Race Relations in Educational Theory: a study
based on observations made in two schools

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The nineteen sixties have been a very important decade for race relations in Britain. It witnessed large-scale immigration from the non-white Commonwealth and the restrictive measures which the government took in order to curb it. It saw, in many inner city areas, the emergence of immigrant communities and schools with large numbers of coloured pupils. Many of whose teachers had little knowledge of what their educational difficulties were and how to cope with these difficulties adequately.

Some of these pupils - probably very many of them - are among today's educational failures, having spent a significant part of their lives in remedial classes which, because of an abysmal lack of the proper resources, could not remedy their disadvantage.

This context provided the background for this study which focused on the educational experience of a group of 175 fourth year pupils of mixed ethnic origin in a north London comprehensive school. An attempt was made to explore a wide range of differences in educational experience between English pupils on the one hand and West Indians and Cypriots on the other, based on observations made at another north London comprehensive school. Special reference was made to West Indians as an ethnic group.

Two questionnaires were employed to sample educational experience. One was administered to the population of fourth year pupils and the other to eight fourth year tutors who were asked to rate the pupils in their respective tutor groups on a number of characteristics which were thought to affect teachers' perception of pupils. The questions in the pupils' questionnaire fell into seven categories:

1. Academic Orientation
2. Pattern of Friendship Choice
3. Pupils' Evaluation of the Grading Philosophy
4. Class work, Games, Athletics and the Inter-ethnic Pattern of Ascription
5. Home Work Practice
6. Plans for the Future
7. Self Image

The findings of this study suggest that while immigrants and non-immigrants diverge in terms of school experience, their job and further...
education plans are very similar. This is particularly so between English and West Indian pupils.
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INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM OF IMMIGRANT EDUCATION

No account of the background to the problem of immigrant education would be complete without a survey of some of the events, issues and their consequences which provided the context for the sudden and dramatic increase in the number of immigrant pupils in English schools.

Before the beginning of the influx in 1960-62, the Government's policy on Commonwealth and Empire immigration was notable for its lack of controls. This policy continued throughout the 1950s despite a significant overall increase in the number of coloured immigrants coming to Britain. For the first time in British colonial history coloured people were being allowed to immigrate to Britain on a large scale. Although previous movement of coloured people within the British Empire had been allowed as a traditional right, very little coloured immigration to Britain had actually taken place. There was therefore no precedent law governing such immigration on a large scale. And when it did take place, what had been explicit tradition became implicit law. Now 'the legal position was that anyone from the Commonwealth or Empire could enter the country.'

Many of those who came did so for the purpose of 'seeking employment and looking outside the old trade of the seaman to the wider fields of British industry'. For them the freedom to enter Britain meant more than merely exercising a traditionally recognised right; it meant the right to work. A right which, in the context of British post-war philosophy, embodied the further more fundamental right to share equally in the social and economic heritage of British society. It was this right that the holding of a British passport had come to symbolise for the many West Indians who came to Britain in the fifties.

Although the Government's 'open door' policy was part of a twofold Colonial legacy, it was probably inspired less by Colonial heritage than by economic expediency. The economic boom which Britain's post-war reconstruction programme had created, required a large army of unskilled labour - the very labour which the West Indian immigrants of
the fifties had very largely provided.\textsuperscript{12} This labour was cheap, mobile and easily absorbable, and could therefore have provided a sound economic basis for the Government's immigration policy.\textsuperscript{13}

Strong though the economic value of West Indian labour must have seemed at the time, West Indian migration to Britain did not meet with the approval of every member of Parliament. Against it was a small minority\textsuperscript{14} of rank and file Tories who mounted a forthright and relentless campaign against the immigrants. Demands for figures on coloured immigration from the Labour government in 1950 changed to demands for legislative control from the Tories two years later.\textsuperscript{15}

This pressure for immigration control was continued right up to 1957 in spite of no sign of a favourable response from within the Cabinet. The Government appeared to be standing firm: 'I would deprecate any reflection that may be cast on the standard and conduct of these immigrants,'\textsuperscript{16} replied Mr. Macmillan in January 1957 in answer to a supplementary question from Cyril Osborne, leader of the anti-immigrant lobby in the House of Commons.

The apparent firmness of the Government was, however, short-lived. And it was not much more than a year after Mr. Macmillan's statement that the policy on Commonwealth immigration appeared to be moving towards restriction. At the end of 1958 Lord Home, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, made a speech in Vancouver in which he said 'curbs will have to be put on the unrestricted flow of immigrants to Britain from the West Indies'.\textsuperscript{17} Widely reported in the Commonwealth and Colonies, this statement created quite a stir among the people. And a few months later, as though to allay Commonwealth fear and anxiety, the Home Secretary, Mr. Butler said 'it is very unlikely that this country will turn away from her traditional policy of free entry'.\textsuperscript{18} Thus began the familiar pattern of implicit assertion and denial upon which was to feed not only the fear and anxiety of prospective immigrants but also the hope and demands of the anti-immigrant lobby.

While the suspicion of prospective coloured immigrants materialised into significant increases in the number entering Britain,\textsuperscript{19} the demands of the Osbornites began to appear more realistic, even
necessary. Parliamentary questions on immigration increased 'in number and force', and in October 1961 the matter was fully debated at the Conservative Party conferences. Close on 10% of the resolutions submitted dealt with immigration control, and a motion calling for urgent action to cope with 'the very serious problem being created by the uncontrolled number of immigrants' was overwhelmingly supported.

If the Government was in need of an excuse for changing its policy, the conference's unqualified support of the motion provided an adequate one. However, as it happened, the Home Secretary's reply to the debate was merely conciliatory, and gave no indication whatever that the Government was likely to change its policy in favour of restriction. When, therefore, the Queen's speech of twenty days later indicated that legislation would be introduced to control Commonwealth immigration, it came as a great shock both to the coloured Commonwealth and to many others inside and outside the Government.

This news caused great distress to a large number of husbands and male heads of families who were already resident in Britain and were expecting their wives and children to join them. The fear of being separated from their families made them double their efforts to get them into Britain before the impending bill to control immigration became law. The momentum of coloured immigration increased significantly and, what had been a steadily increasing wave of immigrants became an influx. From this point onward the situation began to get out of hand.

From Asia a new wave of immigration began and built up to an unprecedented influx. In the eighteen months leading up to the passing of the Act, 43,000 Indians and 50,000 Pakistanis arrived in Britain. These figures bear a striking contrast with the estimated total Asian immigrant population of under 9,000 in 1960. Even after the Act had become effective the flow of Asian immigrants continued at a constant high. Wives and children under 16 years who, under the provisions of the Act, were free to join their husbands and heads of their families, constituted the vast majority of this
group of entrants. In fact in the twelve months after the Act became effective 8,000 children of Asians already in the country arrived.28

The sheer magnitude of these numbers could hardly be contained by local authorities who had to bear the brunt of accommodating and teaching the new arrivals. Some authorities who were appalled by the weight of the problems posed, pointed to the difficulties of absorbing such large numbers of immigrants. They referred to unbridgeably differences in language and culture. Others, who apparently felt more bound by the ties of Commonwealth, offered tokens of good will. They discounted the cultural and linguistic differences between the immigrants and the host society. Yet it was the very differences in culture—language in particular—which were to contribute largely, almost overnight, to the present problem of immigrant education.

It was the effect of this build-up in schools that, in 1963, prompted Sir Edward Boyle who was Minister of Education at the time, to suggest that 'in the interest of general policy for racial integration efforts must be made to prevent individual schools from becoming immigrant schools,129 and to recommend that no one school should have more than about 30% of immigrants. Already in Southall the Beaconsfield Road School, which was the cause of Sir Edward's intervention, was 'irretrievably an immigrant school'.30 In Birmingham the Chief Education Officer expressed alarm that 5% of the schools had about 30% or more immigrants.31 An infant school in Leeds had only 23% English children.32 In Nottingham the Education Officer estimated that there were as many coloured immigrants between the ages of five and eleven as between the ages of eleven and fifteen in the city's schools.33 With an increase of 55,000 immigrants in Primary schools and 16,000 in Secondary schools between 1961 and 1966,34 and with the tendency for immigrants to settle in restricted areas, such a local build-up was inevitable.

Shortly after Sir Edward Boyle's intervention, came the publication of the Ministry of Education pamphlet 'English for Immigrants'.35 This document, in effect, constituted the first
official public recognition of the existence of a problem of immigrant education. It embodied formal recommendations in respect of principles and procedures to be instituted in order to cope with the sudden increase of immigrants among the pupil population. An immigrant ratio of 33.3% was mentioned briefly thereby underlining the fears and anxieties earlier expressed by Sir Edward Boyle. In addition it emphasized the need for organisation and classification of immigrants according to their standard of proficiency in written English.

Although the issue of this memorandum was a marked advance in the Government's attitude to the problem, it still fell much short of what was most needed at the time. By failing to give any clear directives either on the way local authorities should attempt to classify immigrants or on the manner in which dispersal should be carried out, the Government had missed the opportunity to carry the Minister's intervention to its logical conclusion. In consequence it left itself open to the charge of being concerned only with appeasing local English parents who had begun to show increasing concern for the education of their children in the face of the new situation in schools.

This attitude of the Government continued until after the publication of the White Paper 'Immigration from the Commonwealth' in 1965 and the results of an inquiry by The Schools Council which was published in 1967. The White Paper, however, did signify a change in the official policy of diffidence and, as a follow-up, the Department of Education and Science initiated inquiries in January 1966 which led to the issue of form 71 (schools). The Schools Council's study (often referred to as the SCS) which was carried out independently of the B.B.S. prompted the whole question of the adequacy of the English, both spoken and written, of the immigrant for the purposes of education. Both studies were similar in aim but different in basic methodology. While in the B.B.S. inquiry teachers were asked to classify immigrants on the basis of 'the normal level of attainment in written and spoken English of local non-immigrant children in separate age groups', in the SCS study they were requested to state the number of 'immigrant children whose command of English is considered by the
school to be inadequate for educational purposes, given according to the country of origin.

Where the normal level of attainment of the local non-immigrant population fell below that considered adequate for educational purposes, the format of the D.E.S. inquiry would tend to mask the extent to which the average group of immigrants fell below the educational norm. This was not the case with the SCQ study which used the educational norm as a yardstick of proficiency in English. Thus in so far as there was a tendency for immigrants to settle in areas where the group norm among non-immigrants is inclined to be below the educational norm, the SCQ study was methodologically superior to that of the D.E.S. This is apparent from the scale and nature of differences in estimates between the two studies. The D.E.S. inquiry yielded a figure of 30% as against the 5% by the SCQ study. Such a magnitude of difference would appear to be greater than that which was likely to result from the variation in method between the two studies.

More significant than the difference in estimates is the way teachers appeared to have judged the language ability of their West Indian pupils. Comparison of estimates in the two studies showed that the teachers in the SCQ sample included more West Indians in the number of immigrant pupils whose proficiency in English fell below the educational norm. In contrast the teachers in the D.E.S. sample (part two of form 71), having been given a choice between putting West Indians in group ii or iii, apparently chose to put them in the latter and more proficient group. Such a classification of West Indian pupils would be particularly likely where the facilities for teaching English as a second language were minimal. For given the choice between using the limited facilities for the benefit of West Indians or Asians, teachers were likely to choose Asians who in many cases arrived at school without being able to speak a word of English.

Thus in so far as the D.E.S. inquiry provided a framework of future government policy toward immigrant education, that policy was to make the minimal facilities which were in existence at the time, available mainly to Asians whose need, in the terms of the D.E.S. inquiry, was shown to be greater than that of West Indians. Recent evidence of
the distribution of these facilities between Asians and West Indians suggest that this was the case. Such evidence must now be counted as an index of the failure of the Government and, in consequence, of the educational system to tackle what is now considered to be one of the main causes of West Indian failure in the school system - the peculiarly creole structure of their dialect.

Omission and delay by the Government and by local authorities must have contributed largely to the development of sizable pockets of West Indian pupils and school leavers whose linguistic ability was so far below the educational norm, that they were little able to benefit from their English schooling. Most of these pupils found their way into the lowest streams. Many were in remedial classes. And in ESN schools they constituted a disproportionate number of the pupil population.

In retrospect two features of immigration and race relations in Britain provide the background to the Government's failure. One feature is associated with the 'open door' policy of the Government and predates the execution of immigration controls; and the other is associated with one of the notable effects of executing these controls - the high level of concentration of Asian pupils in a number of schools.

Reaction to Commonwealth immigration and to the Government's 'open door' policy had been cast in two political moulds. Those who were opposed to the Government's policy - the conservatives - stressed cultural difference and political conflict. Those who were in favour of the Government's policy - the liberals - emphasised political harmony and the common cultural factor (for example the linguistic and other roots common to both West Indians and the native British). The Government, in pursuance of its policy of 'free entry', had found the latter more liberal conception of Commonwealth immigration the more politically viable of the two outlooks. For, besides appealing to the nostalgia for the lost Empire, it mirrored a basic tenet of the Government's post-war policy on Commonwealth immigration.

The tone of this outlook, which gained much currency in the early days of such immigration, was reflected in one of the first government pamphlets on the education of Commonwealth immigrants.
was made to the 'not uncommon sight' of school children 'whose appearance proclaimed their foreign origin'. The fluent and local English of the Chinese or Indian boy in Liverpool or Cardiff was said to be a 'vivid reminder of the fact that during the last century Britain has been no stranger to the task of absorbing into the community immigrants from many other countries'. In its reference to the problems of receiving into school, children who together with their parents, 'have little or no English', the pamphlet excluded West Indians who it said 'share our language with us even though they use it rather differently'. Such emphasis on cultural homogeneity is evident in much of the early literature and has been used even as a basis for not collecting statistics on the number of immigrants. It is, in addition, an element of the initial neglect of the linguistic needs of West Indian children who were mistakenly thought to have a sufficient command of Standard English. Such neglect, together with the lack of clear directives on the classification of immigrant children in school, has led to the practice of placing West Indian children in classes for the retarded from which the majority never escape.

Evidence relating to the period 1950-63 - when Asian immigration had reached its peak - suggests that the consequent neglect of the linguistic needs of pupil West Indians was, in part, the result of a pattern of response by the Government that was based more on public alarm and protest than on a realistic appraisal of the overall distribution of immigrant pupils in schools. The intensive Asian immigration in the eighteen months before and after the immigration Act of 1962 had caused a very high level of concentration of Asian pupils in a number of Southall schools. This led to 'vigorous and increasingly highly organised protests by white parents' and appeals by the Borough Council'. The Minister of Education acted promptly, first suggesting and later recommending a quota system which was eventually to become the basis of the policy of dispersal. In the D.E.S. circular 7/65 which followed the Minister's intervention, the policy of dispersal was carefully argued. The logic of the argument was as follows: if the proportion of immigrant children in
a school or class should exceed one-third, the problem will become more difficult to solve and the chances of assimilation will become more remote especially where there is a high proportion of non-English speakers. Where therefore the proportion of immigrants exceeds one-third and/or where there is a high proportion of non-English speakers, either the catchment area should accordingly be adjusted or every effort should be made to disperse the immigrant children round a greater number of schools even if this should involve busing.

By using the situation in Southall as a model for the circular 7/65, the Government had made the mistake of grounding its policy on a rather atypical district (…….) which had received a single large non-English speaking group in a period of about three years. Small wonder that its policy was prompted by alarm and protest and a concern for percentages and dispersal. The constellation of factors in Southall was, even amongst the most tolerable of receiving populations, likely to cause alarm and protest. In addition such a situation rightly required a policy of dispersal. Since, however, it bore no relevance to the overall pattern of distribution of the total immigrant population in schools and, in particular, was very different from the pattern of settlement among West Indians, who constituted the majority of the immigrant population, it was wrong for the Government to react to the situation in Southall in the way it did. For while such action did succeed in quelling some of the protest and alarm, and in attempting to cope with some of the language problems of non-English speaking Asians, it has led to a serious neglect of the linguistic problems of West Indian children.

Thus both the initial approach of the Government (and of the local authorities concerned) to immigrant education, and the action of the Minister of Education following the situation in a number of Southall schools, would appear to have contributed a great deal to the present problems faced by West Indians in the school system.

Sheila Patterson, in her 1967 review of race relations and immigration, added the following footnote on the neglect of West Indians' needs:

'the linguistic needs of ostensibly English speaking West Indians
have only recently come to be seen as a serious problem. In the
past when West Indian children were the only immigrant pupils, they
have usually been overlooked or erroneously treated by down-streaming.
More recently in schools with a large intake of non-English speakers
whose difficulties seem much greater, they have also been ignored.71

If, while the needs of West Indian children are ignored, their
linguistic problems 'prevent or inhibit their progress',72 they will
not only be down-streamed, but will also be thought of as being less
intelligent by teachers who say 'not be aware that their grammatical
errors fall into recognizable patterns'.73 The large number of West
Indians in remedial classes74 and ESN schools75 bear witness to the
existence of a well established and widespread practice of down-
streaming. In addition, while many remedial departments in schools
are ill-equipped to deal with their problems, the tendency to refer
them to ESN schools will only serve to reinforce the already dangerous
misconceptions which exist about their educational potential.76

The assumptions implicit in remedial education are quite
different from those which underlie education in an ESN school. The
former type of education 'carries implications that the backwardness
is temporary, that lost ground can be made up and that the child will
eventually work with others of his age and ability'.77 The latter
type implies that the child is 'dull'78 and needs 'to make the most
of whatever abilities'79 he has. While in the past these differences
have been generally reflected in the type of child referred to these
schools, in recent years there appears to have been a departure from
this practice.80 This departure seems to be partly related to the
level of concentration of immigrants in ESN areas. For example,
both the percentage of West Indians and the overall percentage of
immigrants have been shown to be significantly associated with this
demographic factor.81 This trend would appear to be the educational
counterpart of the 'replacement phenomenon' formulated by Fench in his
study of 'West Indian Migration to Britain'.82 The following is an
ideal-typical picture - an imaginative reconstruction - of how this
phenomenon can lead to a high proportion of ESN referrals among West
Indians:
If the aims of remedial education are to be satisfied, remedial departments and classes need to be small in size and to be staffed by a well-trained and stable army of teachers. Because of the ways either or both of these constraints operate the size of remedial departments and classes tends to be small rather than large. Where there is a rather high concentration of West Indians in a particular ISA area and, where many of this concentration would normally be referred to remedial classes, either of the following choices would be open to the authorities concerned. The size of remedial departments or classes could be expanded - at the risk of defeating the very purpose of remedial education - or the overspill of West Indians could be sent to some other appropriate school. Regarding the latter choice a number of possibilities exist - reception classes, reading centres and other such 'education arrangements' and as a last resort (especially in marginal cases), ESN schools. While reception classes and similar 'education arrangements' suffer from the same limitations as remedial departments and classes, and can therefore accommodate only a small number of pupils, ESN schools are relatively well-equipped (both in terms of cubic capacity and staff/pupil ratio) to accommodate a much larger number of pupils. In these circumstances it would appear necessary to refer a great proportion of the overspill of West Indians to these schools, especially in cases where the bulk of the 'education arrangements' resources are geared to the teaching of English to non-English speaking Asians.

The conclusion which emerges from this review of the background to the problem of immigrant education is a most disturbing one - the high incidence of ESN referrals among West Indians appears to be the single most crippling consequence of the initial neglect of their linguistic needs. Such failure by a large and highly visible
minority will only serve to create an unstable and conflictful climate of race relations in Britain.

Perhaps it is in response to the implications of this aspect of West Indian failure in this society, that a new upsurge of interest and action is being brought to bear upon their problems. The Schools Council has implemented a separate project on English for West Indian children. In a recent report by the NASEP less emphasis has been placed on the initial stages of teaching English to newly arrived non-English speaking children who are said to be the least part of the problem of immigrant education. More importance has been attributed to the problems of the West Indian child who usually arrived speaking a sort of plantation English which is socially unacceptable and inadequate for communication.

Without any real command of English these children could hardly develop any intellectual interests. And in so far as intelligence and attainment are inevitably loaded in favour of such development, it is not surprising that they have tended to perform consistently badly.

Many West Indian children, faced with this background of failure, together with high expectations on the part of their parents and low expectations on the part of their teachers, have shown an inclination not only to seek alternative avenues of prestige but also to reveal a distinctively ambivalent pattern of behaviour. While they show a traditional conservative regard for a cross-section of the values of society, they are unable to translate this into appropriate action both in terms of educational achievement and class room behaviour.

This ambivalence must surely have added to the many difficulties encountered by teachers in their initial contact with West Indian children. If, however, the group of teachers who have rendered the following exposition of this ambivalence is not atypical, then perhaps a new era of understanding between the West Indian child and his teacher is beginning to dawn:

West Indian children are both unusually demanding of teachers' attention and, at the same time, indifferent to the good opinion of their teachers. They are arrogant
and yet have a low opinion of themselves. They have natural 'rhythm' and exceptional physical co-ordination and yet they are clumsy. At school they exhibit a lack of enthusiasm, while managing to be exceptionally exuberant and keen. They are silent, inarticulate, and yet they talk too much. Their parents impose too severe a discipline on them, are overindulgent and are completely indifferent. It is impossible to get their parents involved in the affairs of school, yet they interfere too much. A strong simple Christian faith apparently dominates households where children are never shown any standards.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


2. Despite increasing pressure between 1954 and early 1961 for the control of Commonwealth and Empire immigration, the Conservative Government insisted that Commonwealth citizens were free to enter Britain. (cf. Sheila Patterson, 'Immigration and Race Relations in Britain, 1950-1967' IRR, CUP, p.18)

For a detailed account of the events, issues and responses which led up to the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill 1961-62, see E.J.B. Rose, 'Colour and Citizenship', IRR, CUP, ch. XVI. (1969)

3. For figures concerning the period 1951-55 inclusive, see J.A.C. Griffith, 'Coloured Immigrants in Britain', IRR, CUP, 1960, p.10 Original source: Migrant Services Division. For the latter period 1956-1962, see figures quoted in Kenneth Leech, op. cit.

4. In the British Nationality Act (1948), in which this right was underlined, the citizenship provisions of the British Empire were so re-codified as to include the categories 'Commonwealth Citizen' and 'British Subject' as parts of a combined citizenship of the 'United Kingdom and Colonies'. (cf. E.J.B. Rose, op. cit. p.21).

5. Apart from a few coloured seamen who stayed in a limited number of dockland areas between World Wars I and II, there was no evidence of a coloured population in Britain. Coloured immigration is thought to have begun with the arrival of a number of fare paying West Indians on the Empire Windrush. (cf. David Steel, M.P., 'No Entry: the background and implications of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1968), C. Hurst & Co., London, p.18).

6. David Renton (House of Commons, 5 December 1958) gave the
following exposition of this tradition:

It (the granting of citizenship) was not due to a deliberate act of policy formally announced and embodied in law. It is not a policy which gradually grew up and became established by custom, so far as I have been able to discover. It is simply a fact which we have taken for granted from the earliest days in which our forebears ventured forth across the seas (cf. Paul Foot, 'Immigration and Race Relations in British Politics', Penguin Special, 1955, p.125).


9. For an occupational profile of West Indian immigrants, see Richard Hooper's edition of 'Colour in Britain', B.B.C., ch. V.

10. For an occupational profile of British post-war welfare philosophy, see E.J.B. Rose, op. cit., ch. Ill.

11. Sheila Patterson, op. cit., p.17.

12. The post-war shortage of labour in Britain, which was a major concern of the first post-war Conservative Government (cf. Paul Foot, op. cit., p.124), acted as a dynamic force on West Indian migration to Britain (cf. Cori Peach, 'West Indian Migration to Britain', IRR, OUP, 1968). A number of employers - London Transport, the National Health Service and the British Hotels and Restaurants Association - recruited labour directly from Barbados.


14. A group of four Members of Parliament: Cyril Caborn (Later Sir

15. Paul Foot, op. cit., p.129.


19. The downward trend in the number of West Indian migrants entering Britain between 1956-58 was reversed in 1959. For figures relating to this period see Kenneth Leech, op. cit.


21. For a detailed report of the conference debate, see 'Supplement to the Institute of Race Relations Newsletter', November, 1961, C.C.

22. Ibid.

23. The large number of children left behind was due to a family pattern of immigration which was particularly common among West Indian immigrants of the fifties. (Cf. N. Hawkes, 'Immigrant Children in British Schools', IRR, Pall Hall Press, London, 1966, p.22). Estimates by the D.E.S. indicate that between 1955 and 1960, 100,000 children were left in Jamaica by emigrating parents. (Cf., Department of Education and Science, 'The Education of Immigrants', Circular 7/65 of 4 June, 1965). A.H. Richmond referring to the late 1950s, said that 'in recent years 50% of the West Indian immigrants have been women and about 5% children'. (Cf. A.H. Richmond, 'The Colour Problem', Pelican revised edition, 1961, p.233). For a detailed analysis of the men, women, and children under 16 who entered the U.K. between 1952 and 1961, see Sheila Patterson, 'Dark Strangers', Pelican Books 1965, Appendix 1.

24. It is estimated that nearly 50,000 West Indians arrived in 1960. This total contrasts strikingly with an estimated 16,000 arrivals for 1959. (Cf. K. Leech, op. cit.)

25. The Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962) was given the Royal Assent
on 18th April 1962 and became effective on the 1st July of the same year. For details of the various provisions of the Act, see "The Public General Acts and Church Assembly Measures of 1962", (London, H.M.S.O.), pp.112-134.


27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.


30. Ibid.


33. R. Lee, op. cit., p.133.

34. National Association of Schoolmasters, special report on 'Education and the Immigrants' Hemel Hempstead, April 1969.


37. Although the White Paper (Cf. Prime Minister, 'Immigration from the Commonwealth', Cmd 2739, London: H.M.S.O., 1965) did signify the first attempt by the Government to formulate a coherent statement of policy on immigrant education (Cf. J. Power, op. cit., p.5), the attitude of the Government was, at the time of its publication, still diffident. In addition, the part of the White Paper on 'integration' was, on the whole, a reiteration
of parts of the 2nd report of the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council on the same subject two years earlier. The C.I.A.C.'s 2nd report which was published in 1964 is said to be the most important document in the development of policy making in relation to education. (Cf. B.J.E. Bosc, Colour and Citizenship, op. cit. p.26)


40. Because the Schools Council's inquiry (cf. Schools Council, Working Paper No. 13) was problem oriented, it 'produced a definition of an immigrant pupil which rested ingeniously on an implied simple question, namely - is English the child's first or second language?' (Cf. J. Power, op. cit., pp.13-14).

41. J. Power, op. cit., p.17.


43. Immigrants have tended to settle in large urban areas where the demand for unskilled labour is relatively high (for example, Greater London, the West Midlands, and the North West and Yorkshire conurbations). These areas overlap quite considerably with those designated as Education Priority Areas. (Cf. Department of Education and Science, 'Children and Their Primary Schools', report by Lord Floudon et al., Vol. 1, Ch. V).

44. J. Power, op. cit., p.18.


47. Of a total number of 76 E.E.A. areas with percentages of immigrant pupils varying from 1.0 to over 7.0, 57 said that they had special arrangements for the teaching of English which did not apply to East Indians. (Cf. B.S.R. Goodhead, 'Immigrant Pupils in England: the L.E.A. response', NFSR, 1972, p.24.)
To date the Schools Council's Project on 'Teaching English to West Indian Children' appears to be the most authentic study of the linguistic problems of West Indian children. One of its important conclusions has been that the distinctive West Indian dialect impedes the learning of English in the areas of Writing, Spelling, Oral Comprehension, Reading and Spoken Intelligibility (Schools Council, Working Paper No. 29, London, H.M.S.O., 1970).

In 1965 a group of researchers pointed out that half the immigrants at Bow Secondary Boys School were placed in the lowest of four streams (Cf. O. Tapper et al, 'Stream Composition', East London Papers, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1963). The general pattern of academic placement among West Indians (they are the ethnic group least likely to be found in grammar schools: see H.E.R. Townsend, op. cit., p.56) has made difficult the collection of evidence on inter-ethnic stream composition in grammar schools. It is, however, common knowledge among teachers that the relatively small number of West Indians in grammar schools are in the lower rather than the higher streams.

As early as 1965 R.R. Jordan reported that West Indians at North Paddington Comprehensive school comprised approximately 50% of each remedial class, although the total number of immigrants in the school was only 30% (Cf. R.R. Jordan, op. cit.) This incidence of downstreaming among West Indians does not appear to have been limited to one or two schools. In 1967 Sheila Patterson expressed concern that 'some experts believe that the problems of ostensibly 'English speaking West Indian children who are in ESN schools and D streams, so far largely ignored, may be a bigger one even than the needs of non-English speaking children, on which the main effort has so far been concentrated'. (Cf. Sheila Patterson, op. cit., p.268, footnote). The same point was made four years later in an NFER report (Cf. H.E.R. Townsend, op. cit., pp.49-50).

52. Economic laissez-faire - a free market in labour - was one of the basic tenets of the Government's open-door policy. As a doctrine it implied the ethic of 'universal brotherhood' (Cf. Sheila Patterson, op. cit., p.17).


55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.


58. Ibid.


60. In a Commons debate in November, 1966, St. John Stevas made the following criticism of the Government: 'I fully appreciate the arguments, springing from equality, against collecting statistics about the coloured population; but the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour must rid themselves of the notion that somehow it is discriminatory to know the facts. It is not. Ignorance in this sphere is very much less than bliss' (Cf. J. Power, op. cit., p.9).


62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

op. cit., appendix 1, for figures on the build-up in Southall schools.

65. N. Doakain, op. cit., p.35.

66. Ibid.


69. Ibid.

70. Sheila Patterson, op. cit., p.260.

71. Ibid. p.270


73. Ibid.

74. Although no figures appear to exist on the proportion of West Indian children in remedial streams in secondary schools, it is common knowledge that the number in these schools is vastly disproportionate. In a recent report by the D.E.S. it was said that 'what often happens is that the West Indian child is either catered for wrongly under arrangements designed for Asian children or is classed as backward and placed in a remedial class with backward English children when often he is in need of special but different help' (The Education of Immigrants, Education survey, 13, London, H.M.S.O., 1971).

75. Bernard Goard, op. cit.

76. Councillor Dawson of Haringey (1969) may have been expressing a widely held view when he said that West Indian children had an inferior intelligence. The tendency for teachers of immigrants to confuse their linguistic ability with other kinds of abilities - for example reading ability - can easily lead to misconception about their intelligence. For a review of current practice and opinion concerning the educational assessment of pupils from overseas, see Department of Education and Science, 'Potential
Before the 1944 Education Act, children were selected for special schools on the basis of having a low I.Q. score. Burt (1923) suggested an I.Q. ceiling of 70. This approach led to anomalies - children whose I.Q. score was above 70 but who made no progress in school work, were not selected for special schools. The 1944 Act remedied this situation by shifting the basis of 'ascertainment' from 'intelligence' to 'attainment'. This change, however, has not always been appreciated and with the arrival of coloured immigrants whose linguistic ability has often been equated with cognitive abilities, there may well have been a departure from the practice prescribed in the Education Act. For a review of the trends and approaches before and after the Act, see article by P. Williams in Educational Research, Vol. VII (1964-1965).

34. National Association of Schoolmasters, op. cit.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
39. Ibid; See also P.E. Vernon, 'Intelligence and Cultural Environment', Methuen, London (1969), especially Ch. VIII (Pt.11)
90. In an investigation of 'the problems of, and effect on, schools
with a high proportion of immigrant pupils', which covered fifty-two
schools — over a quarter of the eleven-year old immigrants in the
ILEA area, the authors made specific reference to 'the relatively
low performance of the West Indians compared with the other groups
and, in particular as compared with the 'other' immigrants'.
Such a finding said the authors, was 'somewhat surprising in view
of the fact that a greater proportion of West Indians were English-
speaking, and might have been thought to have an advantage on that
account' (Cf. Alan Little et al, 'The Education of Immigrant Pupils
in Inner London Primary Schools', Race, Vol. IX, No. 4, April, 1968).


92. Both at infant and junior levels West Indian children have
exhibited marked differences in class-room behaviour — hostility
to adults, restlessness, withdrawal etc. — from English children
in the same school (Cf. Schools Council, Working Paper No. 29, op.
cit.). In a study of secondary school children of mixed ethnic
origin, West Indians were found to be the least socially and
psychologically adjusted group (Cf. Joti Bhatnagar, 'Immigrants

93. Schools Council, op. cit., p.22.
CHAPTER II

1. IMMIGRATION, RACE AND IDEOLOGY

In the previous chapter an attempt is made to survey some of the background factors which have featured in the experience of immigrants from the non-white Commonwealth, and to highlight some of the educational problems encountered by those immigrants whose cultural milieu is West Indian. In the general outline of the Government's policy two concerns are shown to have been prominent in its mind - securing an adequate supply of unskilled and semi-skilled labour and maintaining a certain level of political credibility. Both of these concerns have crystallized in the general movement of policy from 'laissez-faire' to 'restriction'. There can be little doubt that these concerns, whose scope in the nature of things have been rather limited, have constituted a sort of administrative diffidence on the part of the Government to secure the effective integration of the coloured immigrant into this society.

It is argued that owing to this diffidence and the availability of very limited educational resources in the areas of West Indian settlement, a very crucial element in the West Indian child's education has been neglected, namely the development of an appropriate linguistic code. The absence of such a code, together with the widespread belief that the linguistic heritage of the West Indian child equips him to cope with the social and educational demands in Britain, has led to the relegation of his educational problems to a nebulous area of social deviance. And as his intellectual response falls well below the educational norm, he has been referred in disproportionately large numbers to the educational realm of the 'sub-normal' and 'retarded' or 'slow learners' as they are euphemistically termed. Recent research has shown that, in the competition for scarce resources, such has been the fate of many West Indians who find themselves at the bottom of the queue in LGA areas with 'high' rather than 'low' concentrations of immigrants.

Here, then, is the outline of a certain structure of action of which two constituents appear to have featured in the educational
failure of the West Indian child. First, there is the educational factor which is evident in the large proportion of West Indian children who have been drawn into the lower realms of the educational system; and second, there is the demographic factor which is manifested in the pattern of concentration of immigrants in certain areas. In addition, in so far as the rate of ESN referrals among West Indian children is shown to increase with the greater density of the West Indian population, it is very probable that the two factors are integral parts of the wider and rather pervasive process of social differentiation and selection. In fact this very process of differentiation and selection, which has been characteristic of the technical and economic changes that have typified the British economy in the immediate post-war period of modernisation, may be seen as the dialectic element in an implicit theory of the academic failure of the West Indian child.

As an introduction to a less implicit and more analytical theory of race relations, it is proposed to show that the two factors, through their function as norms, values, roles, statuses etc., have regulated the process of selection and differentiation, which is one of the abiding albeit latent functions of both the educational reforms and the large-scale immigration of the post-war period. The educational factor will be subsumed under the heading 'The Ideology of Talent', while the demographic factor will be referred to as 'The Process of Homogenisation'.

1. The Ideology of Talent

Talent has been for a long time an arbiter in British society. In the 1870's, when patronage was abolished in the Civil Service, competition through merit became the keynote of entry into the administrative sector of government. Such competition, however, was concerned with only one aspect of talent — 'talented performance'. Of the other aspect — 'ability' or 'talent potential' — there was little knowledge understanding or indeed appreciation. Ascription continued to be the main avenue of achievement. And in education and other spheres of society, which reflected the next gradations of
the rural structure, sponsorship remained the order of the day. 'Class by class, status by status, occupation by occupation, sons followed faithfully in the footsteps of their fathers, and fathers as faithfully behind grandfathers'\textsuperscript{16} In this order of society, the family was the reincarnation of God and 'rural society was family writ large'.\textsuperscript{17} Talent was, therefore, the creature of birth and whatever competition there was provided little scope for social mobility.

However, with the rapid growth in industrial technology in Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such a feudal type of society could not prevail for long, and, by the end of World War II, the active programme of social and economic reconstruction severely weakened it.\textsuperscript{18} The way was now open for the establishment of a new kind of elite - an industrial elite. The demise of the old feudal system and the emergence of modern industry and technology in its place, created a new structure of social and economic demands. The need for a large unskilled workforce was superseded by the demand for white collar, professional and managerial workers. And the society's dependence on scientific research and a skilled and responsible manpower became greater than ever. This scale of demands could not be met without an efficient education system.\textsuperscript{19} To perform its new role education had to reach the masses. Indeed, in the more enlightened quarters of government, there was the belief that education should be a public right.\textsuperscript{20} At this point the economic needs of the State coincided with what came to be seen as the educational rights of its citizens.

A new impetus was given to education in the form of a charter of social rights - 'an enactment which would give far greater equality of opportunity'.\textsuperscript{21} This charter, which was embodied in the 1944 Act, signalled a departure from the notion of 'education for the common people as education for the poor and asserted the right of all children to an education according to their age, aptitudes and ability'.\textsuperscript{22} In the words of the 1943 White Paper, the ideal was 'to secure for children a happier childhood and a better start in life'.\textsuperscript{23} The measure by which the Act sought to achieve this was two-fold. First,
there was to be a redistribution of educational opportunity between the different strata by 'the offer of a grammar school place in the state system'.24 And, second there was to be established 'equal treatment for equal measured intelligence at eleven plus in a given administrative system'.25

Progressive though these reforms were, they did not secure a greater equality of opportunity. Unequal provision of grammar school places and the effects of the private sector remained the main stumbling blocks.26 In addition, by instituting a framework of change while failing to remove the basic inequalities in the system, the Government had unwittingly created an illusion of competence. This fostered the belief that 'widespread social amelioration since World War II' had been ineffective in removing 'persistent class and ethnic inequalities in the distribution of ability and attainment'.28 Furthermore, from being widespread, these post-war improvements in education were just not adequate enough.

A direct consequence of the belief in the adequacy of post-war education provision was a shift in the context of inquiry. Researchers began to show less interest in the material environment and more interest in the intellectual development of individuals in different social and cultural milieu.29 As a function of this shift in emphasis 'talent' was now conceived as 'potential' rather than as 'performance' and the responsibility for change was, in effect, placed partly on the shoulders of individuals and their families who became the new focus of research and attention. In the ensuing balance of interests between the individual and the State, the Government had accepted that 'education (and more of it) is a right'.30 Not an absolute right but one which is contingent both 'on the capacity of the country to bear the costs involved'31 and 'on the capacity of those who make the demand to show that they are able and willing to profit by such continued education'.32 In effect this meant that measured intelligence (as an index of a child's ability to profit by a grammar school education) had become the new determinant of educational success, thereby prompting an active search for fairer and more efficient methods of selection for entry into grammar school.33 Thus
began a new phase in the search for ability in Britain, which was to result in the most fundamental questions being raised about talent as an ideology. To appreciate the import of some of these questions, we must look at the work of psychometry against the general background of the evolution of the Social Sciences.

Since Sir Francis Galton's three-fold classification of different dimensions of ability,\(^3^4\) there have been varying attempts at the formulation of the true nature of intelligence. Most of these attempts have tended to change with the multiple trends and emphases in the development of the Social Sciences.\(^3^5\) And many of these trends and emphases could be related to the inherent difficulties faced by both Psychologists and Sociologists in their effort to make their respective disciplines conform to the canons of scientific inquiry as laid down by the fore-runners of Science.\(^3^6\) It has, for example, been suggested that the tendency for the early Psychologists to concentrate on the cognitive aspects of learning to the exclusion of the motivational, may have been due to 'the relative ease with which cognitive abilities could be measured'\(^3^7\) or to the fact that 'the cognitive aspects of learning were considered more important than the motivational'.\(^3^8\) This built-in empiricism is suggested by the fact that, throughout the evolution of the Social Sciences, the development of tests have tended, generally, to far outrun the development of a theory of intelligence.\(^3^9\) In addition many Psychologists have been inclined to utilise only empirically grounded concepts.\(^4^0\) This tendency suggests that the ascendancy of the cognitive aspects of ability may have been due more to its facility of measurement than to its relevance in theory. For, often it is not until after psychometricians have convinced themselves that they have successfully invented tests of intelligence, that they really seek to define what intelligence really is.\(^4^1\) In the few notable instances where they would attempt to define intelligence before seeking to measure it,\(^4^2\) they have still been predisposed to look for its natural causes. It is in following this tradition that Burt, for example, has conceived of intelligence as 'innate general cognitive efficiency'.\(^4^3\)
Even when as a result of the influence of Sociology, some social scientists had begun to conceive of ability in terms of a social setting—for example, in relation to interest, persistence and need achievement—they still continued to look for cues from psychology rather than sociology. David McClelland, as late as 1953, actually attributed ambition, interest and other aspects of motivation to an individual trait known as 'the achievement motive'. Although McClelland did recognize that differences in intelligence and ability were rooted in social and cultural phenomena, he implied the proviso that these differences were due to the influence of biological forces acting on the environment.

Today, in spite of the popularity enjoyed by sociology and its attendant orientations, many social scientists—among them some hard core environmentalists—still seem possessed by the doctrine of organismism. Indeed, the whole rhetoric of social investigation is influenced by this doctrine. Consequently, while sociologists will accept that 'there are innate differences amongst individuals which constitute not a little to variation in tested performance' they can only be uncertain about 'whether these innate differences are also responsible for even a part of the mean variation observed between different cultural and social groups'. To be sure, as long as the idiom of social research is couched in the language of 'verification' rather than in that of 'refutation' no one can be 'certain' about the social and cultural component of intelligence, since, unlike individual differences in tested performance, it is not amenable to verification. This is so because of the inherently dual nature of social reality. Social facts are not only 'things', they are also constituents of 'the subjective meaning complex of action'.

It is precisely because of the intrinsically subjective nature of the social fact that a researcher who sets out consciously to use a sociological frame of reference gradually slips into a psychological mode of conception. This is underlined by Cicourel's observation that 'the attribute of properties is interchangeably called description, classification or measurement'. Such theoretical drift will not be successfully avoided while both sociology and psychology strive
In the meantime, attempts to remedy some of the effects of these influences – the persistence of discriminatory social policies against American Negroes has been justified on the basis of their presumed lack of ability in important spheres of American society – meet with unqualified failure. The ineffectiveness of Headstart – one of the notable attempts at remedy – and other similar programmes has undermined the credibility of studies which emphasize the environment instead of the inherited factor; and quite naturally has resulted in an even greater emphasis of the latter.  

Jensen, for example, has been quite quick to claim, on the basis of the failure of Headstart and other similar projects, that remedial programmes are useless because of the element of inheritance.  

Given the meta-theoretical position of the hereditarian, whose methodology does not include the formulation of a proper theory, a psychologist can proceed with little concern for definition. He can afford to be preoccupied with the task of generating numerical properties from his empirically grounded concepts, neatly fitting them into the sort of conceptual framework which is more easily accommodated by a 'scientific mode of inquiry'.  

Evidence of such facility can be seen in the way Jensen's research on race and intelligence has developed.  

Much of Jensen's earlier work was concerned with developing tests to measure variation in cognitive ability across different social classes and ethnic groups. In one of his findings based on these tests, he said that he had found very little difference between the performance of lower class (negro and white) and middle-class children. In 1963 he reported an experiment in which a group of children, who were certified as retarded on the Stanford-Binet scale, showed significant improvement in their learning ability when they were taught to verbalise in a learning situation.  

Three years later Jensen turned his attention to the plight of the culturally disadvantaged child with a view to investigating the role of verbal mediation processes in mobilising the child's basic learning ability. He concluded that language, in its role as a
tool of thought, lay at the very foundation of the child's later
intellectual development.66

Thus, as in the work of his predecessor, the cognitive element
of ability has featured in Jensen's research as the single most
discriminating factor in inter-racial differences in intelligence.
Similarly, theory has been for many of them, as it is for Jensen,
a matter of conviction - 'the most important fact about intelligence
is that it could be measured.'67 - or irrelevance - 'there is no point
in arguing ... the question of what intelligence really is'.68 No
where in his publicised research does he attempt to demonstrate how it
is possible to measure intelligence; he merely cites cases in which
a factor 'G' is inferred from the intercorrelations of tests of a
certain kind.69

The existence of such a factor, however, does not justify Jensen's
claim that intelligence can be measured. For the examples which
underlie these cases merely demonstrate the discovery of something
worth measuring.70 And cannot therefore be construed as evidence
of the existence of what can appropriately be labelled intelligence.71

On the Question of methodology, then, Jensen avoids the whole
issue of defining intelligence. Thus he asserts, 'intelligence like
electricity, is easier to measure than define.' And if the measurements
bear some systematic relationship to other data, it means we can make
meaningful statements about the phenomenon we are measuring'.72
Here Jensen could justifiably be accused of begging the question as
to the validity of the common factor 'G' (yielded by the systematic
covariation among tests based on the distribution of $X_1 \ldots X_n$
kinds of cognitive ability) which is construed by him as a measurement
of intelligence. For, we already know the conditions73 under which
'G' is said to be a measurement of the phenomenon referred to as
intelligence. All we need do is to specify those conditions (perform
those operations) and we shall discover what is (construed as)
intelligent behaviour.

Two conclusions, therefore, may be deduced from the methodology
of Jensen. First, the measurement to which he refers is not a
measurement of intelligence per se, but, instead, a measurement of
exemplaries of the substrate, intelligence. Second, his method implies that a substrate has significance only in relation to its exemplaries. A concrete expression of this is Jensen's quotation of the late Professor Edwin G. Boring's statement that 'intelligence by definition is what intelligence tests measure'.

It may be argued, therefore, that Jensen is not concerned with the theoretical relevance of tests which he purports to be measurements of intelligence. He is really concerned only with 'operational ability'. The sort of ability that is yielded by traits which are so broad and unspecific that when treated mathematically, they could be said to 'account for the maximum assessable variance in the population'. Cognitive ability is one such trait. Its choice by Jensen as the basis of his intelligence tests has provided him with an excuse for avoiding such methodological issues as theoretical, psychological and mathematical unity. Thus, for example, Jensen endorses Spearman's findings 'that almost every test involving any kind of complex mental activity correlates positively and substantially with any and every test involving complex mental activity, regardless of the specific content or sensory modality of the test'. In short, cognitive ability, as an element of intelligence tests, has an inherently functional and mathematical unity — the very property which enables it to be directly related to actual observations and measurements thereby paralleling the procedure in the more established sciences.

Such an intrinsically functional and mathematical unity, however, is more apparent than real — other factors besides 'G' have been shown to be related to the tendency for tests of intelligence to be highly correlated. In addition, it has been suggested that the discovery of the 'G' factor in intelligence tests is the result of 'an explicit formulation of an hypothesis', whereby 'the combining of a variety of tests into a single measurement of intelligence, ipso facto, presupposes a certain functional unity or equivalence between them.'
2. The Process of Homogenisation

Modernisation is an essentially convergent social process.\(^1\) As a structural form it involves two basically interrelated and identifiable elements — industrialisation and urbanisation — which are bound together in such a way as to produce a rather circular process: while the demands of industrialisation for a large and mobile work-force often give rise to increases in the growth and density of population, these very changes in population invariably act as an impetus to industrialisation. Thus 'it is difficult to say whether population growth demanded industrialisation or industrialisation demanded increased population'.\(^2\) In the past, questions such as these have dominated the minds of both sociologist and historian and, will no doubt continue to do so, in the future, as long as society exists in the present form, with the lives of its citizens constantly moulded by the forces of modernisation. Indeed, it is largely because of evidence that modernisation acts as a constraint on the lives of industrial men, that the thesis of convergence,\(^3\) has aroused much debate among social scientists in the past two decades. This debate provides part of the context in which it will not be inappropriate to examine some of the social consequences arising out of large-scale immigration to Britain from the non-white Commonwealth. The convergent social pattern apparent in the formation of these consequences, in which has been referred to in the sub-heading of this chapter as 'The Process of Homogenisation'.

Three influences — all aspects of a modern economy — have been instrumental in shaping the pattern of adjustment of coloured immigrants to Britain: the demand for a large and mobile work-force, the process of population concentration and the existence of old established city areas. The manner in which these influences have been involved in, for example, the adjustment of West Indians, has been adequately described by Peach in his well documented study of West Indian migration to Britain. 'The expansion of the British economy', says Peach, 'has created gaps at the lower end of the occupational and residential ladder to which West Indians and other coloured immigrants have been drawn in as a replacement population'.\(^5\)
He cites two factors as part of this process. First, the demand for labour in this country, as the main determinant of West Indian migration, and second, the effect of this demand which, he claims, is indicated by 'the concentration of West Indians in areas which (despite a permissive situation of demand for labour) have, on a large scale, shown only a moderate attraction of the population as a whole and which, on a small scale, are being abandoned by the white population'. Peach quotes figures to show that labour shortages had become acute in the mainly non-attractive sectors of industry - the very parts in which the recruitment of West Indians has been particularly high.

This tendency for West Indians and other coloured immigrants to function as a replacement population was reported in a number of other studies. L. Stevens found that the main reason for the employment of coloured workers is the shortage of labour. In the P.E.P. report on discrimination against coloured people, it was stated that 'in manual work in which the bulk of the coloured labour was found, in general, they were employed because of the shortage of workers of this type'. In 'Black British', R.B. Davison suggested that 'coloured workers are willing to settle where their labour is most needed and take those jobs which the unemployed Englishman refuses to touch'. And in a study of Oxford based on the 1961 census, West Indians were shown to present the sharpest contrast with Asians and the local community - 86% were engaged in manual work and only very small proportions were engaged in managerial, professional and clerical work.

If it is assumed that 'the occupational structure is the foundation of the stratification system of contemporary industrial society' in which 'class differences come to rest primarily on occupational positions and the economic advantages and powers associated with them' then it should not seem unnatural that attempts were made to infer the residential and other patterns of a population from demographic data on its occupational structure. Peach, in fact, attempted to make this very inference about the residential pattern of West Indian migrants when he suggested that
it is fairly natural to assume that since they have only recently arrived and started at the foot of the occupational ladder that (they) would start at the foot of the residential ladder. It was not long after Peach had made this assumption that it was confirmed by a study of residential patterns in Oxford. Besides being reported as the most highly concentrated ethnic group, West Indians were shown to be the most residentially segregated group. These tendencies were compounded by the fact that, while manual workers traditionally had had access to council housing, West Indians, until recently, were offered no such access despite their 'un-skilled and semi-skilled profiles'.

Now the existence of a highly visible migrant group, whose pattern of settlement has been determined by occupational and residential constraints, does not necessarily suggest the presence of homogenous attitudes in that group. However, if social rejection (the consciousness of being rejected) could be inferred from a geographical index of social distance (measured in terms of residential separation), then the evidence, which indicates that social distance is comparatively great between natives and West Indians, can be regarded as a strong basis for the formation of such attitudes. Peach, for example, claims that 'as a working hypothesis it could be assumed that complete absence of segregation is probable only in an environment of complete social acceptance. Therefore the degree of segregation of two groups on a scale from the ghetto to complete dispersal is a concrete expression of the social attitudes of the groups concerned'.

Once such attitudes are established, they provide socially durable groups in which a process of interaction can give rise to 'incipient counter definitions of reality and identity'. Thus, in so far as racial stigmas are assigned to West Indians as an identifiable racial group, such stigmas can produce in that group socialisation processes which inhibit rather than reinforce any influence the school is likely to have upon the West Indian child.

One other consequence of immigration that has adversely affected the West Indian settler, besides the formation of particular kinds of
homogenous attitudes, is the rather limited structure of opportunities which he has had to face as a result of his attraction to a particular kind of environment — one in which "the whole network of urban, technical, educational and cultural facilities" has been in a state of progressive decline. Typical of this kind of environment are "a high level of unemployment, low earnings, dereliction and a heavy reliance on industries" whose need for labour has been gradually decreasing. For example, of the six conurbations where immigrants have settled in fairly large numbers, "housing problems are greatest in parts of the three Northern regions and Greater London". And while "in the northern regions the problems, being confined to the older industrial areas, stem from early industrialisation, in Greater London a serious shortage of housing rather than a high level of sub-standard housing is the major cause of deficiencies". In the Birmingham conurbation, where there is a considerable concentration of West Indians, overcrowding is said to be serious "particularly in the older industrial towns such as Smethwick where a high density of population" is said to complicate the progress made towards clearance and renewal. With 80% of immigrants in the Greater London and West Midlands areas, where West Indians predominate in number, and with even further concentrations in a number of districts in these areas, the problems of a limited scale of social amenities has been further complicated by those of a relatively high birth rate due to the age structure of the immigrant population.

This degree of social and economic deprivation suffered by immigrants, as severe as it was, had been further exacerbated by the widespread prejudice and discrimination that was levelled against them. They were offered sub-standard accommodation for rents which were rather exhorbitant. And their attempts to get adequate housing in the form of council or private accommodation were met with discriminatory policies by local authorities and private landlords. Partly as a result of these policies slum dwelling became the norm among the immigrants, a situation which the political doctrine of the extreme right were quick to exploit in order to stir
up more anti-immigrant feeling amongst the British public. In accordance with this doctrine immigrants were associated with all the decaying aspects of the slum and the objectionable ways of its dwellers. In fact, so strong was this association that many people appeared not to think that a housing problem existed in Britain long before large-scale coloured immigration. That, while it is true that their arrival made worse the existing slum conditions, had they not been the victims of a process of discriminative and de facto segregation, their housing situation would very probably have been no less than average.

It is said that 'the environmental resources available to any people and the human events stemming from other groups of men profoundly condition, stimulate and limit the development of cultures'. No matter, therefore, how culturally different or autonomous the West Indian might have been prior to his migration to Britain, the very fact of migration, with its attendant conditions of poverty, depression and racial bigotry, would certainly have left its mark on his pattern of adjustment. One such mark is, of course, the appallingly low level of educational achievement amongst pupil West Indians. This is evident not only from the disproportionate number of West Indian children in ESN schools and remedial classes, but also from various reports on the low performance of West Indian children in the basic subjects. Perhaps the most notable of these reports is the one put out by a group of researchers headed by Dr. Alan Little, which indicated that West Indians, as a whole, and Jamaicans, in particular, deviated most from a certain norm of achievement.

Thus, education, like occupation and residence, would seem to be an integral part of the phenomenon of homogenisation. Of course, there are those who would dissent from this view and suggest, instead, that the educational failure of the West Indian child should be treated as an isolated problem. They are very probably ignoring the context of race relations in which the high visibility of recent immigrants from the New Commonwealth, in particular from the West Indies, has not only constituted an element of alarm among the indigenous population,
but has also played, no doubt, an important role in the process of educational selection.40

3. Race Relations in Educational Theory

If the high incidence of educational failure among West Indians could be isolated as a purely educational problem, then it would be appropriate to characterise the field of race relations in Britain by a high degree of emphasis on practical policy applications, a low degree of theoretical integration with the rest of sociology, and a high degree of analytical isolation of race from its general social context.1 Cuing, however, to the element of physical visibility of the West Indian - what Freedman2 calls the racial factor - West Indian educational failure must be seen to transcend the realm of a purely educational problem. In fact, it is a measure of the significance of the element of race that the recent migration of coloured populations to Britain is differentiated from the migration of previous groups.3 Suffice it to say, therefore, that had not the physical differences of the recent immigrants to Britain been imputed with institutional and cultural relevance, this group of immigrants would have posed no greater a problem of race relations than any previous group.

One of the important aspects of the British reaction to coloured immigration has been the system of beliefs which are said to be the product of 'the political superiority of the whites and the various ideologies which have been conjured up to make it rest on a religious or biological justification'.4 Thus the cultural and social characteristics of coloured people are attributed to their biological endowment which, especially among Negro West Indians, is thought to be of an inferior stock.5 Typical of this system of beliefs is 'an emotional rigid attitude'.6 This attitude constitutes the cultural dimension of the race relations situation and must be distinguished from discrimination which constitutes the 'structural' or 'action' component.7 In addition both attitude and action must be subsumed under the general category of 'race relations'. For, 'race relations are not based on prejudice, prejudice is a by-product of race relations -
as influenced by other factors. Such a comprehensive view of race relations — embracing as it does biological, historical, political, social, economic and psychological factors — serves to highlight its institutional aspect. In its most dynamic form it may be seen as a complex structure whose inequalities and differentiation are related to physical and cultural criteria of an ascriptive kind and are rationalised in terms of deterministic belief systems of which the most usual in recent years has made reference to biological science.

From this conception of a 'race relations situation', a race relations structure may exist without the practice of racial exclusion on a significant scale. For example, such a situation has existed in Britain before large-scale coloured immigration. And while there is no certainty that it has changed merely as a result of large-scale immigration, it is very improbable that it would have become manifest in the field of education without the existence of two important elements in post-war British society — The Ideology of Talent and The Process of Homogenisation. For, in accordance with the 'thesis of convergence', these two elements, among others, are thought to be creatures of 'the exigencies of modern technology which is said to have a standardising effect on the social structure of advance economies'. Within this type of society the occupational system gains primacy, due mainly to the standardising influence of economy and technology, while the educational system, acting as a diversifying factor, becomes the crucial allocative mechanism. In the eventual synthesis the stratification system is reduced to a number of culturally homogenous structures. This process inevitably leads to the status crystallisation of physically visible groups within society.

Thus from a society that was only potentially racially bigoted, Britain has become one in which there is an actual race relations situation in existence. The dialectic of such a change may be most appropriately expressed as an ideal type:

Two concrete situations emerged as a result of large-scale coloured immigration to Britain. First, there were heavy concentrations of immigrants who did not only feel relatively socially deprived, but were also seen to be so deprived by
a significant sector of the non-immigrant public. Second, these large concentrations of immigrants became aware of being rejected by a significant minority of the non-immigrant public who openly expressed alarm at their racial visibility.

Through the juxtaposition of these two elements — social deprivation and racial visibility — a process of stigmatisation began to crystallise, in which the wide range of social differences between immigrants and non-immigrants assumed racial significance. As this process became established, and as the structure of inter-ethnic relations began to be perceived as inevitable and unalterable, there were widespread attempts to justify the social position of the immigrant on the ground that he was of an inferior stock.

Now, an important part of the structure to be altered is the pattern of rights. And at the very foundation of the pattern of rights is "the right of the adult citizen to have been educated." In any society where the ideology of talent constitutes a core value of the educational system, such a right would invariably imply that the beneficiaries thereof should have a certain basic capacity to read and write. Furthermore, where such a capacity exists as a basic condition of citizenship, there is also likely to exist, at least, some semblance of a doctrine of equality. Where such a doctrine is prevalent, any doubts concerning the right of individuals or groups within the society to a full share in the social and cultural heritage, will, in principle, be reduced to the question of whether those individuals or groups have a certain basic capacity to read and write.

In addition where an actual attempt is made to exclude these persons or groups from an equal share in the society's social and cultural heritage, that attempt will, in practice, be justified on the ground that the persons or groups to be excluded do not satisfy the basic condition of citizenship — the capacity to read and write.

In a technological society it would be normal for such an attempt to be justified by a final appeal to an instrument (e.g. the I.Q. test) whose objectivity is sanctioned by the scientific principles of
'validity' and 'reliability'.

Vested in this function of the I.O. test, as a presumed objective device, is its tendency to produce, with remarkable consistency, certain readings of the relative ability of various groups in the stratification order of society. One of these readings, which indicates that Negroes score 15 I.Q. points below their white counterparts, has been the source of much controversy among sociologists and psychologists in view of the claim that the lower score of the Negro represents a deficit in the genetic endowment of that group.

Now it is important to note that the kind of validity implicit in this argument is akin to what Elison calls 'construct validity', that is what the investigator claims the measure is measuring. This sort of validity is a corollary of the definition, 'intelligence is what intelligence tests measure'.

Thus despite its strong association with the norms of scientific objectivity, the I.O. test may in fact be used to justify discrimination of various kinds against groups which are known to have a certain I.O. profile. In this respect, therefore, it constitutes a self-verifying technique.

Moreover it may be argued that it is this extrinsic element of the I.O. test that an appeal is really being made to, when, in a particular context of race relations, an attempt is made to exclude persons or groups from a full share in the social and cultural heritage of the society on the ground that such persons or groups do not satisfy a basic condition of citizenship, namely the ability to read and write.

Such an attempt would, in the context of race relations in Britain, fall within the purview of 'Race Relations in Educational Theory'.
1. The Ideology of Talent

1. Akin to these concerns are the concepts of 'effectiveness' and 'legitimacy' on which Lipset claims a stable democracy depends. Effectiveness is said to be the 'actual performance, the extent to which the system satisfies the basic functions of government as most of the population and such powerful groups within it as big business or the armed forces see them'; while legitimacy 'involves the capacity of the system to engender and maintain the belief that the existing political institutions are the most appropriate ones for the society' (cf S.N. Lipset, 'Political Man', p.77, Mercury Books 1963).

2. 'While it is undoubtedly important that national immigration policies should be based on sound economic planning, it is equally important to realise that immigration is not merely an economic matter. It involves the readjustment of human beings to the total societies in which they settle and not merely the transfer of so much labour from one area to another. That readjustment can only be achieved if the immigrant who is a potentially permanent settler is accorded the opportunity of enjoying full rights — and accepting the full duties — of citizenship in his new society' (cf F.B. Kerrie, 'The Cultural Integration of Immigrants', UNESCO, Paris, 1959). While in theory coloured immigrants were granted the full rights of citizenship, no practical arrangements were made by the Government to ensure that citizenship become a reality.

3. In addition to their settlement 'in districts of poor housing served by obsolete and inadequately staffed schools' (cf G. Taylor and R. Ayres, 'Born and Died Unequal', Longman, London 1969, p.102) where they could not 'receive an education suited to their needs' (ibid), they were faced with a pattern of 'education arrangements' (cf H.E.N. Townsend and Brittain, 'Immigrant Pupils in English Schools', Ch. 11, Section 1, 1972)


4. With minimal appreciation of their special educational needs, teachers could hardly receive the West Indian Child with due sympathy and consideration. Often this lack of sympathy would lead to a situation of confrontation between the child and his teacher in the course of which the child would naturally give vent to his feelings of frustration at not being understood. To the unsympathetic teacher this kind of behaviour would very probably be treated as a variant of social deviance. See for example the case cited in S. J. E. Rose's 'Colour and Citizenship', p.203. This case gives tremendous insight into how such a situation might develop. See also the Schools Council Working Paper No. 29, 'Teaching English to West Indian Children', pp.23-24 in which significant differences between West Indian and English children were recorded in respect of 'withdrawal', hostility to adults, 'hostility to other children', 'restlessness', 'depression', 'miscellaneous nervous conditions', 'anxiety with other children' and 'unconcern for adult approval' - at both infant and junior levels.


9. Often the educationally more neutral term 'slow learners' is substituted for the more pejorative variants 'sub-normal' or

11. The I.E.A. areas in which there has been a high concentration of immigrants are the very ones which are located in large urban centres where the demand for unskilled labour is relatively high.


15. In his 'Framework for Relating Certain Differences Between American and English Systems of Education to the Prevailing Norms of Upward Mobility in Each Country', Turner denoted the English norm as one which 'elite recruits are chosen by the established elite or their agents, and elite status is given on the basis of some criteria of supposed merit and cannot be taken by any amount of effort or strategy. Upward mobility is like entry into a private club where each candidate must be 'sponsored' by one or more of the members'. Cf. R.H. Turner, 'Modes of Social Ascent Through Education: Sponsored and Contest Mobility', in A.H. Balcer et al., 'Education, Economy and Society', Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1962.


17. Ibid.

18. The active programme of social and economic reconstruction did
not only generate "changes in the demand for performance", it also produced "changes in the supply of talent" through educational reforms. For an analysis of how these changes affect social mobility in industrial society, see C.W. Lipset and R. Bendix, 'Social Mobility in Industrial Society'. Heinemann, London, 1959. For a study of social mobility in Britain, see David Glass, 'Social Mobility in Britain', 1954.


20. This idea was consistent with traditional socialist principles. It was also not inconsistent with the ideas of many respectable non-socialists. Cf. Fleming Committee Report, 'The Public Schools and the General Education System', H.M.S.O., 1944, pp.65-66. See also C.A.H. Creipland's 'The Future of Socialism', Jonathan Cape, London, 1956.


22. Ibid.


25. Ibid.


28. Ibid.

29. For a comprehensive review of the abiding trends and rationale
of this shift in emphasis, see A.H. Halsey et al op. cit. parts II, III and IV. For a composite but more definite picture of the advantages which have accrued in the educational race by certain types of home, not quite identified with the socio-economic middle class, but characterised by a certain pattern of motivation, see 'Linking Home and School' by Maurice Craft et al (second edition), Longman, 1972.


31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.


34. Galton distinguished three elements: (i) 'interest' or 'zeal', (ii) 'will to work' and (iii) 'abilities'. Cf. Francis Galton, 'Hereditary Genius: an inquiry into its laws and consequences', Watts and Co. London, Second Edition, 1892. These three elements were redesignated by Burt as 'affective', 'conative' and 'cognitive'. Cf. C. Burt, 'Mental Capacity and its Critics', Bulletin of the British Psychological Society, 21, 70, pp.11-18. 'Galton', says Flugel 'is the true father of the mental "test" and of all that later sprang from it'. Cf. J.C. Flugel: 'A Hundred Years of Psychology, 1833-1933', Duckworth, London.

35. The development of the Social Sciences has rested on two basic elements - 'idealism' and 'empiricism' - both of which were of profound importance in Western thought. For a study of the multiple trends and emphases see Don Martindale, 'The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory', Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, parts I and II, p.3-123.

36. Because of the intellectual climate of the period, (for example
on the one hand the work of Stevens, Dodge and Shillinghams and on the other the work of Binet, Ray and Goddenough early studies of human ability were dominated by two branches of scientific psychology, 'psychometrics' and 'experimental psychology' (cf. J.J. Crambach, 'The Two Disciplines of Social Psychology', American Psychologist, 12, pp.671-684). Referring to this period Butcher says 'the study of human intelligence has yielded a large accumulation of knowledge about individual differences, and relatively little about basic laws of cognitive functioning (cf. H.J. Butcher, 'Human Intelligence: its nature and assessment', Seibuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1968, p.11). Since the second World War, however, there has been a movement away from the earlier conceptions of intelligence and 'the importance of general mental ability has been more widely questioned', op. cit., p.16.

38. Ibid. Were Pidgcon hints that the work of the early psychologists - Galton, Burt, Binet, Spearman and Thorndike - suggests that the 'cognitive' aspects of learning were considered more important than the 'motivational'.
41. Ibid, p.11.
42. For example the works of Sir Francis Galton and Alfred Binet.
46. For a study of the various elements of this doctrine see
Don Hartnagle, op. cit., especially parts I and II.


48. Ibid.


52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. Paul P. Lammersfeld, 'Evidence and Inference in Social Research' in S. Lerner (Ed.) 'Evidence and Inference', N.Y., The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959, p.103. Lammersfeld is here referring to the intrinsically subjective nature of Sociology - the lack of literal measurement - which gives rise to the tendency towards theoretical drift.

55. 'Certainty' in the sense that is suggested by the methodology of 'operationism' - the mere specification of terms in relation to measurable or verifiable observations. As, for example, in the assertion 'intelligence is what intelligence tests measure' (A.H. Jensen's quotation of a statement by the late Professor Edwin G. Boring, cf. A.H. Jensen, 'How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement', Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 39, 1969, p.1, p.8). Implicit in this statement is the idea that social reality may be reduced to the 'rules of verification and measurement'.

56. 'Reports on Project Headstart' says Jensen, 'indicate that initial gains of 5 to 10 points in IQ on conventional intelligence tests are a common finding, but this gain usually does not hold up through the first year of regular schooling'. Cf. A.H. Jensen op. cit., p.3 (Footnote).
Arthur B. Jensen appears to be one of the first psychologists to base a poignant and searing attack on what he considers to be the main peg on which compensatory educational programmes are hung - the 'average children concept' and the 'social deprivation hypothesis'. This attack, which has been referred to as 'Jensenism' by the New York Times, has been rechristened as 'The Jensenist Heresy' by Professor R.J. Eysenck in 'Race, Intelligence and Education', Temple Smith, London, 1971.

Jensen concludes that 'if diversity of mental abilities, as of most other human characteristics, is a basic fact of nature, as the evidence indicates, and if the ideal of universal education is to be successfully pursued, it seems a reasonable conclusion that schools and society must provide a range and diversity of educational methods, programmes and goals, and of occupational opportunities, just as wide as the range of human abilities'. A.R. Jensen, Op. cit., p.117.

That is the 'common sense view' or 'premise' that the cognitive ability of 'human naives' is determined more by 'heredity' than by 'environment'.

'Any given theory' says Schrag, 'is comprised of two sets of statements. One set defines the concepts of the theory. The other expresses relationships among the concepts defined'.

(82. Clarence Schrag in L. Gross, 'Sociological Theory: inquiries and paradigms'. Harper and Row, N.Y., 1967, p.229.) In accordance with this view, the theoretical position of Jensen and his followers or predecessors would be considered improper in so far as their position constitutes a mere specification of terms in relation to consumable or verifiable observations. In addition, where concepts are highly abstract, as in the case with the term 'general intelligence', they should not be 'introduced into a theoretical vocabulary by definitions based explicitly on observable data' (Op. cit., p.233).

'Scientific mode of inquiry' a la the Natural Sciences.

A.R. Jensen, 'Learning Abilities in Mexican American and Anglo


66. Ibid.

67. This assertion of Jensen's, which is couched in the form of a conviction is preceded by the statement 'disagreements and arguments can perhaps be forestalled if we take an operational stance' (cf. A.R. Jensen, 'How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?' Op. cit., p. 5). Yet such a definition, by implying a 'positivist' rather than a 'humanist' interpretation of Sociology, moves headlong into what has been a continual controversy in the Philosophy of Social Science. It is, therefore, not surprising that Jensen's statement about the measurable quality of intelligence is couched in the rhetoric of conviction. Jensen, apparently, has not worked out what sense of the concept 'intelligence' he is here alluding to (cf. T.R. Miles in Stephen Wianen's (Ed.) 'Intelligence and Ability', Penguin Books, 1967, p. 159).

68. A.R. Jensen, 'How Much Can We Boost Intelligence and Scholastic Achievement', Op. cit., pp. 5-6. This sort of statement suggests either that there is a universal theory about the nature of intelligence or that such a theory is irrelevant.

69. For example Jensen cites cases developed and tested by Spearman who, he says, 'devoted most of his distinguished career to studying the important finding that almost any and every test involving any kind of complex mental activity correlates positively and
substantially with any and every other test involving complex mental activity, regardless of the specific content or sensory modality of the test' (cf. A.R. Jensen, op. cit., p.6). For an early thesis of Spearman's on the question of 'General Intelligence' see C. Spearman, 'General Intelligence Objectively Determined and Measured', American Journal of Psychology, 1904.

70. That is 'something' which is yielded by the systematic covariation among tests based on the distribution of $x_1 \ldots x_n$ kinds of cognitive ability. Spearman together with Jensen refer to this 'thing' as the reputed fact that cognitive ability discloses to observation a general factor, especially the one which has been designated 'G' (cf. C. Spearman and L.J. Vyn Jones, 'Human Ability', Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1950).

71. T.R. Miles makes a distinction between a disposition (in this case 'intelligence') which he refers to as a 'substrate', and what he construed as a manifestation of it (in this case statistical/mathematical operations) which he refers to as 'exemplars'. Thus as a criticism of operational definitions he says, 'Those who insist on the importance of operational definitions for scientific method are in effect pointing out that a substrate has meaning in relation to its exemplars' (cf. T.R. Miles in Stephen Wiseman's (Ed.), op. cit., p.167).


73. Those conditions are outlined by Spearman in 'Human Ability: a continuation of the abilities of man', (cf. 'Human Ability' by C. Spearman and L.J. Vyn Jones, Ch. VIII, pp.53-54).

74. For examples of the designation and use of this term see T.R. Miles, op. cit., pp.163-165.

75. Ibid.


77. Thus instead of addressing himself to questions such as 'What is intelligence?' or 'What does the word intelligence really mean?',
he should have stuck to the question, 'How do you test or what operations are involved in testing whether a person is intelligent?'


79. Ibid. In addition Butcher asserts that 'the prime importance of "intelligence or general ability" is that by definition it is the broadest and most pervasive cognitive trait, and is conceived of as being involved in virtually every kind of intellectual skill' (Ibid).


82. D. Wechsler, 'Measurement and Appraisal of Adult Intelligence', The Williams and Wilkins Co., 1958. Here Wechsler is claiming that before psychologists could begin using batteries of tests for measuring intelligence, it was necessary for them to assume the existence of a general cognitive factor, which was formulated as a hypothesis. In other words its development took the form of a 'deductive theory'. (Cf. Clarence Schrag in Llewellyn Evans (Ed.) of 'Sociological Theory: Inquiries and Paradigms', Harper and Roy., N.Y., Part IV, p. 235.)


2. The Process of Homogenisation

'the process of structural differentiation' (ibid.). For a more comprehensive view of modernisation as a social process see T. L. Lipset, 'Modernisation: Paret and Change', Prentice Hall, Inc., 1966.

2. C. Peach, 'West Indian Migration to Britain, O.U.P., 1968, (introduction). Peach was referring to 19th and 20th century changes in which 'industrialisation demanded large bodies of workers; concentrations of workers demanded food, raw materials and markets far beyond the resources of their own countries' (ibid.)

3. The Sociological Review: Monograph No. 8 (The Development of Industrial Societies) especially articulated by J. H. Gold Thorpe, pp.97-122

4. C. Peach, op. cit., p.92.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.


13. Ibid.


22. These factors constitute a vicious network of circumstances which are associated with such consequences as poverty, ill-health and educational failure (op. cit., especially chapters 1 and 11).
24. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Figures taken from the 1971 census indicate that the coloured population has a considerably younger age structure than UK/White population. (C.F. Gillian Jones, 'The Coloured Population of Great Britain', The Runnymede Trust, London, 1973) In view of this it is not surprising that the coloured population has had a much higher birth rate (ibid).
32. Elizabeth Burney cites Manchester as a typical example of this development (cf. Elizabeth Burney, op. cit., Ch. VI).

34. Ibid.


40. See Eysenck's interpretation, in tabular form, of the 'Lilemma of Countervailing Values' which is posed in a society whose educational system is underpinned by values of 'Equality of Opportunity and Structural Integration' on the one hand, and 'Concern for Individual Differences' on the other (cf. H.J. Eysenck, 'Race, Intelligence and Education', Maurice Temple Smith Ltd; London, 1971, p.155, especially the right-hand side of the table.

3. Race Relations in Educational Theory


3. Pierre van den Berghe (op. cit.) distinguishes 'racial group' (a group that is socially defined on the basis of physical criteria) from 'ethnic group' (a group that is socially defined on the basis
of cultural criteria).


5. Ibid.

6. This sort of attitude is thought, by Simpson and Yinger, to underline 'prejudice', which they define as 'an emotional rigid attitude' (i.e. a predisposition to respond to certain stimuli in a certain way) toward a group of people. (Cf. G.E. Simpson and J.H. Yinger, Harper and Row, N.Y., 1953, p.10.


15. Sheila Patterson's description of her reaction to seeing coloured people on an afternoon in May 1955 in a South London district - she was 'overcome with a sense of strangeness, almost shock' (S. Patterson, 'Dark Strangers', Tavistock Publications, London, 1963) - was still typical of the reaction of many English people ten years later when, for example, there was much talk about the high concentrations of coloured people in various parts of the country, see S. Patterson, 'Immigration and Race Relations in Britain 1960-1967', C.U.P. Ch. 7, especially pp.254-258.

16. For an analytical statement on some of the theoretical and methodological issues which underlie this process, see J. Rex and
In societies where an element of Civil Rights is 'the right of the adult citizen to have been educated' (Cf. T.H. Marshall op. cit. pp.25-26), the capacity for exercising such a right would invariably be treated as a relevant ground of differentiation between one individual and another (see for example the 1944 Education Act). And where such a situation exists, in practice, it would, in theory, imply some doctrine of equality of treatment in the sense that 'no one shall be presumed, in advance of particular cases being considered, to have a claim to better treatment than another' (Cf. J.S. Peters, 'Ethics and Education', George Allen and Unwin Ltd.; London, 1966, p.181).

Cases in point are the American and British situations where arguments about the presumed inferior intelligence of the Negro are usually various people to justify his position in the social and economic orders of these societies.

While working in Community Relations the writer noted instances in which employers who want to justify their policy of discrimination against an immigrant who is known to be or is suspected of being marginally literate, would make the immigrant submit to a literacy test even though literacy was not considered by such an employer to be a requirement for the job.

The statistical norms of 'reliability' and 'validity' are now regarded by many social scientists as two important conceptual criteria for judging the 'goodness' of any measuring instrument.


CHAPTER III
THE DESIGN OF THE SURVEY:
ITS BACKGROUND AND STRUCTURE

1. Six Months in the Field.

The fieldwork for this study began at a time when the subjects of 'immigration' and 'education' had had great prominence in public opinion. Many idealists (mainly from the Labour Party) and educators were hotly debating the justice or otherwise of the change towards comprehensive education. And those who had not been calling for an end to coloured immigration, were showing increasing awareness of the educational problems associated with it. Of great political importance in public discussion of these subjects were the issues of justice and prejudice.

Overshadowed by these questions, and of immense importance to sociologists, were trends which would need to be made explicit if these very issues were not to adversely affect the pattern of race relations in Britain. These trends were:

(a) the tendency for neighbourhood schools to develop where the old 11+ system had been abandoned;

(b) the high concentration of West Indian immigrants in many inner city areas. For example, Brixton where many of the secondary schools had, since the disbanding of the 11+ system, tended to become neighbourhood schools;

(c) the tendency for these neighbourhood schools to be slum schools.

It seemed that the very means which the government had found necessary to adopt in order to ensure greater educational equality between the classes, were having the latent function of contributing to an overall trend which appeared to be leading to ghetto schools in areas of increasing immigrant settlement.

The Plowden Report, which was published a year before the beginning of fieldwork, had rekindled a general interest in the problems of poor areas. The educational priority areas, as they were called by Plowden, reflect a geography of need of which overcrowding, a 'rapid turnover of staff' and reliance on 'a succession...
of temporary and supply teachers of one kind or another are only a few of the typical characteristics. Although Flordon was not the first to draw attention to these problems — previous studies particularly the Huxley Report had done the same — its publication coincided with a general reappraisal of education by the government and, therefore, had a tremendous impact on government and public thinking. A measure of this general reappraisal was the significant increase in interest shown by educators in identifying the social factors which affect the intellectual development of individuals in particular kinds of social milieux.

The whole field of educational research was, at this time, a rather open one and researchers could choose to cast their projects in a number of moulds — the school, the community, the individual, the social context or any number of permutations of these. In addition, through the Flordon Report and many other studies, several themes were available to potential researchers. Many of the issues, however, were not clear cut and could not, therefore, be fitted into neat moulds for research.

One such issue was the problem of immigrant education. To seek solutions for this problem, sociologists would have to look beyond the confines of the school toward the wider community and its context. The school would have to be seen not only as a society in miniature but also as a part of a wider and more embracing social system. The Drayton School, which is situated in a traditionally deprived part of Barking, is an example of such a society. And it is here that the writer initiated this study while he was employed as a teacher for six months in 1969.

As a participant observer the writer was exposed to a range of experiences which typify a significant cross-section of secondary school teachers. While he was employed as a part-time teacher for a fixed period, and was, thereby, one of 'the faithful, devoted and hardworking regulars', he was also (because of the brevity of the period) one of the 'succession of temporary and supply teachers'. In addition, though occasionally he was required to teach pupils who were in normal streams, he was employed mainly as a fourth year remedial
teacher. He was able to observe the working of the system of tutor groups, in particular how that system affected discipline within the classroom. Often he engaged both teachers and pupils in discussion of a wide range of matters - the academic structure of the curriculum, the need for banding, streaming of classes and discipline in the school.

Participant observation, like many methods of field research, involves conditions in which the activities of the investigator play a crucial role in the data obtained\textsuperscript{14} and the theory formulated. One way in which the effect of these activities may be controlled is for the researcher to make explicit his particular valuations.

The writer has sought to do just this by including extracts of a 'working paper' which he had written on the observations he had made while teaching at the Drayton School.

As a preface to these extracts it should be noted that three factors are thought to have affected the academic experience of the West Indian child. These factors, which were stated as part of the social context in Britain, are the 'ideology of talent', the 'process of homogenisation' and the 'image of the Negro family'. In addition, reference is made to statistics which indicate the low academic performance of the West Indian child.

In recent years there has been a noticeable shift in studies\textsuperscript{15} of the determinants of educational success, towards concern with the nature of a social process referred to as the 'selective mechanism'. For example, it is suggested that academic successes and failures are largely selected long before the stage of entry to secondary school.\textsuperscript{16} If such a system does exist then it must be anchored in the social system\textsuperscript{17} where it is translated, at the level of educational policy and selection in schools, into that supposedly concrete reality called talent.\textsuperscript{18}

In the process of this exchange between social system and school performance the salient factors in the social context become active in determining the academic achievement of West Indians.\textsuperscript{19} For example the ability oriented ideology\textsuperscript{20} defines West Indian
performance as a true index of ability; the process of homogenisation\textsuperscript{21} enables West Indians to be exposed in large unmanagable masses to this process of selection; and the image of the West Indian family as a disorganised social system, and of the West Indian community as a deviant sub-culture,\textsuperscript{22} justifies the low achievement of West Indians as manifested by existing statistics.\textsuperscript{23}

Any emphasis, therefore, on the sociology of talent and the reform of secondary education, in its present form, is hardly relevant to the social position of the vast majority of West Indian migrants. In fact, it is arguable, on the basis of trends observed in Haringey, that where social intervention has taken place, it has tended to hasten rather than check the development of ghetto schools.\textsuperscript{24}

Given these biases in the social system, it is not unreasonable to argue that statistics\textsuperscript{25} (which show that West Indian migrants, in particular, are severely underachieved) reflect no more than a self-fulfilling prophecy: children have a tendency to perform as well as they think they can and their self-perceptions are shaped by the way the educational system defines them.\textsuperscript{26} In effect, then, the school is adequate only if it is based on the principle that norms of equality are concerned with the provision of equal opportunity for each individual to develop his talent to the full, rather than the more limited notion of equal opportunity for those with equal talent.\textsuperscript{27}

Unless the selective mechanism of the school becomes a variable\textsuperscript{28} ... indeed unless the social system biases become a variable,\textsuperscript{29} no amount of English schooling or manipulation of the educational system could bring the majority of West Indian migrants within some grasp of equal educational opportunity. If these biases cannot be exorcised, then there must be, at least, some acceptance that they do exist. Otherwise West Indian underachievement will continue to be accepted as a given, thereby justifying a sort of negative discrimination against them. Like, for example, the attempt of Haringey borough council to implement the procedure
appropriately referred to as the 'banding system'. That
immigrants will benefit if they are widely distributed in the
school system is a prime hope. This is only likely in a school
system which socialises rather than categorises.

Only when these biases are truly recognised and a realistic
attempt made to find some means whereby the ability of West
Indian migrants in properly tested, related and developed,
would the basis of a much more equitable system of educational
opportunity be established.30

Now, the observations which the writer, as a participant-observer,
recorded while teaching at the Irbyton Schools:

Estimates of either the number of coloured pupils in the school
as a whole or in any part of it, for example the Remedial
Department, were not a part of official statistics, and could
be obtained only by a count of heads. Such a count by the
researcher (which would approximate only a very rough estimate)
suggested that while the proportion of coloured pupils in the
Remedial Department was as high as 75%, the proportion in the
whole school was only 50%. These figures indicate that a high
percentage of West Indians (who constituted the vast majority
of the coloured pupils) were, by virtue of their low placement
not included in the main stream of academic life in the school.

In their attitude to academic tests and in their general
pattern of behaviour, it was apparent that West Indian pupils
were not as concerned as they were likely to be in a more
structured educational situation — or, for example, in the West
Indies where the school is a more formal institution. Nearly
all these uninterested and unactivated pupils spent a considerable
part of their school life in the lower rather than the higher
ability realms of the school system. Among the minority who did
not share this low order experience, were those who were highly
motivated and successful academically. These pupils were very
often chosen as school prefects and were, partly because of this,
 excluded from the multiple peer groups of immigrants — both
West Indian and Cypriot. They were also more likely,
because of the discipline situation, to gain more respect from the staff. Thus it seemed that a certain syndrome of achievement, respect, motivation and favourable self-perception had developed as part of the spring of action of this small minority of West Indian pupils. In the same way a syndrome of underachievement; lack of respect, motivation and unfavourable self-perception seemed to have developed as part of the spring of action of the majority of pupil West Indians. In fact, whereas the masses of underachieved West Indians seemed integrated at the level of the peer group and apathetic at the level of the individual, the small minority of well placed West Indians seemed apathetic at the peer group level and integrated at the level of the individual whose aspirations about success became a meaningful focus.

In the remedial classes which the writer took for Reading and Arithmetic, there were very wide differences in 'ability' between immigrants and non-immigrants. The immigrants (the majority of whom were West Indian) tended to cluster at the higher levels of 'ability' while the non-immigrants invariably formed a cluster at the lower levels of 'ability'.

Although the West Indian pupils in these classes appeared to be quite 'academically and culturally integrated', they were significantly less responsive to the prevailing frame of reference (tests, text books, arithmetic methods, ways of framing questions).

In effect, they tended to be weak in conceptual exercises and strong in mechanical ones. When, therefore, for example, conceptual exercises were reduced to mechanical terms, their overall performance in a wide range of operations would invariably exceed the overall performance of their non-immigrant colleagues. Their overall performance was also of a much higher order in a structured rather than in an unstructured learning situation.

West Indians seemed to regard tests generally as not very important. This may have been due to the fact that in the
West Indies tests are used much more rigorously than is the case in English Comprehensive schools. For example, if a pupil is unsuccessful in the end of year examination, invariably he would not be allowed to go on to the next year.

Nearly all the West Indians in remedial classes fell into the racial category 'very dark', using a chromatic scale which varies from 'very dark', 'dark', 'light' to 'Indian looking'. Such a scale was very often used for discipline purposes by both immigrant and non-immigrant, including teachers.

West Indians, as a whole, had distinctively different patterns of behaviour, except for the relatively talented minority who were noticeable by virtue of their deviation from this norm. These differences were particularly visible in speech, dress, gestures and attitude to sex.

There was general consensus among the staff that the future of the West Indian migrant was a cause for great concern especially because of the high range of his expectations.

The problem of discipline was very severe, and there was general acceptance amongst pupils that a good teacher was a good disciplinarian. House masters and mistresses were usually the most successful and most feared disciplinarians. When the Headmaster was interviewing the writer, he seemed to want to put great emphasis on effective disciplining of pupils. He even referred to the high turnover of teachers in the Remedial department and suggested that this was due to ineffective social control.

There was a common belief among the staff that a considerable factor in West Indian underachievement was language ability. As an epilogue to the ideas and observations expressed in the working paper, a propositional theory with the following hypotheses was formulated:

1. That in the sectors of the educational system where immigrants (mainly West Indian) tend to be over-represented, there are the following: (a) severe problems of discipline; (b) slum schools.
2 That wherever in the system these factors (a and b) exist together, they interact thereby aggravating the problem of discipline and giving rise to a spiralling effect of bad discipline.

3 That where such a spiral exists in the system, the resources of the system tend to be geared to counteracting it.

4 That where such a situation arises in the system, the system goal (G) tends to be defined in terms of a state called 'discipline'.

5 That given such a goal (G), where the authority's attitude to discipline is 'reformative' rather than 'punitive', the enforcing mechanism tends to evolve around a set of behavioural patterns whereby visible deviants from such a pattern are treated as cases to be remedied.

6 That to justify treating those deviants as remedial, a proficiency and or intelligence test is administered (an example of the relevance of the talent oriented ideology).

7 That what is in fact tested in such a situation, is not ability but 'testability' - that is the ability to adjust to a situation suitable for the administration of a test of ability.

8 That given such a system of social action, and given the social context in which it takes place, the statistics which are used as an index of West Indian ability profiles are, in effect, an index of their testability.

9 West Indian testability is effectively a function of:
   (a) teachers' expectations (which are subject to the ideological noise of the social context and the statistical projections of West Indian achievement profiles).
   (b) the West Indian pattern of behaviour (which, because of its deviance from the norm, is perceived as an epistemic correlate of the image of the Negro family as disorganised).
   (c) the organisational stress of the school (which increases the salience of patterns of behaviour and which is an epistemic correlate of slum conditions and severe discipline problems).
# Models of Two Types of School System

## Model 'A' - Non-Selective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approach</th>
<th>Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Situation as teachers may conceive it.</strong></td>
<td>Material Structure: Slum Conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goals</td>
<td>State Called Discipline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means</td>
<td>Social Control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Situation as a Sociologist may conceive it.</strong></td>
<td>Problem: Deviance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociological Study</td>
<td>Sociology of Deviance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Entity</td>
<td>The Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Context</td>
<td>Informal Social Relations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Model 'B' - Selective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approach</th>
<th>Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Situation as teachers may conceive it.</strong></td>
<td>Material Structure: Lack of Slum Conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goals</td>
<td>Educational Achievement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means</td>
<td>Socialisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Situation as a Sociologist may conceive it.</strong></td>
<td>Problem: Performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociological Study</td>
<td>Sociology of Talent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Entity</td>
<td>The Individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Context</td>
<td>Formal Social Relations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Explanatory Note: Given the stated conditions in system - (A), a proficiency test is likely to be an index of testability, since in these conditions testees are not likely to be meaningfully integrated (i.e. subject to a sufficient degree of motivation to perform well) into the test situation.

Effectively then, testability may be defined as 'the ability to adjust to a situation suitable for the administration of a test of ability'. Thus 'testability' may be regarded as a function of system 'A'.

Similarly, given the stated conditions in system - (B), a proficiency test is likely to be a test of ability, since in these conditions testees are likely to be meaningfully integrated into the test situation. In a similar way, then, ability may be regarded as a function of system 'B'.

2. Finding a Suitable School

Fieldwork at the Drayton School had provided the writer with a framework of ideas about various aspects of the functioning of the Drayton School as a social system. Three elements of this system were thought to be strongly associated with the large number of West Indian pupils in remedial streams—the expectations of teachers, the West Indian pattern of behaviour and the organisational stress^{1} of the school. These three aspects approximated three broad categories in the 'Sociology of Education' and were, therefore, quite beyond the capacity of the writer to tackle with only very limited resources. A decision had to be made to limit the study to various dimensions of pupil behaviour as conceived both by the pupils themselves and their teachers in a normal school situation. Further discussion of these dimensions would be included in section 4 of this chapter.

Since it was intended to compare the pattern of school experience of immigrant^{3} pupils, in particular West Indians, with that of their English counterparts, an appropriate school had to be found. A suitable school would be one which was typical of an immigrant school both in terms of numerical composition and social characteristics.^{2} Such schools, however, were found by the writer to be not particularly accommodating to researchers, for reasons stated below. As a compromise, therefore, the decision was made to find a school where there was a reasonable proportion of New Commonwealth immigrants including West Indians.^{4}

Now for the network of factors which appeared to militate against attempts by the writer to secure accommodation in a suitable school. Perhaps the most important factor in this network was related to the general climate of race relations and education in Britain, which caused many local authorities which were under attack from both the 'left' and the 'right' of public opinion to assume rather defensive postures. One notable example of this defensiveness was a memorandum to all head teachers, in a particular local authority area, advising them against the accommodation of researchers unless the latter were first vetted by the authority. Another factor appeared to stem from
the dynamics of the immigrant pattern of settlement. In areas where immigrant pupils existed in 'large' rather than 'small' numbers, there was the tendency for many schools to reflect such characteristics as a high turnover of staff, reliance on a large army of supply teachers and severe problems of discipline. By tradition these schools tended to have non-graduates as headmasters; and before the institution of comprehensivisation many of them used to have secondary modern status.

In so far as there was known to exist some degree of polarisation between graduate and non-graduate teachers - a situation which was likely to affect the reception of researchers into these schools - it was not surprising to encounter a high refusal rate on approaching them. Indeed when the writer acted on a certain hunch and approached only those schools whose headteachers were listed as graduates in the local authority manual, a much more favourable pattern of response was met with. For example, the first school at which outright accommodation was secured, was the only school the researcher had approached, whose headmaster possessed a doctorate. In addition this school was situated in a less socially deprived part of the catchment area, had a strong grammar history, a considerable proportion of graduate teachers and a 'low'7 rather than a 'high' proportion of immigrants (mainly West Indians and Cypriots).

Overall a most interesting pattern of refusal emerged. Where the head teacher was a non-graduate in a school located in a relatively depressed sector of a borough with a large immigrant population, refusal tended to be outright. Where a non-graduate head teacher was attached to a school in a less depressed part of the borough with a moderately large immigrant population, there was usually a qualified refusal - for example, 'we are too busy doing examinations'. In one case where a graduate head teacher was in a school in a moderately prosperous part of a borough, the writer was told that accommodation would have been granted if only the head teacher had not felt bound by a certain memorandum. Thus it appeared that the very characteristics which made a school qualify as an appropriate context in which to carry out the study, were the same characteristics which gave rise to an
outright or qualified refusal.

After carefully considering this pattern of refusal, the writer decided to accept the first outright offer of accommodation which, incidentally, was the only one that provided him with reasonable access to information from both the pupils and the teachers.

Needless to say this situation rather limited the scope of the study to that of a pilot survey. Paracent as a limitation was the relatively small percentage of immigrant pupils in the fourth year. Of a total number of 175 pupils, only 15 were West Indian and 22 Cypriot. In addition, neither the social characteristics of the school nor its history was typical of the sort of school that immigrants – particularly West Indians – had attended in large numbers. One other limiting factor was the actual size of the fourth year population, which, in the event of being stratified into the various ethnic groups for the purpose of cross-tabulation with other variables, would allow the application of only a limited range of statistical techniques.

Although these limitations reduced the significance of the study, they would not have justified abandoning it for two reasons. First, this type of study was becoming increasingly necessary in view of its recognised importance in the field of race relations. Second, the problems encountered appeared to be due to the inherent dynamics of the race relations situation.

Now, one other question which might be raised regarding the use of the Wood Green School as the context for this study was that, according to the two models of a school system formulated in the previous chapter, it was different in kind from the Drayton School, where observations and formulations, leading up to the questionnaires for this study, were made. Models, however, are no more than mere exaggerations of the distinctive characteristics of systems. Any two systems which are classified as different types may, therefore, be conceived as variable points along a continuum. Thus what are modelled as the characteristics peculiar to a system will tend to appear in a more or less prominent form when an opposite model is considered. Hence the theory that the Wood Green School and the Drayton School represent two essentially different types of school
systems maybe considered less crucial to the validity of the study than it would appear to be.

3. Haringey as an Educational District

The educational district of Haringey is one of the more densely populated areas in which a considerable proportion of immigrants from the New Commonwealth has settled. Like many other areas where Commonwealth immigrants have settled in large numbers, it has a low rateable value per head of population, a significant lack of expanding industry and commerce and a high proportion of schools which have been built around the turn of the century. Its large population of low paid workers with large rather than small families are housed mainly in large dwelling houses which easily give rise to overcrowding and multi-occupation. These pockets of poverty and bad housing are not evenly distributed around the borough. The very areas in which a high proportion of professional and managerial workers reside are the very ones in which facilities such as bookshops, playing fields, golf courses and tennis courts are much in evidence. Not to mention the better primary and secondary schools which provide an above-average education for the children from the middle class families.

In 1967 the system of comprehensiveisation was introduced in the borough and as a result, there were 11 comprehensive schools to which primary school children transferred at 11+. The vast majority of these schools (?) were co-educational.

With the introduction of pastoral care in all the borough's secondary schools there emerged a system of vertical stratification by which the school's population was divided either into houses (which included pupils from every year) or tutor groups (which were, in effect, year groups). While such a system of stratification had given rise to the claim that there was a definite departure from the much criticised system of streaming by ability, there was still some evidence of the old practice. For example, on entry to a number of secondary schools, pupils were either divided into streams according to some test of ability or into similar mixed ability groups. In both cases there was 'setting by subject', i.e. pupils were put into different
subject bands depending on their proficiency in the various subjects.

In accordance with the BBS definition of an immigrant, approximately 30% of the pupils in Haringey were classified as 'immigrant' in the 1969 returns. About half of this figure were from the West Indies while 30% and 8% were respectively Cypriot and Pakistani. Although this proportion of immigrants was by no means alarming for a city area, it did prompt some action by the Council to implement the famous 'Boulton Report' on banding in 1969.

In this report it was claimed that immigrants, and in particular West Indians, had a lower intellectual capacity than the indigenous population. In order to distribute the immigrants evenly across the borough, Councillor Boulton introduced 'banding' as a technique of population dispersal which would effect the maximum distribution of the immigrant population with the minimum public outrage.

4. Two Questionnaires

The specific dimension on which this study focused was the educational experience of a group of 175 fourth year pupils of mixed ethnic background. An attempt was made to explore a wide range of differences in educational experience between immigrants and non-immigrants, with special reference to West Indians as an ethnic group.

Two questionnaires were employed to sample educational experience. One was administered to the population of 175 in the fourth year at the Wood Green School and the other to eight fourth year tutors. Acting as a panel these tutors were asked to rate their fourth year tutees on a number of characteristics which were thought to affect teachers' perception of pupils.

The pupils' questionnaire included a wide range of questions which were grouped into seven categories:

(i) Academic Orientation
(ii) Pattern of Friendship Choice
(iii) Pupils' evaluation of the Grading Philosophy
(iv) Class work, Games, Athletics and the Inter-ethnic Pattern of Ascription
(v) Home Work Practice
(vi) Plans for the Future
(vii) Self Image

It was hoped that the analysis of these variables would reveal the way the pupils perceived their teachers, their peers and themselves as incumbents of various positions in the school system.

The teachers' questionnaire, which covered an extensive area of pupil behaviour, was expected to yield information on the way the teachers on the panel perceived the pupils in some important dimensions of their roles as pupils.

(a) The Pupils' Questionnaire: its Structure.

The form of questions employed was the closed schedule type which required the pupils to answer 'true' or 'false' on a five point scale. Besides facilitating quantification, this format enabled the pupils, who varied widely in ability (i.e. ability to cope with a questionnaire), to respond with ease. This advantage, however, had to be weighed against the disadvantage of using the random choice method with these pupils, by ensuring that the questions asked were meaningful to them.

(i) Academic Orientation.

Subjects in the secondary school curriculum are not just nominal entities; they are significant both for their academic relevance and their conceptual content. 'Maths and Science' and 'English and Modern Languages' are often valued for their role in the academic pursuit, while 'Humanities' and 'Practical Subjects' frequently have a more expressive appeal.

Such differentiation of the curriculum into 'instrumental' and 'expressive' spheres of preference are one of the notable features of attitude of a wide cross-section of the pupils at the Dreyton School. While 'Maths and Science' and 'English and Modern Languages' were most often evaluated as 'Subjects Most Important in the Future', 'Humanities' and 'Practical Subjects' were most frequently referred to as 'Subjects Liked Best'. Thus the expressive dimension 'Subjects Liked Best' and the instrumental dimension 'Subjects Most Important in the Future' appeared to be two ways of identifying
different types of subject preference.

Since these two types of preference appeared to coincide with a classification of the curriculum into 'academic' and 'non-academic' kinds of subjects, it seemed only natural that an attempt should be made in the questionnaire to typify pupil preference in terms of the once 'academic/non-academic' and 'instrumental/expressive'. Thus, in the questionnaire, the typifications 'Subjects Most Important' and 'Subjects Liked Best' were used as bases for differentiating types of pupil preference for subjects offered in the curriculum. These typifications were included in the questionnaire as two separate items and would, therefore, be expected to yield independent distributions of pupil preference.

(ii) Patterns of Friendship Choice.

In many of the classrooms at the Nuyton School seating arrangements suggested that there was some degree of cleavage along the dimensions of sex and ethnic origin. Only in the informal atmosphere of the playground, where boys mixed freely with girls and black pupils mingled unhesitatingly with white pupils, did such cleavage appear to disappear. Indeed as consistent was this change in the pupils' pattern of mixing between the classroom and the playground, that it began to appear to the writer, as observer and teacher, that their behaviour was a function of both the degree of informality and the presence or absence of the teacher. For example, only during lessons which were conducted by the writer in a deliberately informal manner, did the open-nose of the playground penetrate into the classroom.

An explanation of this change is that in the formal atmosphere of the classroom the teacher appears to the pupil to be no different from the parent as an agent of the institutionalised values of society. His presence, therefore, acts as a check on any peer grouping that might not meet with the approval of parents.

This observation formed the basis of items 9 and 10 of the Questionnaire. First pupils were asked to identify three people with whom they would like to do lots of things; including going on holiday. Then they were asked to choose, from among the three people,
one person—a best friend—who they would most like to invite to their homes and to meet their parents.

The purpose of these two questions was to attempt to elicit from the pupils ingroup-type responses which might be related to cleavage around ethnic origin.

(iii) Pupils' Evaluation of the Grading Philosophy.

A number of labels—'the intelligent one', 'the well behaved one' and many others—were often employed by teachers at the Drayton School in identifying pupils to other teachers (usually the newly appointed ones or those on short visits) who were not sufficiently conversant with pupils' names.

Although the value of these labels seemed, at least overtly, to be purely 'naming' in function, they did appear to express different kinds and degrees of approval by the teachers who used them. Often, too, they were used in the classroom situation to praise or blame or even make distinctions amongst the pupils. In fact they were an integral part of the grading philosophy of a number of the staff.

Now if teachers in a given situation were consistent enough in their use of these labels and if they used them sufficiently widely, then pupils would tend to associate them with varying kinds and degrees of academic relevance. In order to test this hypothesis pupils were asked to evaluate the relevance of a number of statements (couched in the idiom of what appeared to be the grading philosophy of teachers at the Drayton School) to academic grading.

In order to ensure that the responses elicited from the pupils would form a 'normal distribution', the teachers supervising the completion of the questionnaire were asked to explain to the pupils the need to choose basically between the extremes of the scale—that is between 'true' and 'false'. This request was based on the decision to reduce the five-point scale to its extreme values in the course of analysing the data.

(iv) Class-work, Games, Athletics and the Inter-ethnic Pattern of Ascription.

While some pupils excel in class work, others achieve pre-eminence
in other spheres of activity like games and athletics. As different values in the stratified world of the school, each of these activities is invested with a certain relevance. Thus a boy who achieves distinction in the field of sport might be seen as someone who is popular amongst the girls, while another boy who achieves distinction in the classroom might be acclaimed the favourite of the teachers.

Although there is no obvious reason why, in a multi-racial society, the athletic boy should be black, it has often happened that the black boy has surpassed his white counterpart both in athletics and some types of games. Indeed, so predictably is this the case that, in the event of such competitions, there is invariably the expectation that the black boy or for that matter the black girl would win.

Now, whether this expectation constitutes a stereotype or a prediction can only be ascertained by a complex set of experiments involving procedures which are beyond the scope of this study. As a compromise, therefore, the pupils were asked, in item 8 of the questionnaire, to ascribe to their peers the following statuses: 'best in class', 'best in games', and 'best in athletics'. These responses were expected to yield information on the inter-ethnic pattern of ascription.

(v) Home Work Practice.

In this section of the questionnaire (items 12 and 13) the pupils were asked two questions. First, 'Does anyone at home help you with your homework?' and second, 'If your answer is 'yes', say which of the people below give you help: father, sister, aunt, brother, cousin, mother, uncle'.

Besides revealing the pattern of involvement of the home in this aspect of the educational experience of the pupils, these items were expected to show the degree and kind of help offered at home to pupils from different ethnic backgrounds.
(vi) Plans for the future.

In considering whether he would 'take the first job that comes along', 'look for a job which offers further training' or 'go to university' or 'college', a pupil is forced to ponder the more immediate question of when he is going to leave school. This often constitutes 'for him the demand, or at least the opportunity, to direct his thoughts both behind him and ahead of the present moment; swinging rapidly from one perspective to another, comparing, predicting, regretting and resolving instantly; planning for the future but preserving continuity with the present; making the best of what has been, ensuring the best of what could come'.

In a multi-social society such as Britain a pupil's ability to resolve, with confidence, the issues to which these decisions are related, will depend not only on his academic achievements but also on parental status, neighborhood and ethnic factors. In varying degrees these factors limit the access of pupils from different social and ethnic backgrounds to a wide range of occupational chances and produce, among them, different patterns of adjustment to the various constraints in the transition from school to work. It is in order to explore this general pattern of adjustment that items 14-21 have been included in the questionnaire.

(vii) Self Image.

While in contemplation of the various aspects of the transition from school to work the fourth year pupil might exhibit an ambivalent and fatalistic attitude, in assessment of self, he will often express more definite opinions and values. This is so because of the unique structure of the self as 'a center, an anchorage point, a standard of comparison, an ultimate real which 'takes its place as a supreme value' in the social complex of the individual. Important though this reflective aspect is in understanding the self as a concept, it fails to communicate the specific nature of social influence on self-attitudes and, in consequence, does not underline the value of the concept as a social index. Where, therefore, an attempt is being made to use self-evaluation as an index, particular historical conditions
must be specified.

In this study the specific context against which the population of pupils were asked to hedge their self-image was the school. Included in the context of the school were a number of influences which were thought to induce types of emotional reactions related to the pupils' self-concept. For a list of these influences see item 22 of the pupils' questionnaire in appendix (1).

(b) The Teachers' Questionnaire.

In 1965 a group of educational psychologists attached to Hersey House College of Education carried out a study\textsuperscript{17} of the dimensions used by teachers in making assessments of the personal attributes of their pupils. The list of characteristics used in the study 'were chosen largely on their manifest relevance to the classroom situation'.\textsuperscript{18} In order to establish the relevance of these characteristics a pilot survey was carried out in which a representative sample of teachers were asked to rate a number of personal attributes 'in order of the frequency of occasions on which they found themselves discussing them ...'.\textsuperscript{19}

Both the structure and content of the main Scottish study and the content of the pilot study provided the starting point for the construction of the teachers' questionnaire used in the present study hereafter to be referred to as the 'Good Green Study'.

All but eight of the twenty-eight characteristics used in the main Scottish study were included in the Good Green Study. Of this number, two were amended on the basis of recommendations by the panel of eight tutors at the Good Green School, who were asked to rate all the fourth year pupils, in their houses, on twenty personal attributes. 'Popularity' was changed to 'popularity with teachers' and 'co-operation with other pupils' was changed to 'co-operation with other people'.

The panel were not asked to rate the population of pupils in accordance with the model of a normal distribution since it was already normal practice for them to use assessment as a means of distinguishing one pupil from another. Each panelist, however, was requested to take the average rating (for example 3') as the average for his group. This request was thought very important since the tutors concerned were
also class teachers and were, therefore, likely to vary in the average they employed.

The main aim of the teachers' questionnaire was to see whether there was overlap between any characteristics which yielded significant differences in relation to ethnic origin, or West Indian origin, in the Wood Green Study, and similar characteristics which were shown in the main Scottish study, to constitute a classroom dimension described as 'good behaviour'. For a list of the characteristics included in the teachers' questionnaire see appendix (3).
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Six Months in the Field

1. The ILEA Report on Immigrant Education (Cf. A. Little et al., 'The Education of Immigrant Pupils in Inner London Primary Schools', Race, Vol. 9, No. 4, April 1968, pp.439-452); Haringey's councillor Dobson's pronouncements on Negro intelligence in the throes of that borough's attempt at 'bending' immigrant pupils; the Race Relations Act of 1968, which gave rise to the Community Relations Commission and the Race Relations Board, and a spate of research on immigrants (Cf. A. Sivanandan, 'Coloured Immigrants in Britain: a select bibliography, Institute of Race Relations, London, 1965) together served to highlight the problems associated with immigration.

2. Neighbourhood school is here used in the same sense in which Robin Davis has employed the term in his book 'The Grammar School', (Pelican, 1967). Just as 'neighbourhood schools merely emphasise class division rather than break it down' (Robin Davis, op. cit. p.157) so too would they tend to reinforce class divisions.

3. Concern about this trend was voiced in Southall, Bradford and West Bromwich LEAS where a policy of dispersal had been adopted. Haringey borough council, against great opposition from local groups, had decided to experiment with a policy of bending calculated to disperse immigrants in the borough's secondary schools.


6. The term 'geography of need' was coined by the Hunt Committee. (Cf. The Hunt Report, 'Immigrants and the Youth Service', London, H.M.S.O., 1966.)

8. Ibid.


11. For examples of this sort of focus, see A.B. Halsey et al., Education, Economy and Society', The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961, Parts III and IV.


13. Ibid.


16. Ibid.


18. Tests of ability (I.Q. tests) are merely pragmatic indicators of some trait which cannot itself be apprehended. As indicators the tests themselves vary both qualitatively and in relation to various age cohorts. (Cf. G. Forchlin et al., 'The Social Differentiation of Ability', Sociology, 1(2) 1967, pp.113-129.

19. Selective Schooling (Cf. G.R. Elder, 'Life Opportunities and
20. An ability oriented ideology may be construed as an ideology which is organised around 'talent' or 'ability'. The term ideology is used in the sense in which Daniel Bell employs it in his book 'The End of Ideology' (Cf. Daniel Bell, 'The End of Ideology', Free Press, N.Y., 1962).


24. For example intervention by the Government in the reorganisation of Secondary education along comprehensive lines is thought to have led to neighbourhood schools in certain areas (Cf. Robin Davis, 'The Grammar School', Penguin Books, 1967, pp.157-158).

25. A. Little, op. cit., also Bernard Coard, op. cit.


28. J. Arnold in Halsey et al., op. cit.: 'in order for schooling to change a status system schooling must be a variable'.

29. The school is a minute society which shapes and is shaped by its wider social context. (Cf. William Haller, 'The Sociology of Teaching', Wiley, 1933)


31. 'Ability' measured in terms of the level of attainment in various reading and arithmetic schemes.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. That is attuned to the norms and values of the school as a social and academic community.

35. That is ability to speak standard English.
2. Finding a Suitable School.

1. Organisational stress is used to refer to the tensions caused in the organisation through attempts to achieve widely recognised educational goals without either a stable staff of teachers or adequate facilities - educational hardware.


3. The term ('immigrant' which should be prefixed by 'Coloured') is restricted to persons born in the New Commonwealth.

4. The term 'West Indian' is used to refer to persons born either in the West Indies or Guyana (formerly British Guiana).


6. 'Deprived' in the sense in which Plowden used the term in his report on Primary Schools (cf. Department of Education and Science, 'Children and their Primary Schools', op. cit.)

7. It was estimated that immigrants (cf. DES definition in Form 7(i), Department of Education and Science, 1966) constituted only 25% of this schools' population.

8. 'Depressed' or 'deprived' (see note 6).

9. Ibid.

10. That is a memorandum sent to all headteachers advising them against offering accommodation to researchers who had not been
first vetted by the local authority concerned.

11. The headteacher requested that the writer assign numbers to the pupils in the survey population rather than risk inducing the wrath of their parents by using their names on the questionnaires.

12. Immigrants (those pupils born outside England) constituted 27.3% of the population of fourth year pupils. Just over 21.6% of this figure was 'coloured'.


14. The Wood Green School was originally a Grammar School which was merged with a Secondary Modern to form the present Wood Green Comprehensive School. At the time of the survey it had still retained many of its Grammar School characteristics.

15. For some of the basic assumptions on which such techniques are based see S. Siegel Non-Parametric Statistics for Behavioural Scientists, Mc Graw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1956.


17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

3. Baringey as an Educational District.


2. Robin Fedley noted this practice in a high proportion of the Comprehensive Schools which he studied (cf. Robin Fedley, 'The Comprehensive School', Hermonæworth, Penguin, 1963.)
3. Department of Education and Science, Form 7(1), 1966. In this form 'immigrant' is defined as:
   i) Children from outside the British Isles who have come to this country with or to join parents or guardians whose countries of origin were abroad; and
   ii) Children born in the United Kingdom to parents whose countries of origin were abroad and who came to the United Kingdom on or after 1st January 19...

4. The Questionnaires

1. For the structure and content of the two questionnaires, see appendices (1) and (2).

2. The term 'immigrant' (which should be prefixed by 'coloured') is restricted to persons born in the New Commonwealth. There are, however, a number of persons in the population of pupils who will be referred to as 'immigrants' although they were born in either an old Commonwealth country or Europe. Where it is necessary to distinguish these persons (nearly all of whom are white) from the rest of the survey population the terms 'other nationalities' or 'others' will be used.

3. The term 'West Indian' is used to refer to persons born either in the West Indies or Guyana (formerly British Guiana).

4. For a breakdown of the various groups of subjects — 'Maths and Science', 'English and Modern Languages', 'Humanities' and 'Practical Subjects', see appendix (3).

5. The term 'instrumental' is restricted in meaning to 'things which have some value (mainly instrumental but possibly also expressive) only in the future'; while the term 'expressive' is restricted in meaning to 'things which have some value (mainly expressive but possibly also instrumental) only at the present time'.

6. The academic subjects in the curriculum are grouped as 'Maths and Science' and 'English and Modern languages' while the non-academic subjects are grouped as 'Humanities' and 'Practical Subjects'. 

8. Ibid.

9. 'Stereotype denotes beliefs about classes of individuals, groups or objects which are 'pre-conceived', i.e. resulting not from fresh appraisals of each phenomenon but from routinised habits of judgement and expectation' (cf. Marie Joches in J. Gould and E.J. Kolb (Eds), 'A Dictionary of the Social Sciences', Tavistock Publications, 1964, p.624).


17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.
CHAPTER XV

ANALYSIS OF SURVEY DATA:

INTRODUCTION TO SOME BACKGROUND VARIABLES.

In this chapter an attempt will be made to introduce the reader to some general but important characteristics of the 'survey population'. The term population is here used to convey completeness in the statistical sense in which a 'census' is meant to do so. The inferences drawn from the study should, therefore, be limited to this unit of population only.

As stated in Chapter III, the aim of this study is to explore a number of differences in school experience between English and immigrant pupils with particular reference to immigrant West Indians and to highlight those differences which appear to have some relevance both in relation to pupil attainment and teacher and peer selection in the classroom, and also in relation to the plans which pupils make for the future.

The variables covered in the study are represented in the diagram below, which is intended to underline the writer's conception of their theoretical significance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Input variables</th>
<th>Process variables</th>
<th>Dependent variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Choice</td>
<td>Teacher Rating</td>
<td>Leaving Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Rating</td>
<td>Self Image</td>
<td>Educational Plans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>Friendship Choice</td>
<td>Job Plans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.C. Grading</td>
<td>Homework Practice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>Practice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two notable omissions from the diagram are the variables 'socio-economic class' and 'intelligence' or 'ability'. Although both of these variables are important in this kind of research, their omission in this case is not regarded as crucial for three reasons. First the aim of the research is not to falsify or verify any theory and hence the need for carefully controlled variables is not regarded as decisive.
Second, owing to the nature and pattern of the settlement of immigrants in Britain — its recency, the lack of comparative data on occupations and the existence of fairly widespread prejudice and discrimination — it would have been neither practical nor expedient to attempt to use socio-economic class as a control. Third, in view of the existence of the element of cultural bias in intelligence tests, which, in the case of this study, would tend to mask some of the differences arising from ethnic origin, the absence of a control is not thought to be vital.

1. Social and Personal

Table 1.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>72.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1 above indicates that just under 72% of the survey population originates from the new commonwealth, that is from Cypriot and the West Indians. In accordance with the definition of 'immigrant', used here this sector of the survey population are 'immigrant'. The remainder of the non-English group in the survey population, who are listed as 'other', are a mainly white group and will, therefore, be treated as a residual category in the analysis which follows.

The total population of 175 fourth year pupil is short of the number on roll, at the time of the survey, by approximately 2%. This deficit is due to absences at the time the questionnaire was being administered.

It will be seen that only 8.1% of the survey population (or 3% of the 'immigrant' population) are West Indian, while 12.8% of the survey population (or 6% of the 'immigrant' population) are Cypriot, making a total 'immigrant' population of approximately 21%. These figures (cf. Table 2.1 below) correspond with those reported by the
Hunt Committee¹³ for the borough of Haringey (1966). The eleven year old pupils listed in this report would have been fifteen years old in 1970 when the present study was being conducted.

Table 1.2
Distribution of 11-14 year old Haringey pupils (1966) by country of origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>4,155</td>
<td>72.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,747</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Hunt Committee Report (1966), H.E.S.C.

If it is assumed that the Hunt Committee's figures¹⁴ are representative of the West Indian and Cypriot elements in the immigrant pupil population of Haringey in 1966, then (all things being equal) it may be inferred, from the two sets of figures, that the smaller West Indian element in the survey population is due to the Wood Green School being located in a predominantly Cypriot part of the borough.¹⁵

Table 1.3 (a)
Distribution of Survey Population by Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 yrs.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 yrs. 3 mths.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 yrs. 6 mths.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 yrs. 9 mths.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 15 yrs. 9 mths.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>175</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.3 (b)
Distribution of Survey Population by Age and Ethnic Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>15 yrs.</th>
<th>15 yrs. 3 mths.</th>
<th>15 yrs. 6 mths.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>31(24.4)</td>
<td>40(31.4)</td>
<td>33(25.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>4(26.6)</td>
<td>2(13.3)</td>
<td>4(26.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>8(31.3)</td>
<td>7(31.9)</td>
<td>4(18.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3(27.2)</td>
<td>1(9.0)</td>
<td>5(45.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Over 70% of the survey population are between the ages of 15 years 6 months and under (cf. Table 1.3(a)). English and Cypriot pupils account for 81.7% and 96.4% respectively, of this age group, while West Indians account for only 66.5% of it (cf. Table 1.3(b)). West Indians, therefore, comprise a greater proportion of the older age cohorts.

Table 1.4
Distribution of the Immigrant Population by Age on Arrival in Britain.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immigrants Age on Arrival in Britain (in yrs. only).</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 and 3</td>
<td>1 (7.1)</td>
<td>6 (42.8)</td>
<td>3 (21.4)</td>
<td>2 (14.3)</td>
<td>1 (7.1)</td>
<td>2 (14.2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 and 7</td>
<td>1 (4.5)</td>
<td>6 (42.2)</td>
<td>1 (4.5)</td>
<td>11 (50.0)</td>
<td>3 (13.6)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 and over</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>3 (27.3)</td>
<td>1 (11.1)</td>
<td>3 (33.3)</td>
<td>2 (22.2)</td>
<td>2 (22.2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above Table (1.4) suggests that the majority of West Indian pupils (over 70%) arrived in Britain before their fifth birthday (i.e., around 1960) when West Indian immigration had reached one of its early peaks. By contrast only approximately half as many Cypriots (36%) in the survey population arrived in Britain at about the same time.

Table 1.5 (a)
Distribution of the Survey Population by Sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boy</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>54.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>45.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.5 (b)
Distribution of the Survey Population by Sex and Ethnic Origin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Boy</th>
<th>Girl</th>
<th>N = 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>63 (49.1)</td>
<td>64 (50.9)</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>11 (73.3)</td>
<td>4 (26.7)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>16 (72.7)</td>
<td>6 (27.3)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5 (45.4)</td>
<td>6 (54.6)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Whereas the proportion of boys to girls in the whole survey population is 0.54 to 0.46 (cf. Table 1.5 (a)), the proportion among English pupils is 0.49 to 0.51 (cf. Table 1.5 (b)), while that among West Indians, Cypriots and other nationalities is respectively 0.73 to 0.27, 0.73 to 0.27 and 0.45 to 0.55 (ibid). These comparisons suggest that the 10% difference between boys and girls in the whole population is due largely to the preponderance of boys in the Cypriot and West Indian groups.

Table 1.6 (c)

Distribution of Survey Population in Terms of Sibling Composition of Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sibling Composition</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>under 2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 and under 4</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>48.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 and under 6</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 and under 8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 and over</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.6 (b)

Distribution of Survey Population in Terms of Ethnic Origin and Sibling Composition of Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Sibling Composition of Families (in yrs. only)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>17 (13.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>1 (6.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>1 (6.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3 (27.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The modal size of the survey population (in terms of sibling composition of families) is between 2 and 6 siblings (cf. Table 1.6 (c)). While the modal size for English pupils is the same (cf. Table 1.6 (b)), that for West Indians and Cypriots is respectively between 4 and 5, and 2 and 5 siblings, (ibid). In addition nearly 80% of West Indians are
from families of between 4 and 7 siblings while 90% of Cypriots are from families of between 2 and 5 siblings (ibid).

Table 1.7 (a)
Distribution of Survey Population by Sibling Position in Families.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sibling Position</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st.</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>40.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.7 (b)
Distribution of Survey Population by Ethnic Origin and Sibling Position in Families.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>4th</th>
<th>5th</th>
<th>6th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>54 (33.3)</td>
<td>46 (31.2)</td>
<td>18 (14.2)</td>
<td>4 (3.2)</td>
<td>2 (1.6)</td>
<td>3 (2.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>5 (33.3)</td>
<td>2 (13.3)</td>
<td>5 (33.3)</td>
<td>1 (6.7)</td>
<td>1 (6.7)</td>
<td>1 (6.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>7 (31.3)</td>
<td>6 (27.3)</td>
<td>5 (22.7)</td>
<td>2 (13.7)</td>
<td>1 (4.5)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6 (54.5)</td>
<td>2 (18.2)</td>
<td>2 (18.2)</td>
<td>1 (9.1)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Educational

Although mixed ability is an established and pervasive form of organisation at the Wood Green School, there is a significant degree of streaming. Within the mixed ability framework, setting of pupils according to ability begins in the second year, for French and Science, and continues throughout the third and fourth years at which points pupils may take up German and or Spanish depending on how successful they have been in French. English and Mathematics, which are compulsory subjects in the first year, continue to be so in the fourth year. In fact so important is Mathematics, as an academic subject, that, together with Science, it forms the basis of streaming in the fourth year terminal examinations.
In the system of marking used in this examination, a pupil's combined performance in Mathematics and Science determines his placement in either of two groups which are differentiated academically. First, pupils are sorted into eight grades of attainment in Mathematics and Science. Then each pupil's grades in each of these subjects are combined and, according to whether these grades fall within the intervals 1-4 or 5-8, the pupil is assigned to stream 'A' or 'B'. The margin of difference between these streams approximates that between 11+ failures and successes. Stream 'A' or grades 1-4 would, therefore, have been expected to pass the 11+. In future reference to placement the terms 'stream 'A' or 'stream 'B'' will be used while in reference to subject performance the terms 'group 'A'' (i.e. grades 1-4) or 'group 'B'' (i.e. grades 5-8) will be used.

It is expected that the proportion of English pupils in the upper stream would be greater than the proportion of either West Indian or Cypriot pupils in this stream since a number of studies, including one large-scale survey, have shown that English pupils perform much better in the basic subjects than their immigrant counterparts.

Table 2.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Stream 'A' %</th>
<th>Stream 'B' %</th>
<th>N=120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This expectation is confirmed by Table 2.1 which shows that the proportion of English pupils assigned to stream 'A' is more than twice the proportions of either West Indian or Cypriot pupils in this group. Bhatnagar in his study of Haringey pupils found the same pattern of inter-ethnic differences of achievement in the basic subjects.
Table 2.2
Ethnic Origin by Performance in Mathematics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Performance in Mathematics</th>
<th>Group 'A' %</th>
<th>Group 'B' %</th>
<th>N=100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td>69</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td>82</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>107</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3
Ethnic Origin by Performance in Science

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Performance in Science</th>
<th>Group 'A' %</th>
<th>Group 'B' %</th>
<th>N=100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>86</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pattern of inter-ethnic differences recorded in Tables 2.1 and 2.2 suggest that it is performance in Mathematics rather than in Science that has had the greater impact on placement. This is borne out by the fact that in both 'stream placement' and performance in Mathematics, the proportion of either West Indian or Cypriot pupils assigned to this group is approximately half the proportion of English pupils so assigned. In contrast, the inter-ethnic differences recorded in Table 2.3 are not only smaller, but also show Cypriot pupils rather than English pupils as the most talented group in Science.

Whether, however, the ethnic composition of stream 'A' is really a true reflection of the inter-ethnic pattern of performance in Mathematics and Science combined will depend on the nature of the discrepancy — if any — between the 'observed' and the 'expected' proportion of pupils assigned to stream 'A' from each ethnic group. For it must be remembered that a pupil's combined performance in Mathematics and in Science determines his placement in stream 'A'.

Table 2.4

Stream 'A' only: Placement and Mean Performance in Mathematics and Science by Ethnic Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Placement %</th>
<th>Mean Performance % (in Maths. and Science) N=100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(* = gain, - = loss)

Table 2.4 indicates that while West Indian and Cypriot pupils have fallen below the expected proportion of pupils to be assigned to stream 'A' by 4% and 7% respectively, English pupils have risen above that proportion by 19%. It would appear, therefore, that the ethnic composition of stream 'A', far from being a true reflection of the inter-ethnic pattern of performance in Mathematics and Science combined, is influenced by some factor not included in the equation.

Table 2.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tutor Groups Ranked in Terms of Percentage Academic Composition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above table the rank position of each tutor group is shown to vary, in terms of academic composition, in descending order from rank one to eight. Thus, for example, the percentage of stream 'A' pupils in each tutor group increases in magnitude from rank one to eight while the percentage of stream 'B' decreases in magnitude along the same ordinal scale.

What is the significance of this rank order of academically composed groups? Does it, for example, suggest anything about the
criteria in accordance with which pupils are assigned to the various tutor groups? One way of exploring this is to see whether the same pattern of relationship that has been shown to exist between ethnic origin and placement (cf. Table 2.1) also obtains between academic composition and placement with regard to tutor groups.

Table 2.6
Ethnic Origin and Tutor Groups Ranked in Terms of Academic Composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>West Indian</th>
<th>Cypriot</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>N=100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>76.2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>61.9</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>127</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.6 above indicates that there is a tendency for the academic composition of tutor groups to vary with their ethnic composition in such a way that the higher percentages of English pupils cluster around the more academically composed tutor groups while the higher percentages of West Indian and Cypriot pupils cluster around the less academically composed groups. Thus while the assignment of English pupils to tutor groups appears to be similar in pattern to that of stream 'A' pupils (cf. Table 2.5), the pattern of assignment of West Indians and Cypriots corresponds to that of stream 'B' pupils (ibid).
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. 'Census' in the sense in which this term has been used in the older text books (Cf. G.A. Moser, 'Survey Methods in Social Investigation', Heinemann, London, 1958, p.50.

2. The term 'immigrant' which should be prefixed by 'coloured' is restricted, in its usage, to persons born in the New Commonwealth. An 'immigrant' who is not born in a New Commonwealth country will be referred to as 'other nationality' or 'other'. Such persons constitute approximately 5% of the survey population.

3. The term 'West Indian' is restricted in its usage to persons born either in the West Indies or in Guyana (formerly British Guiana).


6. There appears to be no comparative data on occupations in London and in the immigrants' countries of origin except Ruth Glass' study (Ruth Glass, 'Newcomers: The West Indians in London', Allen and Unwin Ltd.) which compared occupations in London and Jamaica.


9. That is given the lack of other controls.

10. See note at '2' above.

11. That is persons born outside England including Scotland, Wales and Ireland.

12. See note at '6' above.

14. Ibid.

15. The general pattern of settlement of immigrants in England suggests that there are areas of immigrant settlement in which a particular ethnic group tends to be predominant, e.g. Southall and Brixton.


20. This finding was underlined in the ILL report by A. Little et al op. cit., p.444.
CHAPTER V
ANALYSIS OF SURVEY DATA: PUPILS' QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Academic Orientation.

In the questionnaire the typifications 'subjects most important in the future' and 'subjects liked best' were used as bases for differentiating types of pupil preference. These typifications were included as two separate items and would therefore be expected to yield two independent distributions of pupil preference.

Table 1.1(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Instrumental %</th>
<th>Expressive %</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Academic:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng. &amp; Mod. Lang.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>+5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maths &amp; Science</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>+19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non Academic:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanities</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical Subjects</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>-18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(+ = gain - = loss)

Table 1.1(b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Instrumental %</th>
<th>Expressive %</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Academic:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng. &amp; Mod. Lang.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>+11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maths &amp; Science</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>+7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non Academic:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanities</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical Subjects</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(+ = gain - = loss)

Table 1.1(c)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'Instrumental'</th>
<th>'Expressive'</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Academic:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng. &amp; Mod. Lang.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>+8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maths &amp; Science</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>+14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non Academic:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanities</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical Subjects</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>-11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When the difference in preference between the two typifications is tabulated (cf. Tables 1.1(a), 1.1(b) and 1.1(c)) in terms of a two-fold classification of the curriculum into 'academic' and 'non-academic' kinds of subjects the following trend is revealed: the direction of difference, in magnitude, between the two types of preference is inverted between the 'academic' and 'non-academic' kinds of subjects. This trend may be discerned in all ethnic groups in the population of pupils investigated. A similar inversion is not found between 'English and Modern Languages' and 'Mathematics and Science'; or, between 'Humanities' and 'Practical Subjects'. Such a pattern of difference does coincide with observations of the ways pupils at the 'field school' typified their preference for subjects in the curriculum. It may thus be inferred that the typifications 'Subjects Most Important in the Future' and 'Subjects liked Best' are theoretically significant ways of classifying the curriculum into 'academic' and 'non-academic' forms of activity.

Now, if there are inter group variations in academic preference between immigrants and 'non-immigrants', such variations should be revealed when pupil preference is tabulated in terms of 'academic' and 'non-academic' spheres of activity.

### Table 1.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Academic %</th>
<th>Non-academic %</th>
<th>N=100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 1.2 in which academic preference is cross-tabulated with ethnic origin, the magnitude of difference revealed does not suggest that academic preference is related to ethnic origin. 76% of West Indian pupils expressed an academic type of preference as against 68% of English pupils and 61% of Cypriot pupils.
Table 1.3
Preference for Subjects in the Curriculum as Classified as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin (Eng &amp; Mod. Lang)</th>
<th>Non-Literate</th>
<th>N=100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Literate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Differentiation of the curriculum in terms of 'Literate' and 'non-Literate' subjects (cf. Table 1.3) indicates much variation between English and immigrant pupils in preference for literate subjects. Nearly 4 in 10 English pupils show a preference for 'English and Modern Languages', while only approximately 2 in 10 of both West Indian and Cypriot pupils show the same preference. One reason for the lower preference amongst West Indians and Cypriots, could be a certain awareness on their part, of their different linguistic background and its depressing effect on their performance in 'literate subjects'.

Assuming, therefore, that degree of academic preference is constant, West Indian and Cypriot pupils could be expected to transfer their preference, within the academic range of subjects, from 'English and Modern Languages' to 'Mathematics and Science'. This, however, appears to be the case only among West Indians. In Table 1.4 below, their much higher preference, for the numerate subjects 'Mathematics and Science' (26% over English pupils and 18% over Cypriot pupils) suggest that they might well have transferred their preference from 'English and Modern Languages' to 'Mathematics and Science'. Thus, within the academic range of subjects, West Indians reveal the most academic kind of preference.

Table 1.4
Preference for Subjects in the Curriculum as Classified as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Numerate %</th>
<th>Non-numerate %</th>
<th>N=100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Maths and Science)</td>
<td>(all others)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Besides sharing a high preference for the subjects they 'like best' or for the subjects they consider to be 'most important in the future,' pupils do generally prefer a subject in which they feel most competent. If this tendency obtains in this population of pupils, the higher preference among West Indians for numerate subjects can be expected to be reflected in a higher level of performance by West Indians in these subjects. The probability of such an association is reinforced in a system of marking and grading in which a pupil's competence in the numerate subjects is the basis of his placement in stream 'A' or stream 'B'.

Table 1.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Numerate Subjects (Mean Performance in)%</th>
<th>Preference for %</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>+28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Indian</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>+20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 1.5 above, the column on percentage mean performance in 'numerate' subjects suggests that the higher preference among West Indians for numerate subjects (cf. Table 1.4) is not reflected in a higher level of performance by West Indians in these subjects. West Indians have fallen into second place with a mean performance of 22% below that of English pupils. This difference is almost equal to the 25.4% advantage which West Indians have had over English pupils in preference for numerate subjects (cf. Table 1.4). Whereas in preference for numerate subjects Cypriots are in second place with 18.1% below West Indians and 7.3% above English pupils in level of performance in these subjects, they are 21.6% below English pupils and 9.5% below West Indians. Thus among the three ethnic groups there has been a complete inversion in rank position between 'performance in' and 'preference for' numerate subjects.
2. Pattern of Friendship Choice

In items 9 and 10 of the questionnaire, pupils were asked to choose from among three friends a 'best friend' whom they would like to invite to their homes to meet their parents. The aim of these items was to determine whether there was any cleavage in friendship preference along ethnic origin.

Table 2.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tutor Group</th>
<th>Index of Ingroup Preference for:</th>
<th>Numbers in Stream</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English Immigrants</td>
<td>English Immigrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E1</td>
<td>1.76 13.5</td>
<td>18 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E2</td>
<td>1.57 1.33</td>
<td>20 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>2.84 7.08</td>
<td>17 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>0.00 3.09</td>
<td>13 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1</td>
<td>4.67 17.0</td>
<td>17 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2</td>
<td>6.36 6.0</td>
<td>12 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1</td>
<td>0.95 0.75</td>
<td>15 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2</td>
<td>0.57 11.25</td>
<td>15 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table, which is based on Proctor and Loomis, 'Index of Ingroup Preference', and in which the population of pupils is broken down into groups of 'immigrants' and 'non-immigrants', indicates a consistently high degree of ingroup preference in choice of 'best friend'. This is particularly so among immigrants who, in every tutor group except N1, show a high degree of ingroup preference. Among non-immigrants there is a similar pattern of ingroup preference except in the tutor group N1 and N2 in which some degree of outgroup preference is evident with group N1 being the only tutor group in which there is reciprocal outgroup preference. This tutor group is also the one in which there is the highest proportion of stream 'A' pupils (cf. Table 2.5).

In order to reveal variations in the pattern of friendship preference (as opposed to mere calculations of the presence and degree of ingroup preference) Moreno's technique of the sociogram has been employed. In each chart continuous lines linking individual pupils indicate reciprocated choices while broken lines symbolise choices which are un-reciprocated.
TUTOR GROUP W
An overview of all the charts reveals a consistent pattern of clique formations with varying degrees of closure. As would be expected, where cliques are multi-racial - where there are reciprocated choices between English and immigrant pupils - the readings produced by the index of ingroup preference have been low for both immigrants and non-immigrants. Typical of this pattern of preference are tutor groups $E^1$ and $E^2$ in which there is a number of individually reciprocated choices. For example, these are choices between $E^1$ boys 17 and 20 and 16 and 24. In tutor group $E^2$, these choices obtain between girls 9 and 2, and boys 18 and 21 and 23 and 24.

Where the index shows some degree of outgroup preference there is a tendency for a member of an outgroup to be at the centre of the group's preference. This pattern is evident in charts $N^1$ and $N^2$ where two girls - one Cypriot (N$^1$2) and the other Canadian (N$^2$5) - and an English boy (N$^1$21) are at the centre of preference of the outgroup. There is also, in this group, a number of individually reciprocated choices between English and immigrant pupils. For example, this is the case between $N^2$2 and $N^2$7 and $N^2$4 and $N^2$5.

A variable pattern of choice is revealed in some groups which show a moderately high degree of ingroup preference. For example, in tutor group $S^2$, there is a number of fairly closely connected cliques of Cypriot boys and of English girls. Both English girls and Cypriot boys are dominant in their respective groups. In addition, while $S^1$ girls are a totally white group, $S^1$ boys are fragmented into small and loosely connected cliques of either immigrant or English pupils. This pattern is also revealed in the $U^1$ and $U^2$ groups.

3. Pupil Perception and the Grading Philosophy

Presented in this section is the pupils' evaluation of the relevance of a number of statements\(^9\) (couched in the idion of what the writer considers to be the hypothetical grading philosophy of their teachers) to academic grading.

In order to facilitate analysis, the five-point scale on which the
pupils recorded their responses was reduced to one of two points. This procedure was catered for in the actual administration of the questionnaire by a simple request to the teachers administering it that they explain to the respondents the need to choose basically the extreme values of the scale, namely 'true' and 'false'.

Table 3.1
Pupils' Evaluation of a Number of Grading Philosophies:
'More Intelligent' by Ethnic Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>More Intelligent Positive %</th>
<th>More Intelligent Negative %</th>
<th>N=100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Indian</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2
Pupils' Evaluation of a Number of Grading Philosophies:
'Better Behaved' by Ethnic Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Better Behaved Positive %</th>
<th>Better Behaved Negative %</th>
<th>N=100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Indian</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the five philosophies evaluated by the pupils, only two - 'more intelligent ...' and 'good behaviour ...' - appeared to be related to ethnic origin or to reveal some significant pattern in the pupils' response to the questions (cf. Tables 3.1 and 3.2). Thus in their choice between a 'positive' and a 'negative' evaluation of the philosophy 'more intelligent ...', pupils of all three ethnic groups revealed a considerable degree of concensus. For example, between 78% and 96% of all ethnic groups assigned it positively (cf. Table 3.1). Not so, however, in the case of the philosophy 'good behaviour ...' whose evaluation by the different ethnic groups varied much between the two points on the scale, from a low positive value of
30% and 39% respectively by Cypriots and English pupils to a high
positive value of 66% by West Indian pupils (cf. Table 3.2).

4. Classwork, Games, Athletics and the
Inter Ethnic Pattern of Ascription

In a society where racial awareness and intolerance are pervasive
elements of the culture, it is probable that the attribution of status
or recognition to certain racially identifiable groups is determined
less by an appeal to ‘actual performance’ than to ‘national’ or ‘ethnic’
stereotype. In every stereotype, however, there is an element of
‘performance’ – some aspect of behaviour in which the particular group
or individual is expected to excel. Where this element has become
an explicit dimension of the stereotype it would be quite normal for that
group or individual to be offered recognition on the basis of both
‘ascription’ and ‘performance’. An example of such a stereotype is
Western European society’s image of the black man as an athlete.

How an adequate examination of this feature of the inter-ethnic
pattern of ascription at the survey school, would be one in which the
three ethnic groups are compared in terms of the discrepancy between
‘actual’ and ‘ascribed’ proficiency in the three spheres of activity –
classwork, Games and Athletics. In such a comparison a strong
ascriptive bias would be shown by a ‘+’ sign indicating an excess of
‘ascribed’ proficiency over ‘actual’ proficiency. This method, however,
would have involved conducting a special test of ‘athletic’ and ‘games’
ability and, therefore, had to be abandoned. As a compromise, the
three ethnic groups have been compared in terms of the difference
between the percentage ‘chosen’ and the percentage ‘existing in each
ethnic group’. The assumption implicit in this substitution is that
the variance between the percentage ‘chosen’ and the percentage ‘in
each ethnic group’ would tend to function in the same way as the
difference between ‘actual’ and ‘ascribed’ ability in each ethnic group.
Table 4.1

Ethnic Composition of Population as Related to Different Dimensions of Interpersonal Choice: 'Best in Class', 'Best in Games' and 'Best in Athletics'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Best in Class</th>
<th>Best in Games</th>
<th>Best in Athletics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% in %</td>
<td>% in %</td>
<td>% in %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choose Year Diff</td>
<td>Choose Year Diff</td>
<td>Choose Year Diff</td>
<td>Choose Year Diff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>80.3</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>+7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Indian</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>-4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>-2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 4.1 the difference column indicates that while English pupils show a 'gain' as 'Best in Class' and a 'loss' as 'Best in Athletics', West Indian pupils reveal a 'gain' as 'Best in Athletics' and a 'loss' as 'Best in Class'. A similar pattern of difference between West Indian and English pupils obtains in relation to the dimension 'Best in Games'. Cypriot pupils show a loss in all three areas of competence. Thus given the assumption made above, the pattern of 'gains' and 'losses' in Table 4.1 could be taken to mean that within the peer society of the survey school the English pupil is typified as 'academic', the West Indian as 'athletic' and the Cypriot as neither 'academic' nor 'athletic'.

5. Home Work Practice

Table 5.1

Ethnic Origin and Pattern of Family Involvement in Pupils' Home Work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Nuclear Family</th>
<th>Other Than Nuclear Family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Father Mother Brother/Sister Cousin/Uncle/Aunt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>65 10 8 10 7 127</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Indian</td>
<td>67 7 7 7 72 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>73 0 5 9 13 22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>55 5 13 18 0 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>65 8 8 10 10 175</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 5.1 above 65% of the population of pupils say that they do not receive any help with homework from their families. While
similar proportions of English pupils (65%) and West Indian pupils (67%) make the same claim, the proportion of Cypriots who do so exceeds the population norm by nearly 10%. More West Indians than Cypriots (7%) and more English than West Indians (7%) say that they receive help from a nuclear family member. And the proportion of West Indians or Cypriots who claim that they receive help from relatives outside the nuclear family is twice as great as the proportion of English pupils who acknowledge the receipt of such help. In addition, whereas both West Indian and English pupils receive as much help from their fathers as they do from their mothers, Cypriots receive help from their mothers rather than from their fathers.

Thus of the three ethnic groups, Cypriots appear to be the most divergent in terms of both the pattern and extent of family involvement in that part of the pupils' school life that is acted out at home. On the other hand, English pupils differ from both Cypriots and West Indians in terms of the involvement of relatives, outside the nuclear family, in their homework.


In this section of the questionnaire the pupils were asked a wide range of questions about their plans for the future. For example they were asked to state not only when their parents would like them to leave school, but also when they themselves or their best friends would like to do so. And as a follow-up to these questions they were requested to state both what kind of job or training they intend to pursue, together with the problems they envisage facing, and what job they would most probably be doing at 24 or 25 years old and whether such a job coincides with what they would ideally want to be doing at this juncture in their lives.

Throughout all the ethnic groups, the leaving intentions of pupils, their best friends and their parents (i.e. the intentions of parents in relation to the various ages at which they would like their children to leave school) are very nearly similar, with the greatest differences (i.e. differences as expressed in terms of percentages)
Table 6.1

Leaving Intentions: Pupils', Their Best Friends', and Their Parents' (in relation to them) by Ethnic Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leaving Intentions</th>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Leaving Ages</th>
<th>N=100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils'</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best Friends'</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents'</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

appearing between West Indian pupils and their parents with regard to a leaving age of 16 to 17 and 18 (cf. Table 6.1). There are no differences whatever between Cypriot pupils and their parents (ibid).

In relation to the pattern of inter-ethnic differences in the leaving intentions of pupils, (cf. Table 6.1) it is evident that while 10% more English than West Indian pupils and 7% more Cypriot than West Indian pupils would like to leave school at 15, no English or Cypriot pupil as compared to 7% of West Indian pupils would like to leave school over 18 years old. In contrast more West Indian or Cypriot pupils than English pupils would like to leave school at 16 to 17 years old while less English pupils than West Indian or Cypriot pupils would like to leave school at 18. A similar pattern of inter-ethnic differences emerges in relation to 'best friends' and 'parents'.

Overall a fairly consistent pattern of differences in leaving intentions appear to operate between English and immigrant pupils on the one hand and between West Indian and Cypriot pupils on the other hand. These differences occur at both the middle and extreme values of the leaving age continuum.
Table 6.2
Ethnic Origin by Job and Further Education Plans.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>First Job</th>
<th>Further Training</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>College</th>
<th>N=100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Indian</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some school leavers 'take the first job that comes along' or the first 'job which offers further training'; others seek goals which can only be pursued in a 'university' or 'college'. Each of these choices reflects a different set of class values which are said to have been catered for by different kinds of secondary schools under the old tripartite system of education. Thus the educational system is seen not only as a system which mirrors the values in the wider social order, but also as a system which moulds the values so mirrored.

Now, in a similar way the multiracial school will tend both to reflect and shape values about the structure of ethnic relations in the wider social context. For example, such a school may, in very subtle ways, prepare pupils from different ethnic backgrounds for roles in the occupational order, which merely represent current racial stereotypes within that order, provided, of course, there are no counter forces of identity operating against the culture of the school. Such conflicts can arise where an ethnic group has taken to the school a set of cultural prescriptives about future occupational roles, which contradict the schools' expectations about that group.

It can be seen from Table 6.2 that the pattern of job and further education plans amongst immigrants and non-immigrants is very variable and does not appear to reflect the stereotypes which one would be led to expect in the present context of race relations in Britain. For example while English and West Indian pupils have very similar plans in relation to taking 'the first job that comes along' and looking 'for a job which offers further training', and almost identical plans in relation to going to 'university' or 'college', Cypriots have a set of plans which
diverge from those of both West Indian and English pupils.

What is also evident is that there is no apparent congruence between the job and further education plans of both immigrants and non-immigrants and their leaving age preferences. For example, whereas between 46% and 69% of the three ethnic groups say that they plan to go to university or college, only between 27% and 40% of the same group express the desire to leave school at approximately 18 years old.

Table 6.3(a)
Ethnic Origin by various categories of Jobs Pupils Think They Will Most Probably be Doing at 24 or 25 years old.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Registrar General's</th>
<th>Housewife</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Categories</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>2-4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Indian</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3(b)
Ethnic Origin by Various Categories of Jobs Pupils Think They Would Most Like to be Doing at 24 or 25 years old.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Registrar General's</th>
<th>Housewife</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Categories</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Indian</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pattern of distribution of jobs designated by pupils (cf. Tables 6.3(a) and 6.3(b)) suggest that they have understood the two relevant items in the questionnaire and responded to them accordingly.

When each category of occupation designated by the pupils is considered separately, a complex and changing set of expectations can be seen to emerge. For example, in Table 6.3(a) immigrants and non-immigrants reveal very similar choices both in relation to occupational class I and the class designated as 'housewife', whereas in relation to
occupational classes II to IV and V the choices made by these groups are very variable, with half as many English pupils as Cypriot pupils and two-thirds as many West Indian pupils as Cypriot pupils making designations in classes II to IV, while the proportion of West Indian pupils making designations in class V is five times greater than the proportion of Cypriot pupils and four times greater than the proportion of English pupils who make the same designations.

In Table 6.3(b), while the structure of inter-ethnic choices in respect of class V is similar to that existing in Table 6.3(a), the set of choices relating to classes I and II to IV is of a different variance from the one shown in that Table. For example half as many English pupils as either West Indians or Cypriots make designations in Class I, whereas the proportion of West Indians who make designations in Class V is two-thirds the proportions of English and Cypriot pupils who make designations in this class. In addition it is interesting and probably significant that, while no West Indian or Cypriot girl (assuming that only girls would express such choices), ideally would like to be a housewife, 9% and 7%, respectively, of Cypriot and West Indian girls say that they will most probably be housewives.

Now, considering the differential type of school experience which so far has emerged from this study, between English pupils on the one hand and immigrants on the other, together with the claim that a child's experience in school is the most potent force shaping his expectations of the future, it is somewhat surprising that, in the areas of educational and occupational plans, there is much overlapping in aspirations between the two groups of pupils, particularly between English and West Indians.

A possible and indeed plausible explanation of this overlapping is that immigrants take to the school a set of cultural values which is so different from that of their English counterparts, that it is inevitable that a different pattern of adjustment to the schools' values should occur amongst them. Thus, for example, it is often said about West Indians that their aspirations for the future are much too high implying, thereby, that their attitude to the future is 'unrealistic' or even
'fatalistic'. In addition, West Indians are said to lack (as compared with Asians) a realistic appreciation of their true position in the social order.

How relevant such ideas are, or how far they go towards explaining this particular aspect of the behaviour of West Indians or, for that matter, Cypriots, can perhaps be ascertained through questions which seek to elicit from these pupils a set of self-evaluations whose direction and content go some way in answering the questions posed. For it is said that 'our attitude towards ourselves is importantly influenced by the responses of others towards us'. Thus if immigrant pupils at the survey school should reveal self values that seem 'more' rather than 'less' independent of the opinions and attitudes of both their teachers and their English peers, then it could be assumed that the set of attitudes which they take to school is very probably contradictory to, at least, some of the expectations their teachers and peers have of them and, by the same token, some of the values of the school.

The questions which have been chosen to elicit this information from the pupils are included in the questionnaire as items 21 and 22. Item 21 is based on the diligence/fatalism hypothesis - the belief that some people have to work hard to get what they want while other people are just lucky - while item 22 relates to the works of Meade, Cooley and James on the self-concept.

Table 6.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Diligence</th>
<th>Fatalism</th>
<th>N=100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The evidence in Table 6.4, assuming that it is a proper reflection of the distribution of the values of diligence and fatalism in the population of pupils, does not indicate that either West Indians or Cypriots are more 'fatalistic' than English pupils about the future. Indeed it would seem plausible to argue (and the evidence supports this)
that because English pupils are 'at home' in a 'native sense', they are less likely than immigrants to veer toward norms of hard work. On the other hand it is conceivable that immigrants might, in the future, and, in particular, after considerable disappointments and frustrations be no different from English pupils in this respect.

7. Self-Image

Self-image involves some degree of evaluation of self and degrees of self-evaluation may be conceived of as either 'positive' or 'negative' especially where the dimensions of self which are being evaluated is of particular relevance to the assessor.

In this section of the questionnaires the population of pupils were asked to consider a number of statements, couched in the idiom of self-image, and say which of them is 'true' and which is 'false'. Since it was decided to tabulate pupils' responses according to whether they were 'positively' or 'negatively' distributed about the mean, pupils were requested to evaluate each statement as basically 'true' or 'false'.

Table 7.1
Positive Evaluations of Certain Statements About Self by Ethnic Origin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements About Self</th>
<th>English (n=127)</th>
<th>West Indian (n=15)</th>
<th>Cypriot (n=22)</th>
<th>Other (n=11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(School)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am a failure in Class</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am intelligent in Class</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am liked by most of the teachers</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am usually picked on by the teachers</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel most happy when I am praised by the teachers</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am not noticed by the teachers</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Games and Athletics)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am good at games</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am a good athlete</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Family)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel most happy when I am with my family</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Friends)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel most happy when I am amongst my friends</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have very few friends</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Self)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel most happy when I am on my own</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It will be observed (cf. Table 7.1) that the 'statements about self' follow an order which is quite different from the one in which they appear in the questionnaire. They are now grouped in terms of certain headings (for example 'school') so that a clearer pattern of response can emerge from the percentages, whereas in the questionnaire they were listed in order to reduce the risk of respondent set. The latter order will be maintained in the following analysis.

School

less West Indians (40%) than Cypriots (55%) and less Cypriots than English (65%) agree that they are failures in class. These intergroup differences, though fairly wide, are probably less significant when compared with those which relate to the pupils' perception of their intelligence, for often, in the context of the school, pupils' expectation of failure or success is based on some evaluation of their intelligence by self or others or both. Thus inter-ethnic differences, in response, between the statements 'I am a failure in class' and 'I am intelligent in class' will probably throw more light on similar differences which relate to evaluations of the statement 'I am a failure in class'.

Such a comparison reveals that the differences within the Cypriot group (45%) are greater than those within either the West Indian (33%) or English (26%) groups. These differences are in contrast to those relating to 'failure in class'.

While 'intelligence' and 'failure' are often inversely related, popularity amongst teachers (being 'liked by most of the teachers') invariably correlates with 'intelligence'. This relationship is shown in Table 7.1 where the percentages of West Indians and of Cypriots who say that they are both 'intelligent' and 'liked by most of the teachers', are identical. The proportion of Cypriots who say they are liked by most of the teachers is less than the proportion who say they are 'intelligent in class' by 9%.

More English (59%) than Cypriots (50%) and more Cypriots than West Indians (47%) acknowledge that they are usually picked on by the teachers while more West Indians (87%) than English (72%) and more English than Cypriots (68%) agree that they 'feel most happy when ...
praised by the teachers'. The proportions of English (66%) and West Indians (67%) who say that they are 'not noticed by the teachers' are nearly twice as great as the proportions of Cypriots (36%) who agree with the same statement.

**Games and Athletics**

Sixty percent (60%) of West Indians, as compared to 18% of English and 27% of Cypriots, acknowledge that they are 'good at games', whereas 55% of English, 73% of West Indians and the same percentage of Cypriots agree that they are good athletes.

**Family**

While 73% of Cypriots say they are 'most happy when' they are with their families, the proportions of West Indians and English pupils who say the same are 60% and 37% respectively.

**Friends**

Nearly as many Cypriots (77%) as West Indians (80%) but less English (59%) than Cypriots and West Indians say they 'feel most happy when' amongst friends. And while respectively 36% and 33% of Cypriots and West Indians agree that they 'have very few friends', the proportion of English pupils who do so is 25%.

**Self**

More English (60%) than West Indians (53%) and more West Indians than Cypriots (41%) 'feel most happy' when on their own.

Thus the overall pattern of self-evaluations of both West Indians and Cypriots appears to indicate that they are less moulded by their teachers than by their peers or families. For as we have seen in Table 7.1 much greater proportions of both West Indians and Cypriots than English pupils say that they are most happy when they are with their families, on the one hand, and their friends on the other. While many of their friends are doubtless English, the evidence on ingroup preference suggests that their 'best friends' are immigrants rather than English. In addition, although it is clear from Table 7.1 that teachers have some influence on all the pupils, such influence does not seem to have affected, for example, the extent to which West Indians consider themselves failures; for in spite of the much higher achievement
of English pupils over West Indians, the latter's self-evaluations in relation to being a 'failure in class' is still not much different from that of their English counterparts.

**TEACHERS' QUESTIONNAIRE**

Table 8.1

Teachers' Positive Evaluations of Certain Characteristics of Pupils by Ethnic Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>English (n=127)</th>
<th>West Indian (n=15)</th>
<th>Cypriot (n=22)</th>
<th>Other (n=11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthiness</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Background</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calmness</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attentiveness</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enthusiasm</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentleness</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quietness</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carefulness</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the twenty (20) characteristics rated by the panel of teachers, only nine are included in Table 8.1. The remaining eleven (11) are omitted because they have failed to reveal inter-ethnic differences which are as clear and consistent as those relating to the nine characteristics.

It is evident from these differences that English pupils are the most positively rated ethnic group in relation to all nine characteristics. It is noteworthy that each of these characteristics, except speech, has been shown to have consistently high loadings on the dimension 'good behaviour' in the main Scottish study. In five of the nine characteristics, the magnitude of difference between West Indians and Cypriots is 'small' rather than 'large'. Of the remaining four, in which the magnitude of difference between West Indians and Cypriots is 'large' rather than 'small', West Indians are shown to be the least positively rated in terms of 'attentiveness' and 'carefulness', while Cypriots are least positively rated in relation to 'home background' and 'gentleness'.

1. In the method of classification used to differentiate pupil preference, the typification ‘Subjects Most Important in the Future’ were regarded as symbolising an ‘instrumental’ kind of preference, while the typification ‘Subjects Liked Best’ were thought to symbolise an ‘expressive’ kind of preference. These two terms are approximate to the concepts ‘useful’ and ‘interesting’ used in the Schools Council Enquiry. (cf. Schools Council Enquiry I, Young School Leavers: H.K.S.C., London 1968).

2. This dichotomy between ‘instrumental’ and ‘expressive’ spheres of the curriculum was also found in the Schools Council Enquiry I (Ibid pp.57-59). For a list of the subjects which come under the headings ‘Humanities’ and ‘Practical Subjects’ see appendix 3.

3. The term ‘immigrant’ which should be prefixed by ‘coloured’ is used to refer only to persons born in the third world.

4. In the course of the natural and subtle process of differentiation and selection which takes place in secondary school (cf. H.J. Hallworth, ‘A Teacher’s Perception of his pupils’, Educational Review, Vol 14, 1961-62, p.124), pupils become aware of the ways their teachers see them. In the case of immigrants this awareness may quite often relate to their linguistic ability to cope with the literate subjects in the curriculum (This view was also held by J. Bhatnagar, ‘Immigrants at School’, Commarket Press, London, 1970, p.148).

5. Personal experience suggests that pupils often choose a subject for which they develop a strong preference after discovering that they are competent in it.

6. C.H. Proctor and C.P. Loomis, 'Analysis of Sociometric Data' in Marie Jahoda et al. (Eds.) ‘Research Methods in Social Relations’, Part II N.Y. Brydon, 1951, pp.573-4, where the formula is:
Where \( a \) = number of persons in the group
\[ b = N - a = \text{number of persons in the outgroup.} \]
\( Ca-a = \text{Choices from members of the subgroup made to other members} \]
\( Ca-b = \text{Choices from ingroup members to outgroup members.} \)

7. In order to facilitate the use of the index of ingroup preference, the 'other nationalities' group (whose pattern of friendship was very similar to that of West Indians and Cypriots) was included in the category 'immigrants'.


9. For a list of the statements pupils have been asked to evaluate see appendix I.

10. For the complete statement of this philosophy see Appendix I.

11. Ibid.

12. Owing to the very high proportion of vague, don't know or inadequate responses to this item (18) in the questionnaire, it has been decided to omit it from the analysis.


15. The type of multiracial school envisaged here is probably at the opposite end of the continuum from 'Spring Grove', (cf. Trevor Bergin and Patricia Edson, 'Spring Grove: The Education of Immigrant Children', CUP, London, 1967, Ch. XI).

17. It is common knowledge that a large number of Jamaican school boys have a tendency to want to become 'engineers' - motor mechanics. It is very likely that the set of cultural prescriptive which underlie this tendency are taken to the school by these pupils.

18. In view of the continued existence of a fairly high level of racial discrimination in employment one would expect the old stereotypes about the jobs immigrants do to be still relevant in the prediction of jobs the future generations of immigrants will tend to choose.


20. Significant in so far as the differences between 'realistic' and 'idealistic' choice of 'housewife' as a future occupation may be related to selective socialisation in West Indian and Cypriot families, where there is a tendency for many mothers and single women to go out to work.


23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., p.13

25. G.H. Mead, 'Mind, Self and Society', University of Chicago, Chicago 1934


28. That is 'positively' or 'negatively' distributed around the 50% mark.
29. M. Rosenberg, op. cit., p.18

CHAPTER VI
Summary and Conclusions

1. Explanations and Apologies.

The aim of this study is to explore a number of differences in school experience between English and immigrant pupils with particular reference to immigrant West Indians. Its objectives, it is hoped, are that it will succeed not only in raising a number of educational issues of theoretical import but also in underlining some of those very issues, and others, which have been either raised or underlined or both in other pieces of research. If it should achieve only a minority of these objectives, then it would probably have redeemed its basic weaknesses - it is based on a population which has a small immigrant, in particular West Indian, element - which, it is suggested in Chapter III may be inherent in studies of a similar kind, namely those which seek to compare and by implication highlight differences of any kind between racial groups of pupils.

The Wood Green school is not typical as a multi-racial comprehensive school. Indeed, it may well be atypical in a number of important respects - its ethnic composition, its partly grammar history, its doctoral headmaster, its percentage of graduate teachers and the fact that it has been more than welcoming to the writer, a total stranger, as an investigator. For this and other reasons, generalisations cannot be made from this study about the multi-racial school.

The first chapter of the study consists of a descriptive analysis of the background to the problem of immigrant education as it appears to have unfolded as a dynamic process. Although a conscious effort has been made to render an objective description, some element of subjectivity must have crept in.

Chapter II comprises the theory of the study. Here an attempt is made to weave intuition, perception, imagination, personal experience and some interpretation of the literature into a coherent body of theory. Such theory, although not reduced to a series of specific hypotheses, does provide some background to the questions formulated and posed, in the form of two questionnaires, to the survey population and to some of their teachers.
In Chapter III both the background and structure of the methodology is outlined. Included in this outline are the ideas formulated and the observations made during the six months of fieldwork, the difficulties encountered in attempting to find a suitable school and some of their implications, and the structure of the two questionnaires used in the study.

2. Background Variables

The background variables in this study provide a useful context in which to interpret the data from the two questionnaires. They include ethnic origin, age, sex, sibling composition of family, sibling position in family, attainment and academic composition of tutor groups.

(a) The relatively small immigrant element (20.9%) in the survey population suggests that the Wood Green school is not a typical multi-racial school. Often comprehensive schools with a grammar history (as is the case with the survey school) show a tendency to have a 'low' rather than a 'high' proportion of immigrant pupils, particularly where these schools have retained the basic grammar school characteristics and in spite of the belief and, to some extent, the policy that 'all children from a given area, regardless of ability, will go to them'. For there seems to be in operation in the English education system, a set of stratifying factors which distribute the population of the multi-racial school in terms of race, ethnic origin and other values. Thus in a recent HEFES inquiry it has been concluded that 'immigrant pupils are less likely to be found in grammar schools than are non-immigrants, with West Indians the least likely group'.

(b) Over 70% of the survey population are between the ages of 15 years 6 months and under, with English and Cypriot pupils accounting for 81.7% and 36.4%, respectively, while West Indians account for only 66.5% of it. West Indians, therefore, comprise a greater proportion of the older age cohorts.

(c) While only 36% of the Cypriot pupils in the population arrived in England before their fifth birthday, over 70% of the West Indians did so. The higher proportion of West Indians in this category is very probably
due to the fact that West Indian immigration had reached one of its early peaks in 1960 when the West Indians in the survey population would have been approximately five years old. The rushed and largely unplanned manner of their departure from the West Indies together with the trauma of arriving in a strange and alien culture must have led to a considerable degree of culture shock among this group of children.

(c) In the survey population there are 10% more boys than girls. This difference appears to be due largely to the predominance of boys in the Cypriot and West Indian groups.

(e) The relatively high incidence of large families in the West Indian group does not necessarily indicate that the average size of the West Indian family resident in England is larger than that of their Cypriot or English counterparts. Many West Indian families remain incomplete over a long period of time while members who had been left behind in the West Indies, join the nuclear family in England. This tendency in the West Indian family is partly due to the pressures resulting from the first immigration Act which prompted many West Indian parents to have members of their families still resident in the West Indies brought to England before the Act became effective.

Of course it is possible that, in recording their brothers and sisters on the questionnaire, the West Indians in the survey population would have made a distinction between brothers and sisters in England and those in the West Indies. This however is very unlikely given the constant references which many West Indian pupils and their parents make to the part of their families left behind in the West Indies.

(f) There are wide differences at both ends of the ordinal scale in relation to sibling position in families. More English (64%) than Cypriots (59%) and more Cypriots than West Indians (47%) occupy positions at the lower end of the scale (1st and 2nd). This situation is the reverse at the other end of the scale (5th and 6th).

(g) The proportion of English pupils in stream 'A' is greater than the proportions of Cypriots and West Indians in that stream. Although we would expect this pattern of differential streaming to occur in
such a population—given evidence which suggests that English pupils perform much better than their immigrant counterparts in the basic subjects—the magnitude of difference between the two groups does not seem justified when compared to their mean achievement in Mathematics and Science combined. For it will be remembered that streaming at the survey school was based on this mean. One probable explanation of this discrepancy is that an extraneous factor such as proficiency in standard English might have entered the equation on performance and streaming. A similar inference is drawn by Bhatnagar from his research on the adjustment of immigrants at school.

(b) Now, probably because streaming is related to very basic elements of stratification in the school system, it tends to have a highly contaminating effect throughout the social order of the school. For evidence on the academic composition of tutor groups at the survey school, which are supposed to have been based on vertical rather than horizontal criteria of grouping, indicates that such composition varies in relation to the ethnic complexion of these groups. For example while the assignment of English pupils to the eight tutor groups appears to be similar in pattern to that of stream 'A' pupils, the pattern of assignment of West Indians and Cypriots to these groups corresponds to that of stream 'B' pupils.

3. Summary

(a) Though streaming is related to ethnic origin, academic preference is not. There is, however, some degree of structure in academic preference between English pupils on the one hand and West Indians and Cypriots on the other. This pattern appears to be related to preference for 'literate subjects'. Nearly 4 in 10 English pupils show a preference for 'English and Modern Languages' as opposed to only approximately 2 in 10 of both West Indians and Cypriots. While West Indians appear to balance their lack of preference for these subjects with a higher preference for 'numerate subjects', Cypriots do not. And while English and Cypriots seem to manage to translate their 'preference' into 'performance' West Indians do not.

(b) There is a consistently high degree of ingroup preference in choice
This tendency appears to be less prevalent in the tutor groups in which there is a predominant number of stream 'A' pupils, and more marked amongst immigrants than amongst non-immigrants. Analysis of friendship preference, using Moreno's technique of the sociogram reveals a consistent pattern of clique formations with varying degrees of closure. As would be expected, where cliques are multi-racial - where there are reciprocated choices between English and immigrant pupils - the readings produced by the index of ingroup preference have been low for both immigrants and non-immigrants. Typical of this pattern of preference are the tutor groups in which the degree of ingroup preference is 'low' rather than 'high'. This pattern of preference becomes more marked where there is some degree of outgroup preference.

(c) A high proportion (between 78% and 96%) of the pupils in all the ethnic groups show a 'positive' evaluation of the philosophy 'intelligence' as a criterion used by teachers in their assessment of pupils. Not so, however, with regard to the philosophy 'good behaviour' whose evaluation by the pupils varies from a low positive value by Cypriots and English pupils to a high positive value by West Indians.

(d) While English pupils are typified by their peers as 'academic' and West Indians as 'athletic', Cypriots are typified as neither 'academic' nor 'athletic'. Bhatnagar reports a similar pattern in his study 'Immigrants at School'.

(e) A high proportion of the pupils say no one at home helps them with their homework. Among those who say they do receive help, more English pupils than either West Indians or Cypriots acknowledge receipt of help from nuclear family members, while more West Indians and Cypriots report help from members outside the nuclear family circle. In addition whereas West Indians and English pupils receive as much help from their fathers as they do from their mothers, Cypriots receive help from their mothers rather than from their fathers.

(f) On the question of school leaving age, there is more agreement between the wishes of pupils and their parents than between the wishes of pupils and their 'best friends'. In this respect Cypriots are closer to their parents than any other ethnic group.
West Indians and Cypriots show a tendency to want to leave school at around seventeen, while English pupils reveal an inclination to leave at fifteen and at eighteen years old. West Indians are the only group who show an inclination to leave after eighteen.

In job and further education plans West Indians and Cypriots are, on the whole, quite similar to English pupils, with West Indians being the more similar group especially in relation to college and university plans.

Much greater proportions of West Indians and Cypriots than English pupils say that they value 'hard work' as opposed to 'luck'. On the basis of these differences it may be argued that because English pupils are 'at home' in a 'native sense', they are less likely than immigrants to veer towards norms of hard work. On the other hand it is conceivable that immigrants might, in the future, and in particular, after considerable disappointments and frustrations be no different from their English counterparts in this respect.

(g) Immigrants more than non-immigrants appear to be less susceptible to the opinions and attitudes of their teachers than they are to those of their peers or families. They are more inclined than non-immigrants to feel most happy when they are with their families or friends. They also appear to be less self-centred than non-immigrants.

Although immigrants do show some susceptibility to their teachers' words of praise, such susceptibility does not seem to affect their feelings of success or failure in class.

West Indians, and Cypriots to a much less extent, see themselves as being highly athletic.

(h) Amongst tutors, English pupils have a much higher rating than do either Cypriots or West Indians in relation to a certain set of behavioural characteristics. All these characteristics, except speech, have been shown to have consistently high loadings on the dimension 'good behaviour' in a survey in Scotland.

While West Indians are least positively rated in terms of 'attentiveness' and 'carefulness', Cypriots are least positively rated in terms of 'home background' and 'gentleness'.
4. Conclusions

What are the implications of these findings and how might they be conceived in the present context of race relations in Britain? Before an attempt is made to answer these questions one point must be clarified. No attempt is made in this study to establish the statistical significance of any of the observed inter-ethnic differences which have emerged since it has been neither practical nor expedient to carry out the sorts of controls and tests which would have been necessary to do so. Nor have such controls and tests been one of the aims of this study, given the difficulties which have been encountered in its early stages. Whatever inferences are drawn will be so done in the light of their contextual significance rather than in relation to some possibly spurious test of significance. For in the absence of proper controls and a sufficiently large population the value of such tests is much reduced despite their versatility.

Now the implications. Perhaps the most fundamental inference to be drawn from the findings is that, throughout the social order of the school, immigrants, and in particular West Indians, face a situation in which there is discrepancy between the goals (merits, certificates etc.) which they strive to achieve and the socially structured avenues (social and linguistic selection) of access to these goals. On the positive side of the scale of discrepancy are the high academic preference and the ambitious educational and occupational plans of immigrants, especially West Indians and on the negative side are their low behavioural ratings by tutors and their assignment to the lower stream.

While immigrants in comparison with non-immigrants maintain an equal commitment to intelligence as an academic criterion and a greater commitment to hard work, these discrepancies will only lead to ever deepening frustrations amongst the former group and cause them to retreat further and further into their respective ethnic communities which already have a considerable influence over them.

Already teachers appear to identify and underline, through their ratings of the respective ethnic groups, elements of behavioural deviance
amongst immigrants. Immigrants too show some consciousness of the role of behaviour as an academic selector. Once these patterns begin to take shape it may be difficult to stop them from developing into an open conflict between immigrants and their teachers. For in the present context of race relations in schools - large concentrations of non-white pupils, extensive problems of discipline in remedial departments with their high turnover of staff, feeble attempts to introduce Black Studies into the curriculum and the many arguments and disagreement about the expediency or otherwise of introducing such courses - such a situation can easily undermine the fabric of the multi-racial school.

Schools, however, vary in their propensity to this kind of conflict depending on the degree of organisational stress that is built in to their structures. Thus a school system, in which the majority of teachers perceive educational achievement as the main goal and socialisation as the available means of achieving this goal, would have a lower propensity to stress and conflict than one in which socialisation is supplanted by social control and educational achievement by discipline.
CHAPTER VI
Notes and References

1. The term 'immigrant', which should be prefixed by the word 'coloured' is used to refer to persons born in the New Commonwealth.


4. Robin Davis, op. cit. (Taken originally from 'The Comprehensives - A Closer Look', The Times, April 1965). Here Davis is quoting Sir Graham Savage who has had much to do with the initiation of comprehensivisation.


7. These pressures have been dealt with in chapter 1.


9. American research has shown that blacks have a tendency to 'fall further and further behind whites' (cf. Christopher Jencks et al


12. The criteria used at the Wood Green School were supposed to be unrelated to ability.

13. J. Bhatnagar, op. cit. p.145


16. A recent study sponsored by the Community Relations Commission indicates that there is a high level of unemployment amongst the black youths in the sample (cf. C.R.C. (unpublished) 1974)

17. These are: trustworthiness, home background, speech, quietness, calmness, carefulness, attentiveness, enthusiasm, gentleness.


20. See Table 7.1 of Chapter V.

21. The term 'organisational stress' is used here to refer to the tensions caused in the organisational structure of the school through attempts to achieve widely recognised educational goals without either a stable staff of teachers or adequate facilities - educational hardware.
CHAPTER VII

EPILOGUE

Now that some of the dust from what Lyons calls the Jensenist heresy has settled, and the Foucaults and the councillors Boulton have either retreated or found new battle fields; now that Black Americans - or is it American blacks - are no longer in rebellion or in the streets protesting; now that there is relative calm in the troubled area of race relations, society can re-examine its attitudes and its policies toward black minorities whose forefathers have borne much more than their fair share of society's burdens. While their children also bear an unequal share of those burdens they cannot at the same time be citizens with inalienable rights to, among other things, an education according to age, aptitudes and ability. For the 'ethnic or racial order' which has evolved in the context of these obligations is 'linked closely to other major parts of the society such as the class system, the distribution of occupations and the arrangement of housing'. Race, therefore, like class and occupation becomes a factor which delimits the rivalries and competition that can take place within such a structure.

Token policies will not change such a system which is based on the well established network and processes of industrialisation and urbanisation. Radical intervention is required. Such intervention, however, can only be instituted as a long range solution if it is not to lead to an unbearable degree of social upheaval. Yet, in the short term, certain prescriptions must be implemented if the present situation is not going to become progressively worse, thereby, necessitating either a further advancement of the long range time scale or even more radical change.

What ought these short term solutions to be? Above all they must consist in a realistic appraisal of current remedial education followed by a rapid programme of retraining and restructurining. In addition it might even be necessary to modify our concept of educational need by raising the threshold level to coincide with those pupils whose needs are commensurate with society's resources. Otherwise our resources will be quickly exhausted before we have even had the opportunity to make an initial impact.
Remedial education requires to be more effective in its remedies. Its organisation and ethos must be built more around the needs - both individual and social - of the pupil by planning and instituting the sorts of curricula which, besides giving him a true sense of achievement and success, are effective in channelling his efforts, where relevant, towards universally recognised goals. It is a dangerous fallacy for teachers and guidance personnel to think and act on the basis that the disadvantaged pupil knows in what direction he wants to go. Often an element of his disadvantage is that he lives in a certain kind of cultural vacuum where prescriptions are not explicit enough.

Recent research has shown that teacher attitudes are a more important force in educational practice than changes in organisation structure. Education administrators and policy-makers must grasp the nettle and employ more effective selection and training techniques. For while certain attitudes of teachers may not be easily changed, they can certainly be selected out.

If these solutions are effective in removing some of the educational handicaps of non-whites, they will go some way towards equalising the situation between immigrant and non-immigrant in British society. Evidence in America has shown that 'once obstacles are removed blacks' rate of achievement moves towards the norm for whites'. Blacks in America are very similar to non-whites in Britain in wanting 'more schooling than whites with comparable test scores and educational backgrounds'. For like non-whites in Britain they have 'learned the hard way'. Little will stop either of these groups from using education as the ladder to equality. It is their only chance of success in a society where occupation still holds commanding heights in the stratification system, with education having the mere symbolic value of putting the stamp on those who have achieved.
CHAPTER VII

Notes and References


5. Ibid.


7. For the roles this network and its processes play in relation to education see Chapter II.

8. Population dispersal, for example, is likely to have such an effect. A present day that typifies this kind of social upheaval is desegregation in Boston (1974).

9. At the present time there appears to be no attempt to consider educational need in terms of 'effectiveness'.

10. In effect policies must be tapered to society's scarce resources if they are going to be effective rather than symbolic. We must choose between a morality that is merely symbolic and an expediency that is at least effective.

11. This often leads to disillusionment which can have a serious cumulative effect on the will to tackle the related problems.

12. Pupils can have a sense of achievement and success that is relevant only to the limited goals which they perceive at various points in time but which may not be sufficiently rewarding in the long term.


16. Ibid.
APPENDIX I

- PUPILS' QUESTIONNAIRE -

FIRST, SOME GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT YOURSELF:

1. How old are you in years and months? (Fill in the blanks)

______ years, ______ months.

2. Are you a boy or a girl? (Draw a line under the correct one)

3. Please fill in the blanks with '0' or the right number:
   'I have _____ older brothers and _____ older sisters;
   _____ younger brothers and _____ younger sisters'.

4. In which country were you born? (Fill in the blank)

IF you were not born in England, how old were you when you came here? (Fill in the blank)
'I was _____ years old'.

SECOND QUESTIONS ABOUT SCHOOL:

5. What subjects do you like best in school? From the list of subjects below, write down the subject you like best, then the subject you like second-best, and finally the subject you like third-best. (Fill in the blanks)

'I like ________ best'.
'I like ________ second-best'.
'I like ________ third-best'.

List of subjects:

- Needle craft
- English
- Metal work
- Maths
- Business Studies
- Biology
- Technical Drawing
- French
- History
- Physical Education
- Latin
- Music
- Domestic Science
- Geography
- Art
- Spanish
- Wood-work
- British Constitution
- Chemistry
- German
- Physics
- Religious Education

6. You have just said which subjects you like best. Now I would like you to write down which subjects you think will be most important to you in your future. (Write down 3 subjects in the blanks)

1. ______
2. ______
3. ______
7. Below is a list of things which pupils in this school do. Write down the three things you like best. (Fill in the blanks)

'I like __________ best'.

'I like __________ second-best'.

'I like __________ third-best'.

List of activities:

- Cricket
- Football
- Educational dancing
- Basketball
- Athletics
- Netball
- Hockey
- Rounders
- Volley Ball
- Table tennis
- Soft ball
- Lawn tennis

8. Some pupils are best in class work, while others are best in other things like games and athletics. How will you write down the numbers of three pupils who you think are:

Best in class work (Write three numbers)
1. __________
2. __________
3. __________

Best in games (Write three numbers)
1. __________
2. __________
3. __________

Best in athletics (Write three numbers)
1. __________
2. __________
3. __________

Some questions about friends in class:

9. I would like you to think of three people whom you would like to do lots of things with, people whom you would like to have as friends while on holiday. (Choose three people who are in this class right now, and write down their numbers in the blanks)
1. __________
2. __________
3. __________

10. Which of these three people would you choose as your best friend? Which one would you like most to invite to your home and to meet your family? (Write this person's number down in the blank)

__________
SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT WHY TEACHERS PUT PUPILS OF THE SAME AGE INTO DIFFERENT FORMS OR CLASSES:

11. Now I would like you to think of the reasons why teachers put pupils into different forms or classes. I would like you to think about each of the reasons given below and say whether you think it is true or false. (Put a tick in the column you think right)

Teachers put pupils into different grades:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>True</th>
<th>Prob. True</th>
<th>False</th>
<th>Prob. False</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>because some pupils work harder than others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because some pupils are more posh than others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because some pupils are more intelligent than others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because some pupils have parents who take more interest in school than other parents do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because some pupils are better behaved than others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT HOME WORK:

12. Does anyone at home help you with your home work?
   Yes _____                  No _____ (Tick one)

13. If your answer is yes, say which of the people below give you help. (Put in a tick)
   Father _____               Father _____               Brother _____
   Sister _____               Cousin _____               Uncle _____
   Aunt _____

SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT YOU WILL DO IN THE FUTURE:

14. When would your parents like you to leave school? (Fill in the blank)
   'My parents would like me to leave school when I am ___ years old'.

15. When would you like to leave school? (Fill in the blank)
   'I would like to leave school when I am ___ years old'.
16. When would your best friend like to leave school? (Fill in the blank)  
My best friend would like to leave school when he/she is _____ years old.

17. When you leave school, which of the things below do you intend to do? (Tick one)  
Take the first job that comes along ______
Look for a job which offers further training, i.e. day release ______
Go to university ______
Go to college ______

18. How those of you who intend to take a job when you leave school, please write below the problems you think you will face:

   __________________________
   __________________________
   __________________________
   __________________________
   __________________________

19. I would like all of you in this class right now to try to imagine yourself ten years from now when you are 24 or 25. What job do you think you will most probably be doing then? (Fill in the blank)  
'At 24 or 25 I will most probably be __________________________

20. Suppose the world was a different place and people could choose any job they wanted to do. What job would you like to be doing at 24 or 25? (Fill in the blank)  
'At 24 or 25 I would like to be __________________________

21. Some people have to work hard to get what they want. Other people are just lucky. Which would you rather be? (Tick one)  
A person who has to work hard for what he/she wants ______
A person who is just lucky ______

SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF:

22. Below are some things which pupils have said about themselves. Read each sentence carefully and say whether you think it is true or false. (Put a tick in the column you think is right)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>true</th>
<th>prob</th>
<th>true</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>false</th>
<th>false</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I am a failure in class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel most happy when I am among my friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>I am good at games</td>
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<tr>
<td>I am liked by most of the teachers</td>
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<tr>
<td>I am a good athlete</td>
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<tr>
<td>I feel most happy when I am with my family</td>
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<tr>
<td>I am intelligent in class</td>
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<td>I feel most happy when I am on my own</td>
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<tr>
<td>I am usually picked on by the teachers</td>
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<td>I feel most happy when I am praised by the teachers</td>
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<td>I am not noticed by the teachers</td>
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<td>I have very few friends</td>
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</table>
- TEACHERS QUESTIONNAIRE -

Here is a list of characteristics. Would you please rate each child by putting a tick in the column which you think applies. ('1' represents a low rating, and '5' a high rating)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>4.</th>
<th>5.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Games ability</td>
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<td>Popularity (with teachers)</td>
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<td>Social confidence</td>
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<td>Courtesy</td>
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<td>Personal appearance (dress)</td>
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<td>Cooperation with teachers</td>
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<td>Trustworthiness</td>
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<td>Leadership</td>
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<td>Home background (parents' interest &amp; encouragement)</td>
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<td>Speech</td>
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<td>Cooperation with other people</td>
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<td>Cheerfulness</td>
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<td>Persistence</td>
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</table>

Below is a list of pairs of characteristics. Would you please place a mark (____/____) between each pair of characteristics to indicate which you think comes nearer the given pupil's behaviour.

- CAlINNESS —————— EXCITABILITY
- ATTENTIVE —————— INATTENTIVE
- ATTENDANCE —————— ABSENCE
- QUIETNESS —————— TALKATIVENESS
- CAREFULNESS —————— CARELESSNESS
- ENTHUSIASM —————— LAZINESS
- GENTLENESS —————— ROUGHNESS

Question: Do you think the trouble taken with this pupil is proportionate to his/her performance in class?

YES  NO (Please underline the correct answer)
APPENDIX 3

Classification of the curriculum in terms of:

1. Maths and Science
   - Maths
   - Chemistry
   - Biology
   - Physics

2. English and Modern Languages
   - English
   - French
   - Latin
   - German
   - Spanish

3. Humanities
   - Religious Education
   - Business Studies
   - Geography
   - History
   - Music
   - British Constitution

4. Practical Subjects
   - Needlecraft
   - Technical drawing
   - Physical Education
   - Domestic Science
   - Woodwork
   - Metalwork
   - Art
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