men and is conditioned by their future roles as housewife and mother.

Reproduction

Inexorably linked with the position of a woman in relation to production in industrial society is her position in relation to reproduction, since maternity necessitates withdrawal from work. Writers on urban society have stressed the fact that the family has become an isolated unit. Theorists such as Wirth (1938) and Parsons (1955) have supported this. Parsons (1955) claimed that the nuclear family unit in industrial society has adapted to the needs of an industrial economy. The loosening of ties with the wider circle of kin has meant that the
family unit can be mobile in order to fit in with the demands of industrial occupational patterns. These writers refer to the function of the family to society as a whole without differentiating between differences in family patterns even within industrial society. Writers on working class families in Britain, for instance, have indicated a close relationship between families and kin in certain working class areas (Wilmott and Young, 1960; Kerr, N. 1958). Even writers on middle class families have indicated that the nuclear family's connection with the kin group is still very much alive. Bell for instance, distinguished between two groups - 'spiralists' and 'burgesses' - on a middle class housing estate and found that 'these two groups within the middle class are identifiable not only by their differing mobility experience, both social and geographical...but also by their differing relationship with their kin and also by their relationship with each other' (1968, p.159).

Amongst those families on this estate who were not mobile, Bell also discovered that the father-in-law/father-son/son-in-law link was structurally very important.

In my own study of a housing estate a number of families - the 'out-estate oriented' - retained fairly close contact with their wider kin group and between these there was mutual exchange of aid. Nevertheless, even in families where there was close contact with kin, the responsibility for the socialisation of children remained with the nuclear family - and the burden of responsibility fell upon the mother. For most women in industrial society, the function of motherhood replaces her function as a member of the labour force. Mitchell (1971, p. 109) writes that, 'the social cult of maternity is matched by the real socio-economic powerlessness of the mother.'

This replacement of paid employment by the reproductive function of women is noted in an article by Nicholas Tucker (1972). He writes that,
'Although the mother of a nuclear family gets her family over far more quickly than before, some strains have, in a sense, multiplied during her time as an active parent. Some of the jobs once done by other people — like maid, chauffeur, laundress — are now done by middle class mothers. Indeed many of the complaints of contemporary mothers read uncannily like the grumblings of governesses some seventy years ago — stuck in their nurseries all the week and bitterly regretting their social exclusion from any non-child-oriented world.'

In Freetown reproduction is not automatically treated as a replacement of women's position as active members in the labour force. The structure of Creole society offers a woman a wider choice. The pressure on the mother as the main agent in the primary socialisation process is eased. Middle class families still retain close connections with their family of origin and children are looked after by members of the extended family to enable the mother to pursue her career. Apart from this however, the traditional pattern of fostering described amongst the Creoles means that social parentage need not always coincide with biological parentage. Children are fostered within their own family so that there is no basic divergence in socialisation patterns between the natural family and the foster family.

Marital Relationships

Creole marriages are monogamous, yet the presence — real or potential — of 'outside families', is a constant threat to marital relationships. For 'outside families' the insecurity is even greater. Both legal and 'outside' wives therefore, seek to provide for themselves security and status through career patterns. The western notion of romantic love as a basis for marriage has been largely accepted by the Creoles as Dr. Bond (1971) pointed out in a study of marriage patterns among the professionals in Sierra Leone. The 'togetherness' ethos
put forward by women's magazines has had its impact on Creole society as well as on British society. It is hardly surprising therefore that the reality of segregated role activities between marriage partners proved a source of embarrassment to interviewees.

There has been a decrease in parental control over their children's choice of marriage partners (Bond, 1971), among the Creoles. This trend however, in Freetown as elsewhere, is not unqualified. Goode (1964) points out that mate selection in any society is far from being completely 'free'. In Freetown it was certainly the case that Creole women were under considerable pressure to enter into sexual relations, either outside or within marriage, only with Creole men. Girls were threatened with examples of mixed (that is Creole/tribal) marriages which had failed and the values acquired through the Christian and western tradition, instil in them an abhorrence of polygamy and Bundu to which their children might be subjected should they agree to such a marriage. Engagement and marriage ceremonies were supported by elaborate ritual which helped to maintain this 'in-group' marriage ideology.

At Green Lea, the more limited age range of the population prohibited a first hand examination of marriage practices. What was clear however, was that the channels of communication, which are so important in mate selection, were being restricted to middle class groups so as to exclude contact with working class groups. This was especially true for the children whose channels of communication were limited almost exclusively to middle class schools and middle class recreation groups.

If Creole women are affected by the impact of the literature on 'romantic' love in marriage then its impact on British middle class women must be twice as great. For the latter - unlike the Creoles - it frequently means separation from family and friends of long-standing. It is also, frequently, a total substitute for a career. The
'togetherness' theme has been part of the marriage campaign for many years now in Britain and America. Also a great deal of literature over the past ten years, has been published on sex in marriage. By concentrating on the sexual pleasure which husbands and wives should derive from their partnership, these books have added to the mystique which surrounds the notion of marriage as a partnership. At Green Lea as in Freetown, women are reluctant to admit that their marriage may fall short of such an ideal relationship.

At Green Lea, the pressure put upon men to succeed in career terms, results in their absence from home for long periods. It frequently involves travel overseas. During these absences the wife has to cope with household and children single-handed. One very important measurement which sociologists use in the measurement of the 'closeness' of husband-wife relationships is the degree of participation by the husband in household tasks (Bott, 1957; Herbst, 1952; Blood and Hamblin, 1958). According to this index alone the majority of families at Green Lea would rate as having a very low degree of family integration. Many wives claimed, defensively, that their husbands would help if only they were at home for a longer period of time. Husbands' absences may also affect joint leisure pursuits. Most wives make the best of the situation and attempt, through mutual arrangements with neighbours, to compensate for the husband's absence, but they are nevertheless aware that their marriage patterns do not conform to the 'ideal type'. For a few, the strain of loneliness and isolation results in either the collapse of the marriage or in a deterioration in the health of the wife.

The Pahls' study of a managerial group (1971, p. 203) also emphasised the effect of career demands on husband's participation in the home. They quote an earlier American study by Blood and Wolfe called 'Husbands and Wives' (1960) who found that the more successful
the husband in occupational terms and the greater his income and social status, the less help he gave in the house.

Lack of participation in household tasks is but one indication of the source of strains in marital relationships which can develop as a result of the prolonged absence of the husband from the home. Tunstall (1962) points out the potential strain in husband-wife relationships which is directly derived from the husband's absence from home.

**Socialisation**

The importance of the mother in the process of socialisation has been so emphasised by writers on the subject that it needs no further elaboration. In industrial society a mother's function as principal socialising agent has replaced her function as a member of the labour force. Parsons (1955) has described a woman's role as 'expressive' as opposed to the 'instrumental' role played by her husband in the family. 'The American male, by definition must 'provide' for his family. He is responsible for the support of his wife and children. His primary area of performance is the occupational role... the mother (is) the focus of emotional support for the American child' (p. 339). As socialisation has become an occupation in its own right in western society its significance and importance for the mother has increased. (Friedan (1963, p. 173) writing of American mothers describes the intensity with which they have grown to treat this function, 'Parenthood, and especially motherhood under the Freudian spotlight had to become a full-time job and career if not a religious cult. One false step could mean disaster. Without careers, without any commitment other than their homes, mothers could devote every moment to their children'. The involvement of mothers with their children, is even more noticeable where fathers are absent from home a great deal (see Tunstall, 1962).
Among the Creoles this intensity in the relationship between mother and child, which is common to families in industrial societies, is absent. Frequently — particularly in the case of 'outside' families — mothers have 'instrumental' as well as 'expressive' roles. Even in families which are, in the main, supported by the husband's occupation and the income derived from it, Creole mothers are able to combine an occupational role with their role as principal agents of socialisation. Through support gained from the extended family, they are enabled to achieve both roles. Modification of traditional socialisation practices such as the shortening of the breast feeding period, while at the same time preserving the traditional fostering system have sufficiently emancipated the Creole woman for her to be able to continue with her occupational role. Through the Creole network as a whole with its nursery schools, and its religious and social organisations, the task of socialisation is shared by the Creole group as a whole. I do not intend to imply here that the mother does not take full responsibility for the child, only that the assistance which she receives from the extended family and from the social network enables her to undertake both roles.

At Green Lea and among the Creoles in Freetown socialisation practices were aimed at the encouragement of achievement motivation in children. In this the prime responsibility rested with the mother. In both situations fathers played little part in the child rearing process. This contradicts much of the evidence produced to support a trend towards increased involvement of both parents in the upbringing of the middle class child (see Bott, 1957). Kohn (1963) writes that, 'In middle class families, mother's and father's roles usually are not sharply differentiated. What differentiation exists is largely a matter of each parent taking special responsibility for being supportive of children of the
parent's own sex.' At Green Lea it was certainly the case that support from husbands was demanded by the mothers but the husbands were most often not available to give that support.

In Freetown the mother's own occupational status may play some part in the fostering of achievement among children. But she is helped to achieve that status and with the general tasks of child care through her involvement in the Creole network. At Green Lea women have little opportunity to achieve occupational status, but the shared communication channels offered to them by a middle class housing estate assist them to sustain the socialisation period while at the same time facilitate the development of achievement values. A fascinating account of socialisation of Japanese children by Vogel (1963) describes a situation which, while displaying some similarities with the two situations described in this study, points to a further difference in the position of the mother as the main agent of socialisation.

The Japanese mother aims at encouraging achievement motivation in her children as does the Green Lea mother and the Creole mother, though her techniques for accomplishing this are different. For the Japanese mother her role in the socialisation process is a complete fulfilment and replacement of her function in the occupational sphere. She devotes herself so completely to the care and training of her children that when a child sits the entrance examination for the high school the mother's status as much as the child's is at stake. Vogel writes that, 'beside the applicant himself, the most involved person is the mother. In listening to a mother describe examinations, one almost has the feeling that it is she rather than the child who is being tested' (p. 54).

As at Green Lea and among the Creoles it is the mother and not the father who is concerned with the child-rearing process and there is also a great deal of segregation in husband-wife role relationships.
within Japanese families. Unlike women in the British and the African situation however, the Japanese women studied by Vogel have no support from a community or social group - 'a Hamachi wife cannot expect to develop close relationships simply because she lives in the neighbourhood' (p. 109). The picture given is one of acute social isolation even though the author writes, that 'usually a child is conceived soon after marriage, and from then on the wife is completely occupied with the child. Since the Japanese wife considers child care a satisfying and all encompassing occupation, the mother of a young child finds her social isolation more tolerable than a childless wife' (p. 110). There is little in the study to indicate the outcome of this selflessness and isolation on the part of the Japanese mother when her children have grown up, although the following sentence might provide a clue: 'Once all the children are in school, however, her work is sharply reduced, and although she then spends more time visiting with neighbours, attending P.T.A. meetings and pursuing the housewifely arts, she often finds it difficult to adjust to the sudden increase of free time' (p. 188).

Among the Creoles and at Green Lea, women are the main agents in formulating and transmitting the 'style of life' of the group. 'Style of life' is a set of behaviour patterns which characterise a status group. It becomes effective as a co-ordinating mechanism when the group has privileges which it needs to protect. In Freetown and at Green Lea, 'style of life' could be seen as a common set of norms, beliefs and values, articulated and perpetuated through symbols, ideologies, kinship and friendship relationships. This 'style of life' is shared between members of a status group and at the same time serves to distinguish that group from others. Thus the 'style of life' of the Creoles was easily distinguished and it acted as a barrier between Creoles and non-Creoles in the same way as the 'style of life' of residents at Green Lea estate distinguished the estate as a middle class group.
The professionals are the most privileged occupational status group in both Freetown and in Britain. Qualification for entry into the professions is achieved through a long process of education. This process is only partly formal. The rest of it is informal, occurring in institutions outside the formal education system, and exercises a decisive influence on the chances of success in the formal process. This informal process consists largely of socialisation in the culture, or the 'style of life' of the group. This 'style of life' maintains the privileged status of the group and secures its perpetuation through its role in recruitment process of succeeding generations.

NOTES

1. This corresponds with the writings of Becker and Geer (1960) on the potential strength of 'latent culture', by which they mean those social roles 'related to identities conventionally defined as 'being irrelevant', as opposed to those social roles 'related to identities which the group agrees are relevant to a particular social setting.' In the Freetown context it is the Creoles themselves who want to define their ethnic identity as irrelevant. Yet the fact that it is those with a common ethnic background who do interact intensively and thus develop a common outlook means that this 'latent culture' is dominant. As Becker and Geer state, 'The strength and unity of a group's latent culture will, of course, depend on the character of the recruitment to the group. If recruitment is restricted to persons coming from a similar cultural background, latent culture will be strong and consistent; there will be no variant subcultural groups within the larger group and everyone will share the premises of the culture associated with the common latent identities.'

2. Bell and Newby in their book 'Community Studies' (1971, p.15) ask the question, 'Art what is community?'...over ninety definitions of community have been analysed and...the one common element in them all was man! These two authors themselves impose a minimum definition of a community study, 'which all those included must meet: a community study must be concerned with the study of the inter-relationships of social institutions in a locality' (p.19).
3. Juliet Mitchell, in her book 'Women's Estate' (1971) differentiates women's condition according to separate structures. The key structures of women's situation which she examines are: production, reproduction, sexuality and the socialisation of children.

4. Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, 'Family, Socialisation and Interaction Process' 1956, p. 47: 'The area of instrumental function concerns relations of the system to its situation outside the system...and 'instrumentally' establishing the desired relations to external goal-objects. The expressive area concerns the 'internal' affairs of the system, the maintenance of integrative relations between the members, and regulation of the patterns and tension levels of its component units.'

5. David M. Heer in an article entitled, 'Dominance and the Working Wife' (1956) compares the effect of the working wife on family decision-making in the working class with its effect in the middle class. He found that in both, the working wife exerts more influence than the non-working wife but that wives in working class families have more say in family decision-making than wives in middle class families.

6. A study by Orden and Bradburn (1969) on 'Working Wives and Marriage Happiness', found that when wives worked out of economic necessity rather than by choice, there was less happiness for both partners. On the other hand, where there was freedom of choice, and women chose to work, then this generally had good effects on the marriage.

7. Gans, writing of suburban America in his study, 'The Levittowners' (1967) distinguishes between social groups in this suburb and the extent to which these social groups interact with their kin. The 'working class subculture' are the 'locals' whose social interaction is carried out mainly within their kin group, while the 'upper middle class subculture' at the other extreme, are the 'cosmopolitans' who interact less with kin and more with friends and associates with similar interests and 'styles of life'.

8. The position of the woman in industrial society can be compared with her position in the Mexican family. McGinn (1966) writes that in the middle class Mexican family an occupation for a woman is frowned upon: 'Higher education for women is not highly valued....so that according to society the middle class wife not only needs less education than her husband but may be considerably younger.' For middle class Mexican women even more than for women in industrial society, motherhood is the ideal: 'Mother' is a highly respected social category in Mexico. That is, the wife can hope to receive from her children all the love, attention and adulation which she has not received from her husband.

9. It is interesting at this point to look at the woman's role in completely different family forms. An article on 'Child Rearing Practices in the Communal Family' by Berger, Hackett and Millar (1972), points out that in most communes, women tend to do
traditional work - that is cooking. Even here the responsibility for the child rests primarily with the woman as children "belong" to their mothers and "norms requiring paternal solicitude for children are largely absent." Women, in turn, resent the full-time devotion required by child rearing. A more satisfactory solution to the problem of child rearing is reflected in an article entitled, 'Family Life in the Kibbutz of Israel' by Schlesinger (1972). In the kibbutz, the mother is released through her role in the economy - from household chores, toilet training and other training functions wherein rests potential for conflict. Thus, the author claims, "This reduces the ambivalent tensions in the parent-child relationship to which we are accustomed in western communities, since the mother is not the source of frustration and the parents are not the chosen instruments of society for imposing its demands on the children" (p. 316).

10. Kenneth Little in an article published in 'The Listener', April 7th 1966, also claimed that West Africans were turning more to the notion of 'romantic love'. They stressed the idea of marriage being a true union of husband and wife as well as an economic partnership. Love will be the most important thing when they marry.

11. Bott (1957, p. 226) says that, "Joint conjugal relationships might lead to conjugal stability because the emotional investment of both partners is so considerable, but on the other hand, husband and wife expect so much of each other that disillusion and disappointment might drive them apart." Berger and Kellner (1964) in an article entitled, 'Marriage and the Construction of Reality' also point out that marriage in contemporary society requires a much greater effort on the part of the marriage partners, since marriage creates a new reality of its own and is referred to by the authors as a 'norms-building instrumentality,' creating order for the individual and counteracting the forces of anomie in industrial society. The authors, in the light of their analysis of marriage see that the increase in the divorce rate is proof of the increasing importance of marriage, as "individuals in our society do not divorce because marriage has become unimportant to them, but because it has become so important that they have no tolerance for the less than completely successful marital arrangement they have contracted with the particular individual in question" (p. 30).

12. Among the Creoles where men are also absent from the home a great deal, the measurement of the extent of husband's participation in household tasks is clearly a completely inadequate test for establishing the degree of family integration. Dr. Bond (1971) points this out when she shows the inapplicability of Bott's (1957) hypothesis in a West African setting.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Male %</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Female %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>2,189,355</td>
<td>1,081,133</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>1,099,223</td>
<td>51.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Province</td>
<td>542,197</td>
<td>266,963</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>275,234</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Province</td>
<td>545,579</td>
<td>263,790</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>281,789</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>897,566</td>
<td>427,598</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>469,968</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Area</td>
<td>135,912</td>
<td>64,730</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>71,182</td>
<td>52.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freetown</td>
<td>127,951</td>
<td>60,666</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>67,285</td>
<td>52.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4,054,948</td>
<td>1,856,582</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>2,198,366</td>
<td>54.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY SEX FOR THE PROVINCES, TAKEN FROM 1963 CENSUS.**
TABLE 2.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF POPULATION OF SIERRA LEONE
(1963 CENSUS).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creole</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fula</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallinas</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gola</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kissi</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kono</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koranko</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krim</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kru</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limba</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Others                        3.9%  3.3%  3.1%  3.0%  0.3%  0.2%

Total                          100.00%

TABLE 3.

RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD ACCORDING TO SEX, IN SAMPLE OF CREOLE HOUSEHOLD IN FREETOWN. (TAKEN FROM HOUSEHOLD SURVEY 1966 - 1968)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship to Head</th>
<th>No. in Household</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>31.74</td>
<td>12.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>20.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>866</td>
<td>37.63</td>
<td>36.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>1.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>20.98</td>
<td>23.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Relative</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>9.11</td>
<td>5.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1067</td>
<td>1240</td>
<td>2327</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 4.

SEX DISTRIBUTION WITHIN SAMPLE OF 2327 CREOLE HOUSEHOLDS IN FREETOWN AREA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>92.00</td>
<td>1144</td>
<td>92.26</td>
<td>2144</td>
<td>92.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>8.01</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1087</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>1240</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>2327</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 5.

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION ON MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP OF WORKING POPULATION, 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SEX, FOR THE FREETOWN AREA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation Group</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof. Tech. &amp; Rel. Wkrs.</td>
<td>2,346</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>1,319</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>1,027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial, Admin.</td>
<td>753</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; Exec. Wkrs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical Wkrs.</td>
<td>3,538</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>2,732</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Workers.</td>
<td>9,685</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>3,655</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>6,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers etc.</td>
<td>909</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miners etc.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport Workers.</td>
<td>5,526</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>5,334</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen etc.</td>
<td>12,307</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>11,431</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Sport etc.</td>
<td>4,147</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>3,716</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>39,265</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>29,649</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>9,616</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(These figures are taken from the 1963 Population Census of Sierra Leone, Vol.3).
### TABLE 6

**PER CENT DISTRIBUTION ON MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP, BY SEX FOR FREETOWN AREA** (Table taken from Total Sample of 2327 Creole Households in Freetown).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>Male %</th>
<th>Female %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>5.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admin., Exec.</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>12.70</td>
<td>7.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>5.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers, etc.</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miners, etc.</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport Wkrs.</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>0.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen</td>
<td>10.40</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service, Sport.</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>1.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational Group</td>
<td>Male %</td>
<td>Female %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed (incl. under 10s.)</td>
<td>61.27</td>
<td>77.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educ. Level</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None (incl. under 5a.)</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>52.57</td>
<td>52.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary to Form 7.</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>33.34</td>
<td>33.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary to Class 6.</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>44.44</td>
<td>40.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Secondary</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>4.34</td>
<td>2.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1097</td>
<td>1240</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
<td>Population 5 yrs. &amp; over</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Secondary 1 - 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>1,603,020</td>
<td>1,627,673</td>
<td>135,441</td>
<td>23,273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>893,806</td>
<td>776,764</td>
<td>89,164</td>
<td>16,614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>909,214</td>
<td>850,909</td>
<td>46,277</td>
<td>6,659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Area</td>
<td>166,512</td>
<td>95,976</td>
<td>46,794</td>
<td>13,026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>88,707</td>
<td>47,907</td>
<td>26,318</td>
<td>8,013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>77,805</td>
<td>48,071</td>
<td>20,476</td>
<td>5,013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Literate in English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Province</td>
<td>397,970</td>
<td>25,591</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>19,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Province</td>
<td>401,757</td>
<td>21,287</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>17,217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>579,865</td>
<td>15,985</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>12,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Area</td>
<td>142,769</td>
<td>54,227</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>31,849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freetown</td>
<td>93,354</td>
<td>36,084</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>22,039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>1,522,371</td>
<td>117,090</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>80,876</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 10.

**Green Lea Estate.**

**Occupational Status of Male Householders at Green Lea.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hall/Jones Scale</th>
<th>No. Employed</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>30.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>522</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table is based on the Hall/Jones (1950) scale, which is graded as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Description of Occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Professional and Higher Administrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Managerial and Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Inspectional, Supervisory and other non-manual Higher Grades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Inspectional, Supervisory and other non-manual Lower Grades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Skilled manual and routine grades of non-manual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Semi-skilled manual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Unskilled manual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**TABLE 11.**

**OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF MALE HOUSEHOLDERS IN SAMPLE AT GREEN LEA.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hall/jones Scale</th>
<th>No. Employed</th>
<th>No. Employed in Organisations</th>
<th>No. Employed Outside Organisations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 12.

**GREEN LEA ESTATE**

**EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES IN SAMPLE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educ. Level</th>
<th>Husbands</th>
<th>Wives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional Training</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'A' Levels.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar School or Indep. School until 'O' Levels.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Modern School without 'O' Levels.</td>
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### TABLE 13.

**GREEN LEA ESTATE**

**SQUARE 1 – DEGREE OF SOCIAL INTERACTION ACCORDING TO ROW.**

<table>
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<th>High Degree of Social Interaction</th>
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### Table 21: Occupational Preferences of Sampled Students According to Paternal Occupation

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<th>Teaching or Nursing</th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 26

**Responsibility for Punishment According to Ethnic Group.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Mother No.</th>
<th>Mother %</th>
<th>Father No.</th>
<th>Father %</th>
<th>Guardian No.</th>
<th>Guardian %</th>
<th>None No.</th>
<th>None %</th>
<th>No. Response No.</th>
<th>No. Response %</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creole</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Creole</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>170</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 27

**Degree of Training for Independence Amongst the Under 5’s at Green Lea.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Completely Independent</th>
<th>Almost Independent</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dressing Themselves</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tidying Toys</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Running Errands</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title and Details</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td></td>
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