

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL AFFILIATIONS

OF

PUPILS OF WEST INDIAN DESCENT IN ENGLISH SCHOOLS

by

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Abstract

Previous studies have found that West Indian pupils under-achieve in English schools. Unlike other ethnic minorities their "English-speaking" classification often precludes special language assistance. This study investigated the language usage and cultural affiliations of pupils of West Indian descent, using a sample of 241 twelve year olds from 7 schools.

A special English test based on differences between Standard English and West Indian Dialect and an Attitude Test based on children's statements about culture, language, race and education were constructed and administered with a Cognitive Test and Anxiety Test. Teachers' views were obtained from a Teachers' Questionnaire.

The experimental group was composed of pupils of West Indian descent taught by a compensatory programme that attempted to boost pupils' cultural self-esteem and correct language errors stemming from differences between 'Standard' and 'Dialect'. One control group comprised pupils of West Indian descent who received no special programme. The other was composed of white indigenous English children in similar schools.

The main findings of the study were as follows:

1. English Test results indicated significant differences of score between the English and West Indian pupils on key grammar items.
2. Cultural 'poles' of attitude groupings indicated sharp differences between these groups despite the British birth and education of the pupils of West Indian descent.
3. The experimental group, supposedly withdrawn at random from main group classes for the special cultural and linguistic enrichment programme, expressed unhappy attitudes and obtained significantly lower scores on the English and Cognitive Tests than either of the other groups.

4. Subsequent testing was carried out in the schools from which the experimental group had been obtained. This offered further evidence of the experimental group's unusual characteristics, and provided additional information in a comparison made with the original control groups.

The findings indicate that children of West Indian descent experience some difficulty with elements of language where 'Standard' and 'Dialect' differ and that these language elements should be taught in the main class group. The method of withdrawing West Indian pupils for special language and cultural classes is not recommended, as neither linguistic nor cultural benefits were observed and definite contra-indications were noted. Furthermore, 'multiculturalism' appears to be as important for the ethnic majority as for the minorities.

Future research could develop the Attitude Test for use in correlative studies with English and other tests. It has been a particularly useful tool for identifying linguistic and cultural attitudes of a minority and has revealed group characteristics not previously identified. The English Test could contribute to the construction of diagnostic tests and lay the basis for a teaching programme based on features of 'Dialect' and 'Standard', in order to meet the needs of pupils of West Indian descent within a multicultural context in an integrated classroom.

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## INTRODUCTION

This research plans to examine certain language factor effects on the academic performance of West Indian children in English schools. First, however, it is necessary to consider why the study concentrates on West Indians, and why it is concerned with language.

The academic results of pupils of West Indian descent are lower than those of any other ethnic group in British schools, Department of Education and Science (1974) (DES). Policy appears to be either absent or inconsistent with regard to the education of this particular group whose school records tend to get worse rather than better with increasing numbers of years spent in British schools.

Unlike other immigrant children and other children of immigrant parents, West Indians appear to receive either no special assistance with language or different assistance from other groups. West Indians are classified as "English speakers" if they come from the so-called English-speaking parts of the West Indies. The classification is not related to their language usage.

The study investigates the language usage and attitudes of pupils of West Indian descent. It attempts to find out whether pupils of West Indian descent are hampered in their use of Standard English and whether they consider West Indian Dialect a necessary part of their culture. The research concerns itself primarily with children of West Indian descent, the so-called second generation immigrants, because these Black Britons are the ones that cause their teachers greatest confusion in school. Their teachers are trained to consider them Standard English users, with an outlook similar to other pupils in school. However, there is considerable difference of opinion about both their use of English and their cultural identity.

2.

If there were differences between the underlying structure of Standard English and West Indian Dialect (Patois), and if these differences were ignored or misunderstood by teachers, this might adversely affect the achievement of some pupils in school. It might also affect the attitudes of this group of pupils on several different levels.

The role of language within the learning process has been studied in depth over the years. In the field of linguistics, the structure and characteristics of different languages have been probed and analysed. Unfortunately these very worthwhile studies have often been isolated within their respective disciplines - psychology, education, language, sociology - developing independently in each field. An attempt will be made, therefore, to look at some of the relationships between the language and cultural attitudes of the pupils concerned, to probe the connections between their language usage and cultural identity. We want to know the children's own views on the language they use and the cultural attitudes to which they adhere.

### Personal Bias

A long-standing debate has been conducted on the reasons why immigrant children, especially West Indians, are not achieving as good results in school as white British children. A similar debate, starting earlier though continuing today, has been conducted in the United States regarding black Americans. Some would argue that it is a simple question of biology, and sadly that biology is destiny.

My own bias in this debate is strong, personal, and goes back a long way. As a child I read animal stories avidly. I worked my way through the Beaver Twins and horse and dog books in the Children's Library, and then went upstairs to see if adults read anything interesting as well. I borrowed 'The Voyage of the Beagle' and a history book on George Washington. The first book was disappointing. I waded through hundreds of pages of

wing variations on the blue-tailed tit awaiting the entrance of a long-eared dog, to no avail.

The second book was fascinating. I knew about the Cherry Tree episode, but I never realised that George Washington did much else besides not telling lies. Suddenly I was reading about his discoveries of crop rotation techniques, the nutritional values of peanuts, and a multitude of uses he had devised for the oil. The book went on to describe his attempts to inform people of his discoveries in various scientific clubs. But he was held back at the door - George Washington Carver was a black man.

Though social scientists should strive for objective research, it is better not to deny the bias that makes them act. My early introduction to Darwin led me to presume that there was probably little in common between the explanations of biological mutation over the millenia of evolution, and the 'biological' explanations of racial inequality. Furthermore, my early introduction to the 'other' George Washington told me to look elsewhere for the reason why racial inequality exists.

If research were strictly limited to 'one wonders whether' to the exclusion of 'I wish that', then sociology would not be working for society. If scholars limited themselves to explaining why something cannot be done to the exclusion of how something might be done, we would achieve little.

For these reasons the following piece of research is aimed at seeking solutions as well as considering explanations. There is an underlying assumption that all kinds of social, cultural, economic and personality factors interplay in the consideration of academic progress in school. Language has been singled out simply because it was an uncommon factor involving West Indian pupils as opposed to other ethnic minorities. With the "English speaking" classification, West Indian pupils are automatically channelled through a different process within the educational system. It is hoped that it will be possible to test whether a language barrier

operates, so that this one factor may be further investigated or eliminated from the search for solutions.

The extent of the problem is reflected in the concern expressed recently over the disproportionately large numbers of West Indian children in schools for the educationally sub-normal (ESN). A full investigation has been recommended by Parliament, should the trend continue.

I became aware of this unequal dispersal while working at the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations on a project which involved an ESN hostel. Further enquiry convinced me of the need to investigate language considerations. Explanations of racial discrimination alone were not adequate to account for why so many West Indians were ending up in ESN schools, while other minorities who are subject to similar racial attitudes were not.

Although the experimental research will restrict itself to the question of language and related considerations, an attempt will be made to consider the wider fields that are necessarily involved in an investigation of this kind. Previous research involving other disciplines will be drawn upon to see what light is shed upon the language considerations.

#### Aspects of the British Education System

The concept of equal opportunity is relatively new within the field of education. So also is the concept of government responsibility. These ideas have become the norm over many years of educational evolution. During the nineteenth century it was generally established that children ought to be taught. More recently there has been concern over who gets taught what, and how.

The 1944 Education Act contained an implicit assumption that children of parents with small incomes should receive an equal opportunity for education at schools which had exclusively taught the children of the rich. It abolished fees in maintained schools, and introduced intelligence tests.

Children were to be offered education according to their abilities, and not according to the financial means of their parents.

It appears that these intelligence tests did remove a certain amount of the effects of teacher bias. When intelligence tests were discontinued in Hertfordshire schools between 1952-1954, and teachers' assessments substituted, the proportion of children of manual workers gaining grammar school places dropped. Floud and Halsey (1956), detailed the results.

J.W.B. Douglas (1964) reports on the extent of the handicap faced by working class children. The Robbins Report, based on the Douglas sample, found that many more children of high ability from working class backgrounds left school at 15 than those from middle class backgrounds. Though diminished, problems of unequal education for different class groups were still being noted in the 1960's.

The move towards offering equal opportunities in school, regardless of social class, continued with the decision to set up Comprehensive Schools. In 1964 Anthony Crosland, then Secretary of State for Education and Science, requested local authorities to submit plans for going comprehensive, as it was the Government's declared objective to end selection at eleven plus and to eliminate separation in secondary education.

The controversy over the comprehensive schooling system continues. But the grounds of the debate have changed. Most would now agree upon the principle of equal educational opportunities for all social classes. Differences usually centre on how to achieve this goal. (The argument favouring an educational elite can be examined in the Black Papers of 1971 and 1977. The present Government's views are also well known).

There has not been a similar concern for the provision of equal educational opportunities for all racial groups. Possibly the Race Relations Act will lead to more research and positive action towards providing educational equality in practice.

Large-scale immigration of racial minorities occurred during the two decades after the 1944 Education Act. The movement concerned with social class ebbed before the pressure for equality of educational opportunities for racial minorities had grown into a campaign. This perhaps explains the lack of stated purpose and clear-cut national policies with regard to racial minorities. The impetus of the earlier movement had already been dissipated with the introduction of comprehensives.

### Societal Strategies for Educating Immigrants

Until the 1970's, the prevailing attitude towards the educational needs of racial minorities seems to have been either a passive response of 'laissez-faire', or an active policy of anglicization - a 'do it our way' mentality.

Teachers were encouraged to ensure that immigrant children conformed to the pre-established English modes of behaviour. While they were expected to respect the culture and traditions of their parents, immigrant children were also urged to adapt to a national system that excluded the expression of different values or 'foreign' attitudes. Success for the immigrant child depended upon the rejection of the family's culture and a process of total anglicization. On the laissez faire side, children immigrating to Britain were expected to pick up English in the playground, and it was assumed that they could be assimilated directly into the British Education system.

The concept of a multi-cultural society appeared in official reports during the investigations of the late sixties and early seventies. This has grown into an implicitly pluralist education policy - do it your way in our system. It is reflected in the National Union of Teachers' (NUT) memorandum to the Select Committee (1973) which refers to a "multi-racial society" (Chapter 5, para.79, p.21):

"In the Union's belief, the emphasis for the future must lie in the concept of an education directed towards the needs of a multi-racial society, and not to the specific and isolated question of educating children from immigrant families with often the unacknowledged aim of converting them into good Europeans!"

Such a policy, though not as yet openly expressed, was tacitly accepted in the Select Committee Race Relations Report (1973) in its recommendations for teachers' training (Chapter 6, para.114, p.31):

"All students on initial or postgraduate courses can and should be made aware that, wherever they teach, they will be doing so in a multi-cultural society. This should be reflected not so much in special courses but throughout the training, more particularly in such aspects of it as the sociology of education. Colleges of education, but perhaps not all university departments, are coming increasingly to acknowledge this. It is, among other things, essential for all students to realize that areas of varied culture and language skills in which they might one day be teaching present special problems needing extra training. Colleges in immigrant areas can let their students find this out at first hand on teaching practice. Some colleges not so situated already seek teaching practice in inner city areas".

The reasons for promoting a multi-cultural educational policy have not been put. It may be an empirical shift in response to a major breakdown of the earlier anglicization policy, or a greater awareness of the actual school experience in providing education for ethnic minorities. Lack of a recognized national policy, however, has not made for a coherent well-informed response at the local level. The change in emphasis coincided with the sudden increase in immigration, when teachers found they could not cope with language-teaching in the normal class room situation. Perhaps we can thank the immigration 'peak' for this de facto change of policy.

CHAPTER ONEIMMIGRATION PATTERNS OF ETHNIC MINORITIES

Chapter One traces the national trends of immigration to the United Kingdom. A pattern is outlined from two primary sources showing a marked peak during the early 1960's. Urban settlement is examined revealing disproportionate population concentrations in some city areas. Distribution within schools is investigated and conjecture made upon the likelihood of subsequent trends following suit, given that reliable data are no longer available after 1973.



## Immigration Patterns of Ethnic Minorities in Britain

Since the passage of the Race Relations Bill, numbers of immigrants and their countries of origin are difficult to obtain. However, during the post-war years and prior to the Immigration Acts, there was large-scale immigration which included people from the West Indies, and some figures are available for this period.

The nation-wide Census, taken April 25/26 1971, included the category "people of New Commonwealth Ethnic Origin". Over one million persons of this category resided in Britain at the time of the 1971 Census. Approximately 300,000 of them had come from the West Indies.

The demographic pattern of immigration and settlement is difficult to determine accurately, because sources vary, definitions of "immigrant" vary and no data were collected specifically for this demographic purpose. An estimate of resident numbers and their geographical distribution has to be pieced together from a variety of sources. Constant population movement and the often forgotten emigration figures underlie the wide differences in estimate found in books referring to concepts such as the "immigrant" community.

The 1961 and 1971 Census data offer one primary source giving numbers according to people's own statements of their year of entry into the United Kingdom. There is a category of persons born in the "New Commonwealth", meaning the exclusion of Australia, Canada and New Zealand. The following figures were compiled from the 1971 Census by the Community Relations Commission (Kohler, D., 1975, p.13). (See Table 1.1).

From these figures a clear wave of immigration is evident, that peaked in the early sixties and then levelled off. A rough idea of the pattern of immigration can be ascertained from both Census and Home Office sources. There is considerable disparity between them, however, which requires some clarification.

TABLE 1.1Immigration based on Census\*

<u>Year of entry into UK</u>	<u>Numbers born in New Commonwealth, living in Britain as of 1971</u>
Before 1940	79,065
1940-54	113,245
1955	29,925
1956	33,860
1957	32,965
1958	30,680
1959	34,410
1960	67,555
1961	87,745
1962	74,045
1963	55,095
1964	60,065
1965	63,975
1966	63,375
1967	73,345
1968	71,740
1969	57,540
1970/71	78,115

\*Based on 1971 Census - therefore excludes immigrants who emigrated prior to the 1971 Census.

The Census figures are limited to the informants' own recall of their date of entry. Furthermore, emigration of large numbers prior to the Census would remove them from being informants about their previous period of residence. Home Office figures are based on records of entry into the United Kingdom of specific categories. The bases of their data collection and record keeping changed in 1973 when the categories established by the 1971 Immigration Act took effect. Their figures do not include movement to and from Eire and, of course, exclude unregistered immigration and persons outside their categories.

The following graph shows the approximate pattern of immigration:

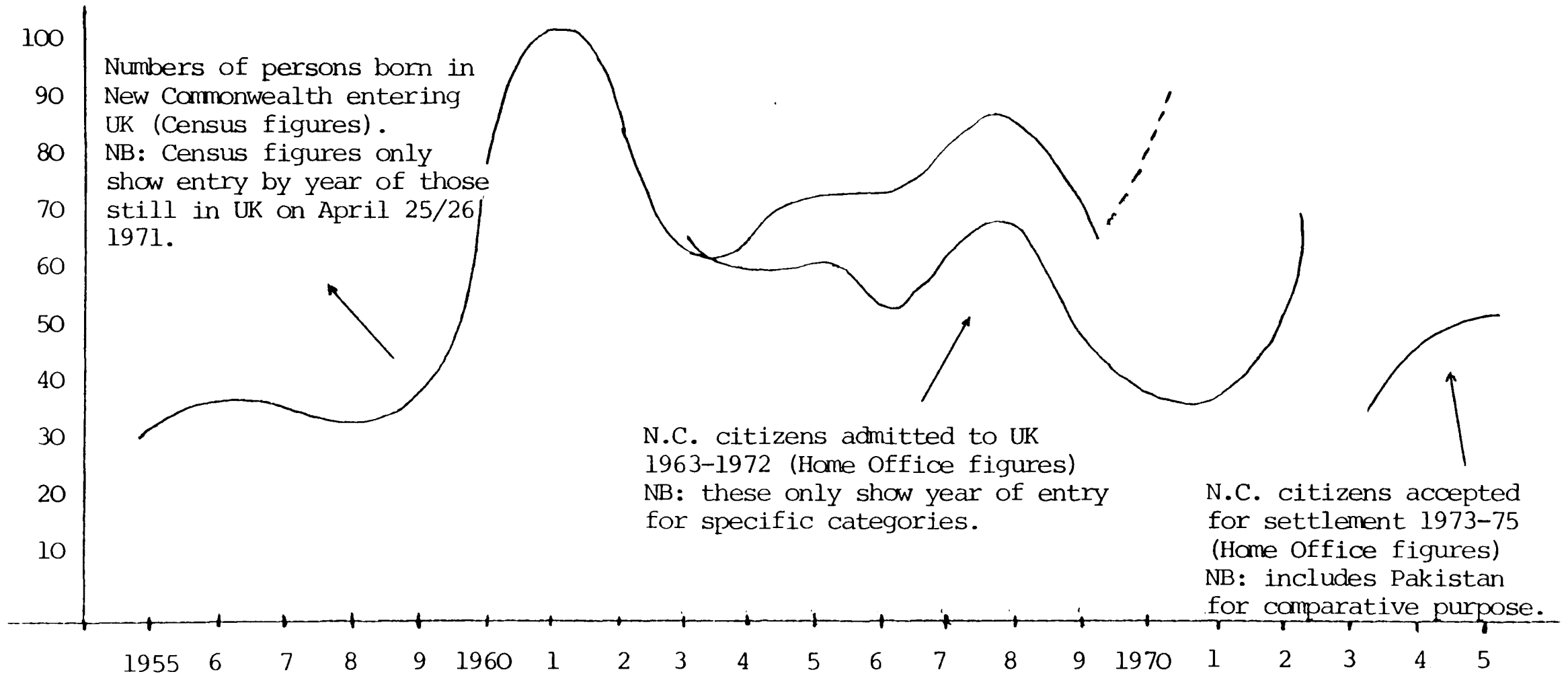
TABLE 1.2

PATTERN OF IMMIGRATION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES

(Drawn from Statistical Data, Kohler (1965) pp 6-15)

N.C. - New Commonwealth

Thousands



It has been estimated (Kohler, 1976, p.14) that the population of New Commonwealth ethnic origin of 1,000,000 would have had approximately 500,000 children born to them in Britain by 1971. Given an increase based on immigration and child-birth, this corroborates an estimate recorded in Hansard, 22nd June, 1967. The parliamentary report had estimated that at the end of 1966, there were one million "coloured immigrants" from the New Commonwealth, including those whose parents were immigrants, out of a total population of fifty two and a half million.

The trend of immigration of West Indians to Britain may be ascertained from Home Office Statistics for the Commonwealth (Cmd. 2379, 2658, 2979, 3258) and the White Paper on Immigration (Cmd. 2739). Until the mid-1950's there was a relatively constant population of 40,000-45,000 residents who were West Indian or of West Indian descent. Net Commonwealth immigration figures excluding white dominions show an overall increased rate of immigration starting in the late 1950's. Between 1955 and 1962 the population of persons of West Indian descent (immigrants and children born to those immigrants in Britain) rose to approximately 250,000. The rate of immigration slowed during the 1960's bringing the total number of persons of West Indian descent to approximately 400,000 by the mid-1960's. (The second peak of immigration which occurred in 1971 was mainly due to entry to the United Kingdom of people from Uganda and did not involve West Indians).

#### Settlement Patterns of Ethnic Minorities in Britain

According to C. Peach(1965) the majority of immigrants settled in the poorer districts of Britain's largest urban areas. He estimated that 80 per cent of non-white immigrants were concentrated in urban areas, and about half of these were settled in Britain's ten largest cities. There is reason to believe that the same settlement pattern continued. The Immigration Acts of 1965 and 1968 restricted further immigration to a large

extent. The 1965 Act limited vouchers to 8,500 and the 1968 Act restricted immigrants to under 16 year olds. Subsequent settlement may be assumed to remain the same because the newer immigrants were usually related to persons settled already, and therefore joined them in their place of residence.

Whereas ethnic minorities make up about 2 per cent of the population nationally, their concentrations in certain inner urban areas may reach 50 per cent in particular city districts. The 1971 Census showed the highest concentrations of ethnic minorities in Greater London (6.4 per cent of the area's population), the West Midlands Conurbation (5.1 per cent of the area's population) and the West Yorkshire Conurbation (3.2 per cent of the area's population). The Greater London Council (GLC) population of 7,452,345 contained 476,485 persons born in the New Commonwealth as at April 1974 (Kohler, 1976, p.10), with persons born in the West Indies, including Guyana, making up 2.2 per cent of the total GLC population. Within London, some areas, such as Ealing and Southall, Haringey, Lambeth and Islington contained much higher concentrations of ethnic minorities.

From the early 1960's throughout the 1970's there has been a stable pattern of settlement. The pattern consists of high concentrations in urban areas out of all proportion to the national ratio that would be expected from a simple look at national immigration figures. The problem of 'hidden' population concentrations is compounded in the educational field where ethnic minorities may make up almost half of the school population in a few schools in a particular town, yet constitute a negligible percentage of the population of that Local Education Authority if it happens to cover an otherwise rural area.

Population Distribution of Ethnic Minorities in Schools

Data were collected by the DES as a supplement Form 7(i) to customary annual returns from 1966-1973 regarding pupils of overseas origin in maintained schools. This information was published annually by the DES as "Statistics of Education", Vol I, Schools (available HMSO, London). The pupils covered include children born outside the British Isles joining parents born abroad and children born in the United Kingdom whose parents immigrated within 10 years of the collection of the data. It excludes children of mixed immigrant and non-immigrant parents and it excludes Eire. From 1970 returns included Special Schools.

Although designed to omit any reference to race, this definition is no longer used, and Form 7 (i) has been dropped. Figures are no longer available regarding the population and distribution of racial minorities in the school system nationally.

TABLE 1.3

Immigrant Pupils in all maintained primary and secondary schools in England and Wales 1966-1972

Year (January)	All Pupils	Immigrant Pupils	Immigrant Pupils as Percentage of all pupils %
1966	7,183,165	148,000*	2.1
1967	7,328,110	183,776	2.5
1968	7,541,969	220,212	2.9
1969	7,753,002	249,664	3.2
1970	7,960,194	263,710	3.3
1971	8,167,009	270,745	3.3
1972	8,366,333	279,872	3.3

\*Estimated figure because data excludes schools with 10 immigrants or less.

(Table drawn from: DES "Statistics of Education", Vol.I, Schools, London, HMSO. Published 1967-1973 annually, for the years 1966-1972, see section : Immigrant Pupils).

Research carried out by a team at the National Foundation for Educational Research for the Department of Education and Science examined the distribution of immigrant children in schools and studied the provisions made for them by local authorities. The first published report on distribution and arrangements by Townsend (1971) noted the high concentration of immigrant children within urban schools (pp.19-23). Fourteen authorities had 9 per cent or more immigrant children, and seven of these were found in the London area. In an extreme example, Townsend pointed out that a county authority with a small immigrant population had one school with 80 per cent of its pupil roll who were immigrant children. Two hundred and seventeen schools had more than 50 per cent immigrant children on their rolls. Townsend also pointed out that by the DES definition of immigrant (which included the ten year residency of parent) estimates of numbers of children of immigrants would alter according to the year. Approximately 10 per cent of the pupils still in school would have disappeared from the figures between January 1969 and January 1970 simply by change of status. At the same time the immigrant population during that year would have increased by 8.8 per cent from new arrivals, (Townsend '71, p.28).

Thus, it would appear that the situation inside schools was hard to document accurately but that the immigrant school population was higher than it seemed. Concentrations of immigrants in cities and therefore in particular schools, were hidden by the overall proportion of immigrants in a given authority area. Changes in status because of the DES definition affected the children of immigrants while they were part of the school population. It must also be said that many teaching staff disliked the Form 7(i) return which included information about race, and did not include this information. Since it was dropped in 1973, estimates have been vague. The immigration laws of recent years have meant that at present there are few 'new arrivals', though a large part of the school

population is made up of the children of immigrants, often referred to as "second generation" immigrants.

TABLE 1.4

Immigrant Pupils in maintained Schools in England - January 1970  
Local Education Authorities (LEA's) having high Concentrations of  
Immigrant Pupils in Schools

(Constructed from Tables in Townsend (1971) pp.114-119)

LEA's with > 10% Immigrant Population in its schools	Total No.of Pupils in LEA schools	Immigrants as Percentage of all Pupils	West Indian Proportion of Immigrants	Immigrant Pupils with weak Englis as Percentage of Immigrants
<u>English County Boroughs</u>				
		%	%	%
Bradford	53,769	10.2	(16.3)	26.6
Huddersfield	22,298	12.5	(49.1)	17.8
Leicester	49,522	13.3	(19.6)	27.1
Warley	26,202	10.9	(34.2)	39.9
Wolverhampton	48,783	14.1	(40.3)	27.3
<u>Greater London Council</u>				
ILEA	405,991	17.0	(56.6)	10.0
Brent	40,615	27.6	(60.5)	10.1
Ealing	43,480	21.3	(27.3)	16.1
Haringey	35,715	28.7	(15.3)	15.3
Hounslow	30,504	10.3	(21.4)	21.4
Newham	39,423	15.2	(12.7)	12.7
Waltham Forest	32,189	11.0	(14.1)	14.1



TABLE 1.5

Immigrant Pupils in Maintained Schools in England as of Jan. 1970  
LEAS having high concentrations of West Indians as Section of  
Immigrant Population in Schools

LEAs with < 10% immigrants as percentage of pupil population but with > 1000 West Indians	Total No. of Pupils in LEA	Immigrants as Percentage of all Pupils	West Indian Proportion of Immigrants	Immigrant Pupils with weak English as Percentage of Immigrants.
		%	%	%
Birmingham	185,510	9.8	(50.8)	23.7
Bristol	65,349*	4.3	(69.3)	6.2
Derby	36,401	6.9	(41.4)	22.8
Leeds	84,134	4.6	(46.7)	12.6
Luton	29,636	8.3	(55.5)	12.2
Manchester	101,705	4.7	(54.8)	22.4
Sheffield	85,221	2.8	(65.7)	12.4
Croydon	52,072	8.8	(47.4)	5.4

\*Pupil population of Bristol estimated from percentages due to misprint in source figures quoted in Townsend (71).

Total Number of West Indians in Tables 1.3 and 1.4 85,053

Total Number of West Indians in Schools 109,580

(i.e. 77.6 per cent of West Indians at school are concentrated in twenty LEA's).

CHAPTER TWOPROVISIONS FOR ETHNIC MINORITIES IN BRITISH SCHOOLS

Chapter Two attempts to deduce educational strategies for educating immigrants from the practices in schools, given the lack of stated policy upon this issue. An estimate is made of the numbers of immigrants in schools who are in need of extra teaching. Special provisions for the education of immigrant children are described and a report is made of surveys that assess these provisions. London's provisions are examined in some detail as the capital is in some ways reflective of national trends. The different channels through which pupils of West Indian descent must pass are noted, and special provisions for this group are investigated.

Immigrants in British Schools in need of Extra Teaching

The educational assessment of immigrants in British schools is not recorded in any kind of centralised way, since data are no longer kept of categories such as "immigrants" or "racial minorities". However, a glance at some of the figures for previous years indicates that a large number of immigrant children were in need of extra help in education.

J. Power (1967) examined the information gathered by the DES in 1966, and concluded that 75 per cent of immigrant pupils in primary and secondary schools had adequate English though their written work might have weaknesses not expressed through their spoken English, and that 25 per cent of immigrant pupils required special tuition in English. Power noted that no definition of "adequate" was offered to the heads and teachers surveyed as a guide for their assessment, so that the above figures should be treated with that caution.

The (1971) report by J. Haynes gives the figures for the period 1966-1969 (England and Wales) as follows:

Year	Total Number of Immigrant Pupils	Number of Immigrant Pupils needing Special Teaching	
1966	131,043*	32,234	24.6%
1967	183,776*	41,816	22.8%
1968	220,212	45,803	20.8%
1969	249,664	43,927	17.6%

\* excludes schools with 10 or less.

This corroborates the J. Power (1967) study and also indicates a steady drop in the percentage of immigrant pupils needing special arrangements, partly a reflection of the drop in numbers of new

arrivals coming from abroad.

Some further information is contained in the Haynes (1971) report. A research project was carried out by the Schools Council in 1967, which circulated a questionnaire to all local authorities. It asked whether English was the child's first or second language regardless of place of birth. The figure of 44,000 children with inadequate English given in the Schools Council Working Paper (1967) corroborates the figures of immigrant pupils with language difficulties published in the same year by the Department of Education and Science.

The DES survey No.13 (1971) noted the increase in the immigrant school population and recorded the practices of both the Department and the local authorities. It considered that teaching English was the "most urgent single challenge" in meeting the educational needs of this section of the schools' population.

#### Provisions for the Education of Immigrants

The type of special provision, if any, for educating immigrant pupils is decided by the local education authority in each area. The Select Committee report (1969) mentioned some of the provisions made. They were remarkable for their variety and the multiplicity of underlying policies which one might deduce from the type of provisions made. Birmingham, it was reported, relied heavily on specialist language teachers for its large numbers of Asian pupils. London had language centres that pupils attended, often away from the schools at which they were registered. Wolverhampton practised a dispersal policy following reception classes for new immigrants. Huddersfield channelled its immigrants through one school which had a special English department. Pupils were then sent on to local schools. Bradford, Bolton and Slough adopted the same technique even though Huddersfield had had to

modify its procedure subsequently. Some centres, such as Birmingham, set up special departments for teaching English as a foreign language. Hackney had seven centres for specialist language teaching.

There was little change over the years. A survey carried out by the Department of Education and Science had a group of H.M. Inspectors examine 54 schools in 16 areas (DES 1972). Its findings noted the various centres' procedures. It found great discrepancy between the areas investigated and between different schools.

In some schools the decision to move a pupil from a special class into the main school class was determined by the arrival of new pupils creating a pressure on places available in the special class. The H.M.I.'s stated that there was clear evidence that some intelligent immigrant pupils who would have benefited from a longer intensive English language course, had been moved into the main stream of school organisation at remedial class or lower stream level to their educational disadvantage.

The survey found that there was a mixture of arrangements made in the ordinary schools for reception and integration of immigrants coming from special centres, and that the level of concern varied greatly between schools. Many of the schools visited made no arrangements for the immigrant pupils admitted from junior schools. In streamed secondary schools pupils were usually placed in the lower streams. Members of staff knew little about the work of the language and reception centres. The Inspectors concluded that language difficulties hampered able immigrant children throughout their educational career.

This picture of uncoordinated, patchy and often inadequate services is borne out by Townsend's (1971) survey which examined the educational arrangements provided for immigrants. A postal questionnaire to 146 Local Education Authorities asked if they made special arrangements for their immigrant pupils. Seventy one responded that they did and 75 that

they didn't. Ten of the latter had 500 or more immigrant pupils in area schools.

Full and part time language centres were provided by 7 LEA's for infants, by 11 LEA's for juniors and by 17 LEA's for secondary pupils. In-school units were provided by 14 LEA's for infants, by 19 LEA's for juniors and by 26 LEA's for secondary pupils. Part time withdrawal classes were provided for infants by 51 LEA's, for juniors by 54 LEA's and for secondary pupils by 61 LEA's.

With regard to West Indian pupils, of the 71 LEA's making special arrangements for immigrants, 12 LEA's having less than 1,000 West Indian pupils, and 10 LEA's having more than 1,000 West Indian pupils, did not include them in the special arrangements. This involved 19 infant schools, 22 junior schools and 22 secondary schools.

An assessment has been made of the efficacy of different types of provisions set up by authorities in their areas. The DES survey (1971) commented on the various arrangements. It found that withdrawal groups were best suited for small numbers. It considered that language centres functioned well using English as a foreign language, but that remedial classes were being used for teaching immigrants to their detriment. It concluded that a service devised to help English pupils backward in the basic subjects was not relevant to the needs of immigrant children with linguistic problems.

The Townsend and Brittan study (1972) described the form of organisation in 230 schools in England with immigrant pupils. It included a range from Infants to Secondary. All schools were circulated with a questionnaire. The response rate was 88.5 per cent.

It found that attitudes to the education of immigrants varied greatly. Some schools considered that immigrant children should be placed only in the normal classes. Whereas one authority in the North had opened six full-time language centres just for the infant age group

immigrants. About 12 per cent of the junior schools surveyed placed immigrant pupils with language difficulties in classes with retarded non-immigrant pupils. In the secondary schools a differentiation between West Indian and other immigrants was made more often than in the junior schools. The report concluded that there was a great need for more extended English teaching and that the needs of West Indian pupils were greatly misunderstood.

#### An Examination of London as Microcosm

According to F. Taylor (1974), West Indian children are treated separately from non-English speaking children and are placed in neighbourhood schools. This is not a national policy, but it appeared to be the case in many areas. An examination of the provisions in London reveals this underlying policy. London is large enough, and its various minority groups numerous enough, to follow any course that ILEA decision makers choose.

During the Vorhaus (1976) investigation, ILEA representatives stated that it was not their policy to have a separate policy regarding the education of immigrant pupils. However, the investigation revealed that provisions for West Indian pupils were markedly different from those for other immigrant groups. It appeared that an unstated implicit policy operated, as evidenced by the provisions found.

Policy is changing in London and this may begin to have some effect upon provisions. A multi-ethnic Inspectorate was established in 1979 and it is now ILEA's policy to promote multi-cultural curricula in schools. However, it is also ILEA's policy not to intervene in schools directly but to encourage inspectors to work with local groups, Community Relations Councils, etc. This development was reported to the London Conference of the National Association for Multiracial Education on October 25th, 1980, by an ILEA Adviser. Criticisms

of ILEA were made at the Conference by practising teachers who claimed that "paper policies" without provisions for implementation were having no local effect.

It is therefore proposed to offer an account of the special facilities and programmes found in London in order to ascertain the actual practice within schools and special centres.

#### Language Provisions for Non-West Indian Immigrants in ILEA Schools

Specific London areas have marked concentrations of immigrants who use other than English as their first, main or only language, and these are usually "extra-curricula" languages, according to the Vorhaus (1976) study. Thus, there are many Bengali speakers in Tower Hamlets, Chinese speakers in Catford and some areas have concentrations of a single language, other than English. Division Five has a concentration of Bengali with little other mixing of languages besides English. However, ILEA does not train Bengali speaking teachers to teach English to Bengali speaking children learning English. On the whole they are taught in Language Centres if their English is not considered adequate for them to function in the normal school.

Language Centres are separate from the schools and when there are not enough non-English speaking children in a school to justify a special unit in the school, or where teachers feel unable to teach English as a foreign language, children are sent to these centres which are run by ILEA. They are usually for secondary age groups, as it is more usual to try to integrate younger children directly into a local school. They teach English to all foreign children, dividing them according to their level of English and not by language of origin. Children usually go to a Language Centre part-time and to school part-time.

Sometimes teachers from ILEA language centres do part-time teaching



in ordinary schools. ILEA, however, keep no record of this. On the whole the buildings are separated geographically from the school of regular attendance, and the staff, too, are separate.

English is also taught as a second language inside schools. Schools run their own units, at the discretion of the Head. These units are not encouraged by ILEA, because it is felt that the students would only have contact with one or a few teachers, since so few teachers are trained to teach English as a second language.

The schools that have such units are not systematically recorded, but it seems that a number of schools have them, though with very few teachers per schools. During the Vorhaus (1976) investigation, of the 9 schools with internal units that were visited, one school had 6 special language staff, one school had three and the rest each had one special teacher trained in English as a second language (ESL).

Thus, the general provision for non-West Indian immigrants was to offer them language learning facilities in special Language Centres using teachers trained to teach English as a foreign language or at least minimally equipped to teach immigrants with special regard to their language development, and in their schools using an in-school language unit and whatever staffing the Head considered appropriate.

#### Provisions for West Indian Pupils

According to Vorhaus (1976), ILEA would seem to be following the pattern of treating its West Indian pupils differently from other immigrants. They were not, as a rule, taught in the Language Centres. Other centres, providing language and basic education, did exist, however they could in no way be considered the main channel through which pupils of West Indian descent were offered any kind of special teaching. There used to be three such centres. Only two remained at the time of the study - one in N.W.1 and the other in S.E.5. (The former

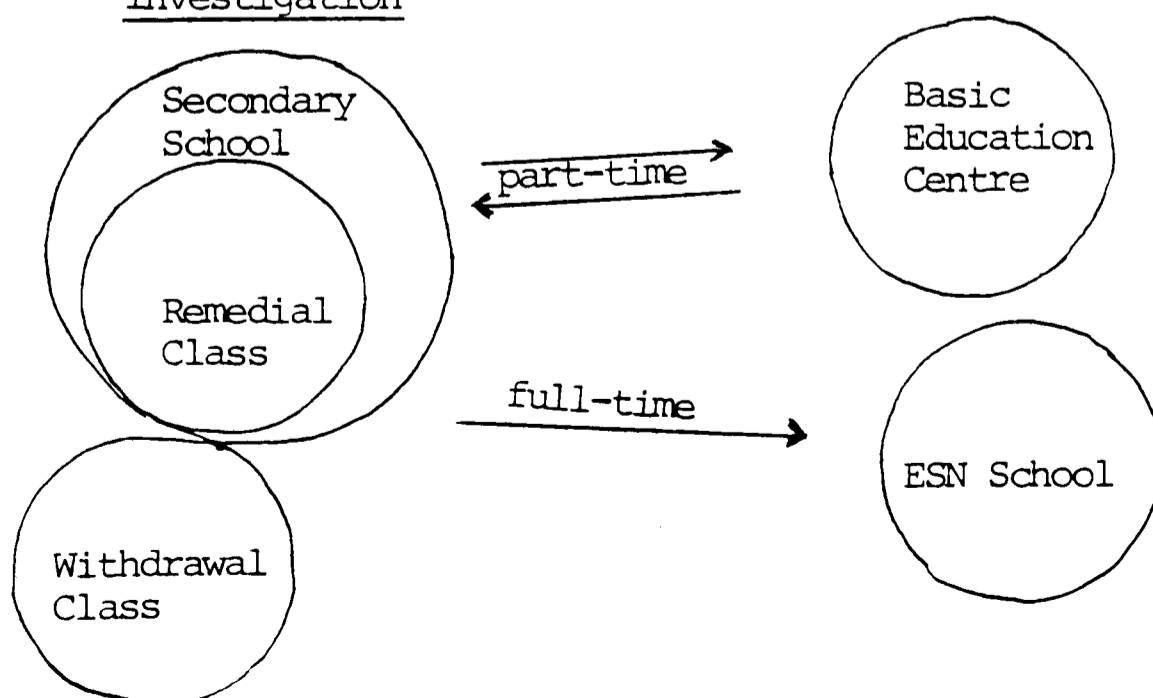
is in Division Three and the latter in Division Eight).

Both centres were visited during the study prior to the report. The N. London Centre took 30 pupils aged 12-17 who were referred from North London schools. About 80 per cent of them were West Indian, according to the Teacher in Charge (who was also the only teacher). The S. London Centre had a capacity of 40 pupils. They were referred from South London schools, and all but a few, according to the Teacher in Charge, were West Indian. Thus, the combined capacity for basic education centres in London was 70 pupils.

In general it seemed to be ILEA policy to keep West Indian children integrated within the normal subjects taught in English schools. A number of schools in London had special provisions, a number of which appeared to cater for a large proportion of pupils of West Indian descent compared to other pupils in these classes. However, it did not appear to be the policy of ILEA to provide language teaching or other special assistance to children of West Indian descent as a group.

A diagrammatic representation of the provisions for West Indian children based on the institutions within which they were found revealed the practice of ILEA, though no explicit policy could be traced.

Fig.2.1 ILEA Provisions for West Indian Pupils Based on 1976 Investigation



It would certainly be worthy of further study to investigate whether ESN schools constitute a major provision for the education of children of West Indian descent, given the lack of positive policy by ILEA and the underprovision of any other facilities either within the schools or as separate centres comparable to the Language Centres provided for other immigrants.

In order to bring an assessment of London's provisions up-to-date, given the change in policy in 1979, one of the five divisional inspectors responsible for multicultural education in London, was interviewed in November 1980. He was asked specifically to comment on any changes or developments that had occurred since the Vorhaus (1976) study.

He confirmed that there were still only two basic education centres, but that these now took pupils of all different ethnic origins whereas they used to concentrate on pupils of West Indian descent.

Asked about centralised resource centres for teachers, he explained that there is now an Afro-Caribbean Resource Project. It has about 10,000 items of use to schools. It does not circulate schools with information, but schools may approach the centre and make use of its materials. Another project, the Centre for Urban Education Studies (CUES), began as a research project and has produced special booklets and tapes, Sapara et al (1979).

He confirmed that there was no clear strategy of alerting teachers to specific Dialect-based grammar features for their work with pupils of West Indian descent. However, he reported on a recent initiative that may speed the development of some type of organised dissemination of information in this area. He explained that an exchange programme is underway whereby 10 teachers will go to Caribbean centres and in exchange 10 West Indian teachers will come to London for a period. Upon their return the 10 ILEA teachers will aid the development

of materials for in-service training.

With regard to future teachers' training in London, he stated that CUES and other centres were to be used for special courses arranged by ILEA. Another initiative involved an attempt to set up a network of parents of secondary age children that would involve itself in education. Connected with this, steps were being taken to encourage ethnic minority students to train as teachers, using special 'O' and 'A' level courses at London colleges, such as that run by Goldsmith's.

The initiatives described above may very well lead to a change in the quality and content of education for ethnic minorities, indeed, for all children, in the London area. They lack only the wherewithal for their implementation in schools. He stressed that schools tended to resist outside advice and that they would not take advice from people removed from the chalk face. ILEA's policy remains one of cautious avoidance of any direct attempt to bridge the gap, in the hope that schools will approach the Resource Centre for advice and materials. This has not happened in the past and in spite of the Authority's intentions, there is some question as to whether a process of dissemination will actually take place. Teachers at the London Conference took the view that monocultural assimilationist attitudes remained entrenched in schools and that the few teachers who attempted to introduce initiatives in line with ILEA's new policy, soon became isolated and demoralised because the policy had not been made known within their schools.

#### Consequences of Policy without Implementation

At a national level the assertions of the Select Committee (1973), indicating a change of attitude towards the introduction of multicultural curricula, have not been matched by action. It would appear that despite statements of policy in theory, the practice at the school level follows a different and sometimes contrary course. Lack of effective monitoring

and centralized record-keeping confound the problems involved in attempting to analyse the character of educational strategies for education with regard to ethnic minorities.

In this section we have been forced to work backwards from 'what is' to 'why it is'. Given the lack of a national policy and a London policy that is both new and as yet lacking any means of implementation, it has been necessary to examine what provisions actually exist and then to make assumptions about their function or about the policy of educational managers who operate a particular system in any given area of the country.

The evidence examined in this section has indicated that inadequate or inappropriate facilities have led to the placement of immigrant pupils in lower streams in school, much to their detriment. It has appeared that provisions for West Indian pupils have been particularly poor. The next section will investigate the streaming with particular reference to pupils of West Indian descent.

CHAPTER THREETHE STREAMING OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

Chapter Three reports the findings of surveys that have revealed the worrying trend of low achievement of immigrant children and their placement amongst the lowest categories within schools. The particularly high proportion of pupils of West Indian descent in schools for the Educationally Sub Normal (ESN) is noted. The classification of "English-speaking" for West Indian pupils, made according to country of origin rather than language usage, provides a clue to the dual structure of provisions for different groups of immigrant children. A report is made of research undertaken to test the performance of West Indian pupils. Results indicate that schools are not meeting the needs of this section of the population.

### Streaming and Distribution of Immigrants in Schools

Townsend and Brittan (1972) asked head teachers to give their impressions of the distribution of immigrant pupils in the various streams of their schools. In the schools which streamed by ability, a pattern emerged whereby West Indian pupils were placed generally lower than Indian and Pakistani pupils and where all immigrant pupils were placed in lower streams than non-immigrant pupils. The causes of this clustering of the immigrant pupils in the lower streams, as explained by the head teachers varied greatly.

Reasons included: that the pupils with a foreign language or for whom English differed in form from the indigenous pupils, had greater language difficulties; that the pupils on transfer to full-time normal class work still had linguistic difficulties; that they suffered a backlog of acquired knowledge in the subjects of the timetable, and that the effect of a different linguistic and cultural home background from that of the English pupils, put them at a disadvantage.

Whatever reason or combination of reasons most accurately explain the unequal distribution whereby immigrant pupils, and especially children of West Indian descent, end up in the lowest streams, there would seem to be agreement that these pupils are at a disadvantage compared to the indigenous pupils.

In the secondary schools sampled, over twice as many immigrant pupils as non-immigrants remained at school for the fifth year. However, whilst many of the indigenous pupils staying on were taking 'O' Levels, immigrants were more likely to be involved in non-examination courses. Whilst this phenomenon may be explained by the unemployment problems of immigrant school leavers, it also indicates that while the immigrant pupils were ready to stay on at school in the fifth year, their results did not match those of other groups.

The authors concluded that streaming, as indicated by their survey, was liable to cause an early placement in a slower stream because of language difficulties, and that this could affect an immigrant pupils' career throughout the school. They also expressed concern about the low placing in streamed schools of West Indian pupils in particular.

What emerged from these studies was a general trend of low achievement and of placement in low streams in schools, of immigrant children. Among these, West Indian children appeared to be in the lowest categories.

#### Distribution of West Indian Children in ESN Schools

The Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) report (1967) revealed that 28.4 per cent of Inner London pupils in Schools for the Educationally Sub-normal (ESN) were of immigrant origin. Seventy-five per cent of these were West Indian children. By way of comparison, the proportion of pupils of immigrant origin in all schools in the ILEA area, was 16.5 per cent of the school population in 1969. This means that there was a large and disproportionate number of immigrant pupils, especially West Indians, in ESN schools in London.

Different reasons have been put forward to explain this unequal distribution in ESN schools. B. Coard (1971) claims that a number of factors gravitate against the academic success of West Indian children and towards their disproportionate assignment to ESN schools. He argues that teachers discriminate, that cultural differences are ignored, that there is low teacher expectation, low motivation and that a negative self-image is generated for the West Indian children. Banks (1968) p.232 noted that low expectations on the part of teachers contributed greatly to the poor results of some children. Coard condemns the uneven distribution of West Indian pupils into the lower streams in school and



into the ESN system and demands safeguards for the future placement of any West Indian pupils into special schools.

The Select Committee report on Race Relations (1973) looked at the situation in Special Schools which includes ESN schools. Chapter Eight of the report deals with dispersal.

The Committee noted that there was a disproportionate number of pupils of West Indian origin in ESN schools, and that this was particularly the case in the Greater London area. It did not, however, consider that it was able to explain why this was so, (Select Committee 1973, Chapter 8, para.153, p.41):

.... "there is considerable anxiety, from the DES through to individual parents, about the disproportion of West Indian children in ESN schools, particularly in Greater London. We do not believe - and none of our witnesses suggested it - that there is any deliberate discrimination by colour. Indeed, we agree with even some of the most critical that education authorities do what they consider to be in the best interests of the children. Nevertheless, we share concern at the disparity between Greater London and the rest of the country. None of the explanations offered for it seems to us satisfactory. We therefore recommend that if this disproportion continues, the DES institute a special inquiry into the reasons for it."

Part of the problem of unravelling the various explanations put forward involves the haphazard referral procedures. The ILEA (1967) report explained that the procedures were not standardized, but that a child may be referred to an ESN school if he or she is judged to be three years retarded in school work, or has an I.Q. of 50-70. Intelligence tests are administered by school medical officers or educational psychologists. Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC) is widely used. (Since 1976 procedures for new intake have been more stringent, including the compulsory assessment by psychologist).

The Townsend (1971) study has pinpointed the breakdown of ESN school populations according to racial groups nationally. The national percentage of various immigrant groups and non-immigrants, according to

overall numbers in their respective groups, for all ESN schools in 1970 is as follows:

TABLE 3.1 Comparison of Proportions of Different Ethnic Groups in ESN Schools

Non-immigrant pupils, i.e.	0.68%	of their group, are in ESN schools				
Indian pupils, i.e.	0.32%	"	"	"	"	"
Pakistani pupils, i.e.	0.44%	"	"	"	"	"
West Indian pupils, i.e.	2.33%	"	"	"	"	"
Other immigrant pupils, i.e.	0.58%	"	"	"	"	"
All pupils, i.e.	0.70%	of the national school population.				

(Drawn from Townsend (1971), p.53, based on DES information for 1970)

According to this study, the number of pupils of West Indian descent in ESN schools is approximately two-thirds in excess of the figure that would be expected in proportion to their total number. It seems unreasonable to assume that the previously listed explanations offered for the concentration of immigrants in the lower streams of schools, documented by Townsend & Brittan (1972), such as cultural background differences, lack of previous school knowledge, catching up after transfers and language problems, is adequate to explain this unusually disproportionate distribution of West Indians.

#### Lack of Appropriate Provisions

The (1971) DES survey noted that West Indian pupils were not being provided for in a suitable manner. West Indian children were either catered for wrongly under arrangements designed for Asian children, or classed as backward and placed in remedial classes with backward English children when often they were in need of special but different help.

Both the DES (1971) and Townsend (1971) reports stressed that one

way or another West Indian children were not being offered adequate or appropriate facilities for them to maximise their educational opportunities. They simply did not 'fit' into the categories and provisions that were available to other groups.

While no policy has ever been stated in terms of an educational strategy for West Indians, a general lack of special provisions was noted by the two national surveys mentioned. Disproportionate placement in low streams in schools and in ESN schools in particular, would seem to indicate that somehow our schools were failing to provide adequate standards of education for this particular group, and that one can only call this 'policy by default' - the distribution of West Indian pupils into the general school population with the consequent 'streaming' at the bottom end of the educational scale.

While it is possible to track the provisions (or lack of them) for West Indian children, and conclude that a lack of special education has caused the failure of our schools in respect of West Indians, it is not as easy to identify why this group has fallen through the provisions network.

One clue to the "how" and "why" West Indian children receive so little help in schools lies in their classification as English speakers. New arrivals from those islands termed the English speaking West Indies have always been classified as English speakers regardless of their actual use of English. This meant that the facilities, teaching staff and special treatment afforded to many other immigrant children were not made available to West Indians. This also had an effect in the mainstream classes in schools. Language difficulties were not initially uppermost in teachers' minds when dealing with these children. In fact, the possibility of a language difference between the dialects used by these pupils and their teachers was further camouflaged by other similarities. This was not the case with Asian children, by and

large, where differences of religion, custom, dress etc., would immediately strike a teacher. The Select Committee Report (1973) pointed out this particular circumstance (Chapter 3, para.48, p.12):

"The point often brought out in our evidence that West Indian children may have a hidden, only partly recognised, handicap in their use of English is important. The expectations of West Indian immigrants are quite different from those of Asians. West Indians speak English, their religion is mainly Christian, their cultures, although distinctive, are partly derived from ours. These broad generalities have tended to obscure certain vital differences which schools have discovered. Evidence to us confirms the impression we got in Jamaica and Trinidad that, although superficial conversation is easy and fluent, differences of grammar, words and intonation make it harder for a West Indian child than an English one to communicate with his teachers, to pass examinations in this country or to present himself to a prospective employer."

Most teachers, untrained in the techniques of teaching English as a second language, are ill-equipped to teach a group whose vocabulary they share yet whose grammar may differ greatly from their own. The National Foundation for Educational Research gave evidence on this aspect of the problem to the Select Committee (1973) as follows (Chapter 3, para.51, p.13):

"The National Foundation for Educational Research put the matter succinctly: 'Because the West Indian was regarded as English-speaking he was regarded as having no special need, and the success in teaching English to the West Indian has been very limited indeed. This accounts for what came out time and time and time again - that in streaming, that in examination success, and so on the West Indian is at the bottom, it was more difficult to teach English to a child with West Indian dialect than to an Asian child with no English at all. West Indians were not speaking 'wrong' English or doing it the 'wrong' way. They are doing it perfectly acceptably within their particular context, but success in education in this country does depend on standard English'."

It was reported that this hidden linguistic difference might be part of the reason for the large and disproportionate referral rate of West Indian pupils to ESN schools. Asian children might be given

the benefit of the doubt in that language difficulties could be hampering academic performance. West Indian children would be expected to understand their teachers better and express themselves better than other immigrant groups.

With the "English speaking" classification, West Indian pupils are denied language assistance and usually by-pass the special language units. While these units in themselves would be inappropriate for West Indian children (and especially so for children of West Indian descent born in Britain), they are at least places where teachers are sensitive to language needs and properly trained to teach English in an appropriate manner to those who do not operate in Standard English. Within the main school classes, West Indian children and children of West Indian descent have little chance of specialised language teaching, and consequently their academic performance is seen to be much worse than other groups.

#### The Academic Performance of West Indian Children

Volume Two of the DES survey (1974) offers information on the performance of West Indian children and other immigrant children in four geographical areas considered Educational Priority Areas. Children were tested on listening vocabulary, reading ability, attainment in English and other subjects. The English Picture Vocabulary Test (EPVT) was used, which is based on pictures and a spoken word. It does not require reading. Reading and other tests were also used. More than one quarter of the children in the London schools tested were immigrants by the old DES definition. Of the total, 2,892 tested, 19.0 per cent were West Indian.

Overall in the survey, no West Indian child scored more than 114 points on the EPVT (national standardised mean being 100), and

more than twice as many West Indian children were in the three lowest score categories compared to the nationally representative sample.

Among the London schools, more than one quarter of the West Indian children tested were unable to read. Of the junior school children in the national sample, 8.6 per cent were non-readers. (It is noted that junior school teachers are not taught to teach reading in London schools, because it is assumed that this will have been learnt in the infant school). On the reading test (SRA), 161 West Indian children in the London schools were tested, and of these, 26.7 per cent scored below 80, in a range of 70-140 points. By comparison, of 878 non-immigrants in the UK and Eire, 19.0 per cent scored below 80.

The project looked at age factors to see if children improved or deteriorated as they progressed through the education system. The survey tested groups of at least 100 children at each year from five plus to eleven plus. In all schools of the educationally prioritised areas (which pin-pointed greatest deprivation), there was a marginal dip in the middle junior years with the exception of West Riding, which showed a steady progression.

Among the West Indian children in the London area, the greatest deterioration was noted. Mean vocabulary and reading scores dropped sharply from seven to ten years old. After ten, the scores of these children dropped further than those of groups in any other area tested.

These findings corroborate the Coleman Report (1966) which found that attainment levels correlated with socio-economic status. Under-privileged children show a "cumulative deficit" in educational performance as they grow older. They also corroborate the ILEA literacy survey that found that West Indian children taking reading tests (SRA), showed lower scores as they progressed through junior school.

One of the more detailed studies on language usage of immigrant pupils, is the McEwen and Gipps report (1975) based on a survey carried

out on 800 junior school pupils. This report indicated that schools were not improving the listening and reading skills of "long-stay" West Indian pupils and that their reading and writing abilities were significantly worse than their English counterparts.

What becomes clear from the literature studied so far is that provisions for immigrant pupils, and for West Indian pupils in particular, are inadequate and lacking central coordination. Unfortunately, coordination is often taken for 'control' and this is possibly the reason why so little has been done. British teachers tend to resist any moves towards centralization, claiming that it kills off the individuality of schools and the 'regionality' of different local authorities. However, there is a problem with this federalist approach to education. Developments regarding curricula, multicultural book lists and language teaching techniques have no way of spreading through schools unless individual teachers seek them out. The teachers who take this trouble often complain of the difficulty they encounter in trying to introduce new ideas, methods and books into their schools. Furthermore, these teachers are a depressingly small minority.

An examination of the teachers in areas of high immigrant populations shows that the teaching staff in many schools lack either interest or knowledge.

CHAPTER FOURTEACHERS

Chapter Four concerns itself with teachers of the immigrant pupils. It has been shown that the physical provisions for immigrant children are uncoordinated nationally and patchy in their local distribution. What can be said of the personnel charged with teaching immigrant children? Surveys that investigate teachers' attitudes are reported and an assessment is made of teachers' training and retraining. The issue of preparing teachers for a new role in multi-cultural education is discussed.



### The Teachers of the Immigrants - Attitudes

The DES survey (1974) attempted to ascertain the attitudes of the teachers in Educational Priority Area (EPA) schools, using a questionnaire. The questionnaire was designed to discover attitudes to community, parents, disadvantaged children, permissiveness, punishment and noise in the classroom. The teachers had been asked to state their qualifications, age, number of years in teaching and experience.

A profile of the EPA teacher emerged. In comparison with teachers in streamed and unstreamed schools as a whole, EPA teachers were younger, less experienced, more permissive, opposed to physical punishment, tolerant of higher noise levels in class ... but less interested in teaching disadvantaged children. There was, unfortunately, no breakdown of immigrant and non-immigrant teachers. It would be useful to know whether immigrant teachers would agree that they are less interested in teaching disadvantaged children.

The survey indicated that EPA teachers considered themselves worse off than other teachers, but put high non-material value on teaching. Oddly, the one factor which stood out was that the EPA teacher, who so often taught in schools with large immigrant populations, was less interested in teaching disadvantaged children, who so often are the immigrant children. Without a more detailed break-down, we cannot go further into this apparent contradiction. Whatever the explanation, it would still seem to be the case that immigrant children of the "disadvantaged" category were in an unfavourable position.

### Training the Teachers

Several surveys have indicated that the teachers who have to teach immigrant children are inadequately trained either before or during their teaching career, with regard to both the cultural and linguistic aspects of their pupils' backgrounds.

Townsend (1970) found that only 1 per cent of teachers surveyed had recorded attendances at courses designed to assist teachers teaching immigrant pupils, during the period 1964-1967.

The DES survey (1972) examined whether teachers in schools teaching immigrants, had any specific qualifications for teaching them. Few staff members were found to have attended appropriate courses or to have read any background material about immigrant pupils. Townsend and Brittan (1972) found that only 15 per cent of primary and 3 per cent of secondary teachers attended any course dealing with the needs of immigrant pupils.

Townsend (1971) found that in-service training was very limited. Forty-one LEA's were found to provide in-service courses aimed specifically at teaching immigrants. These courses were not described as substantial. Of the 185 courses recorded, 114 were of less than three day's duration and these accounted for 4,700 out of 5,760 attendances.

Townsend and Brittan (1972) looked at staffing and staff training in schools with large immigrant populations. In the primary schools studied there were 202 probationers and in the secondary schools 394. Of these 596 teachers, 66 were reported by their heads to have received some tuition at their college of education on the education of immigrant children.

With regard to in-service training, 14 per cent of primary teachers and 3 per cent of secondary teachers in the sample had attended any course for teaching immigrants during the three year period of 1968-1970. It would appear that there was little improvement, therefore, since the earlier survey. Conclusions from the findings were that neither initial nor in-service training were meeting the urgent needs of teachers for greater knowledge of immigrant backgrounds and of suitable techniques for use in the classroom.

A closer examination of the problem indicated a need to improve

the supply of training facilities and to impress upon staff the importance of training for the special needs of some immigrant children.

Townsend (1971) examined this aspect of the training problem.

He found that the majority of Local Education Authority courses were part-time and less than one week in duration. Longer courses, provided by other bodies, (of at least one term full time), were followed by 108 teachers from 23 different authorities and 34 teachers from 14 authorities had followed one year courses. Thirty authorities with special arrangements for immigrant pupils offered no in-service training.

It appears that there was no generalised practice (either in the provision of training facilities or in the type of training) that was consistent across authorities. The DES (1971) report detailed this disparity. Bradford, for instance, followed a policy of attaching inexperienced teachers to its Language Centres. The Language Centres became the centre for information distribution amongst schools in their areas. Birmingham used its specialist teachers in the schools to train teachers at school.

Truman (1970) described the situation in London, where teachers in training were sometimes taught by teachers trained in English as a Foreign Language methods. The importance of using and adapting some of these techniques is stressed by Candlin and Derrick (1972).

The general picture is one of inadequate training, lack of facilities or appropriate courses, and extreme diversity in training methods. Townsend and Brittan (1972), p.138, concluded that there was ignorance of the background and culture of immigrant children on the part of the teachers teaching them, and for the vast majority a lack of specialised training either before or during their teaching careers. Other surveys show that lack of policy or training facilities further compound the problem of the lack of awareness by staff in schools of the

need for teacher training in this field.

Some would argue that it is not important for a teacher to know about the cultural background or language characteristics of all pupils. However, with the move towards an acceptance of the need for multi-cultural education, it is now acknowledged that teachers should acquaint themselves with the background of minority pupils. Contentious issues in schools have often centred on questions of school meals, uniform and religious instruction. Schools that are prepared to bend their rules somewhat to avoid offence to the immigrant families involved have often benefited greatly. Minority parents become less worried about the school destroying their culture and standards.

With regard to West Indian pupils, many teachers are aware of behaviour issues and often report their belief that the less disciplined classroom of an English School presents difficulties for new arrivals. Few teachers have ever been made aware of language differences, however, and misunderstandings do occur. Field-work for the Vorhaus (1976) study came up with numerous cases of language-based misunderstandings.

Sadly, the courses run by the Department of Education and Science on multicultural studies, curricula development, etc., are attended, on the whole, only by teachers who are keen to learn about the backgrounds of the minority children they teach. Similarly, organisations like the National Association for Multiracial Education (NAME) have a membership made up of multiculturalists. Unless and until a comprehensive change occurs at the teachers' training and in-service levels, one can only conclude from the evidence of this survey that teachers will remain ignorant of the culture, language, religion and traditions of minority children.

CHAPTER FIVEA TURN TOWARDS MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Chapter Five notes the findings of the Select Committee Report of 1973 which finally recognized the problems that exist within schools. Various studies, language projects and new initiatives undertaken by individual teachers in schools are described. The lack of a national educational strategy for teaching children from different cultures remains, however. So do the problems of instruction in English as a second language, and the particular difficulties faced by teachers working with children who use non-Standard English despite their 'English-speaking' label.

## Recognition of the Problem

The Select Committee Report (1973) recognised that the education of immigrant children in Britain had proceeded in an unacceptable manner. Although some local education authorities had made some provisions, the overall results were haphazard.

The Committee concluded that some form of national policy was called for which might offer guidelines for the areas:

"The time has come for fresh assessment of what has been done and what should now be done ... We recommend that the D.E.S. institute a survey of the various methods of dealing with the education in English of immigrant children, with a view to advising authorities on the best practice."  
Select Committee (1973), Chapter 3, para.47, page 12.

There was also recognition that West Indian children encountered language difficulties in some instances, and that these were not being dealt with in schools:

"There is little doubt that neglect of special attention in the past has handicapped many children."  
Select Committee (1973), Chapter 3, para.53, page 13.

## Language Projects

There are several initiatives underway for providing materials and suitable language programmes for immigrant children. These include an ILEA research project to develop reading materials, Project Dial, which is sponsored by the Centre for Urban Education Studies, and materials produced from the Schools' Council (1972) project under the title 'Concept Seven to Nine'. Materials have developed out of the research and studies of language usage in the classroom.

Halsey (1972) described the programmes used in the four Educational Priority Areas studied by the D.E.S. whose aims were to find

ways of improving the quality of education provided for children in their area through action research in compensatory techniques and to improve and develop cognitive skills.

Several studies based on English as a Foreign Language (E.F.L.) teaching methods led to the report by Candlin and Derrick (1972) recommending that the education programmes for immigrant children should concentrate on this type of language teaching. They hold that children have to learn a specialised language in school, using different language registers for different situations. Teachers are urged to study language functions to become aware of whether their teaching is fully understood by all children. Section Three describes E.F.L. language teaching methods applicable for West Indian children.

The Schools Council Project (1967) concluded that there were grounds for greater concentration on the 7-9 age group and recommended that they be taught in whole multi-racial classes. They developed a range of materials for teachers and pupils under the heading 'Scope', compiled by the Curriculum Development Project. Seven publications appeared between 1969 and 1973. Their aim included the preparation of carefully graded language material for English teaching, and provision of a supportive service of materials for in-service training of teachers.

Scope One, An Introductory Course for Pupils Eight to Thirteen Years, (1969), was prepared from a pilot project tested in schools by teachers. It is situationally based in its teaching method, an approach favoured by many E.F.L. teachers, and provides typical language that would be necessary for 14 different places. Other Scope books use a similar technique, and are topic oriented.

The researchers involved in the development of these materials found that some of the material seemed to be inadequate to meet the specific needs of West Indian children. As a result, the (1972)

Schools Council Project was developed for English for West Indian pupils. Under the Seven to Nine title four units were produced for use in multi-racial classes. Unit One tries to increase oral comprehension and lays stress on memory and decoding complex language, using pre-recorded cassettes. Unit Two concentrates on increasing flexibility in classifying data, and includes writing. Unit Three develops oral skills, and Unit Four is a Dialect Kit attempting to counter the main effects of West Indian Dialect on writing Standard English.

Unit One of Concept Seven to Nine is assessed by Norris (1972) who found that it increased listening and oral skills. One of the major benefits of this programme must surely be the teacher's manual which accompanies each unit, and the exercises which help the teacher diagnose the type of understanding problem that a given child encounters. This might involve speed of delivery, length of utterance, order conflicts or other difficulties.

A conference in 1964, at the University of the West Indies, tackled some of the considerations of English language differences between Standard and Dialect, and language teaching methods necessary in a multi-racial society. Reports of the conference are available through the Jones (1965) compilation. Hanson (1969) also describes language teaching methods for children of West Indian descent in withdrawal classes.

Other initiatives to develop programmes designed specifically for West Indians have branched into other media besides books, tapes and visual materials for school. Huggins et al (1972) have put together a twenty-six series programme designed to help West Indians with Standard English, prepared for BBC Radio. It consists of dramatised episodes about a Jamaican family in Brixton. Linguistic points are discussed in a teaching commentary of the programme.



### Compensatory Programmes

Several projects have been undertaken as a result of considerations of social and linguistic deprivation. These include the programmes developed for Educational Priority Areas (EPA). Midwinter (1972) describes the work of the Liverpool EPA project and provides a handbook of suggestions for teachers wishing to link curricula items to the pupils' own experience, so as to counteract deprivation and alienation.

Following the early intervention advocates, the Schools Council Compensatory Education Project at the University of Swansea is based on 5-8 year olds in need of compensatory education. Chazan et al (1971) report on the project which put emphasis on language development. An Identification Techniques Unit has developed an evaluation manual purportedly designed to aid teachers identify 'need' amongst children.

Summer compensatory programmes, extremely popular in the United States during the sixties, have also been introduced in Britain. Their great advantage is non-interference with normal school routines. These programmes were pioneered in Britain by the Language Teaching Centre at the University of York. Hawkins (1971) describes the summer programmes undertaken with student volunteers. Professor Hawkins considers that language competence adequate for secondary education is best learned on a dialogue basis within the schools themselves, using teachers' aides if necessary to create a child : tutor situation.

### Multi Cultural Approach

Part of the problem facing teachers in schools that wish to offer their pupils background information about the culture, history and customs of their homelands or ancestral countries, is an extreme scarcity of suitable books or other source materials. Hill (1971) has edited a

compilation that surveys books for children aged 7-12, prepared for a librarian's working party. Books are graded A-C with the 'C' grading indicating that the book is not to be recommended. Racialist and mono-cultural bias were found to be a common content in diverse books. Day's (1971) booklist includes an annotated collection of Carriibbean fiction, history, poetry and songs. Birmingham C.R.C. (1973) has assembled books, audio-visual material, project kits, etc., for the use of teachers in multi-racial classes who wish to attempt initiating their own multi-cultural projects. However, the materials are only available in the Birmingham area.

A study of Race Relations encounters the same type of problems. One book that is suitable for secondary schools is Burnham's (1971) which covers concepts of race, racialist attitudes, the history of racism and racism in modern times. Margaret Nandy, in McNeal and Rogers' (1971) book on the multi-racial school, describes the problems encountered in developing suitable courses for social studies and stresses the responsibility of all schools to provide a balanced multi-cultural curriculum. She argues that, although most schools and teachers are not faced with any urgency to create a curriculum which will have some impact on their pupils' thinking on race relations, the reasons for doing this apply in every school since every child is going to be an adult in a multi-racial society.

While some teachers would prefer to avoid a direct approach to the study of racial attitudes, and let sleeping dogs lie, others believe that the issue should be confronted head-on. Research on the effects of introducing course materials that deal directly with racism, has come up with varied results. Claims that such an approach actually increases racist attitudes have not been substantiated, although certainly there is evidence that pupils' responses differ greatly according to the racial situation in which they find themselves. Kemelfield (1972)

shows different results between a school with a high immigrant population and others with smaller proportions of immigrants.

The Schools Council (1972) report on curriculum changes to introduce studies of race relations, urges teachers to help children understand that Britain is now a multi-racial, multi-cultural society. It recommends a direct approach to teachers, who are encouraged to give their pupils a clear understanding of what is involved in race relations - the clash of cultures, beliefs about physical differences and the differences between ethnic groups.

#### Independent Initiatives in Schools

Some projects are being introduced individually by schools making changes in their curricula and modifying their provisions. Much of this is at the discretion of the individual Head. Tulse Hill School in London introduced 'Black Studies' as part of G.C.E. 'O' Level General Studies. This is reported in Education and Community Relations, CRC (1971). The Tulse Hill course covered the history and society of New Commonwealth countries and the settlement of their populations in Britain.

At William Penn School in London, a 'Black Studies' course leads to a C.S.E. Mode Three social studies examination. In other schools there is no separate course, but the topic is dealt with piecemeal within the normal curriculum of history, geography, literature and other lessons. Traditionally, race has been studied in the Religious Studies syllabus for the C.S.E. examination. The G.C.E. offers very little scope for such studies, although the Scottish Certificate of Education syllabus for Modern Studies, covers race, colour and prejudice in a very direct approach.

CHAPTER SIXAN INTERCONTINENTAL CONTROVERSYOVER GENES AND ENVIRONMENT

Chapter Six introduces a debate that has raged with considerable intensity back and forth between the United States and Britain, having protagonists from each camp in both countries. Its historical origins are noted and an attempt is made to present a schematic outline of the major arguments. The aim is to offer a frame of reference prior to introducing the main positions of the Naturists and the Nurturists. The arguments on race and intelligence put forward by those who stress the genetically inherited characteristics of intelligence are presented. Some reservations concerning the 'Naturist' methodology are posed and the question of the heritability of intelligence is approached with a scalpel to determine whether the structure of the brain might offer any new clues about what's inside it.

Background

The Select Committee (1973) had proposed a series of recommendations that were aimed at redressing the imbalance in our schools with regard to ethnic minorities. It had stressed that special attention should be paid to the needs of West Indian children, a group that had been overlooked by previous initiatives such as language centres. The Select Committee Report came down squarely on the side of making good, so that immigrant children and the immigrants' children should have the type of education that would show equal results with their white indigenous English counterparts.

There is, however, a large body of opinion that would reject the Committee's findings and argue that equality in education for racial minorities is impossible: It is claimed that blacks are inherently inferior to whites in intellectual abilities, and therefore cannot accomplish the same results in school.

These views are not restricted to a fringe element amongst supporters of the National Front. Many of the teachers, interviewed during the research in the Vorhaus (1976) study, spoke of particular qualities such as the inherent "nature" of West Indians, a group that should be encouraged with sympathy to start a steel band in school, but would not be expected to excel as mathematicians or physicists.

These are also the views of highly respected academics. For this reason it is necessary to discuss briefly some of the arguments in a debate that stretches back a long way. There is little point in carrying out an investigation into the language and cultural factors affecting the performance of children of West Indian descent, if their poor results in British schools may simply be attributed to a quality of their race.

While it is not our intention to take sides in a debate ranging across fields that tax the expertise of geneticists, psychologists,

biologists and statisticians, it is perhaps useful to trace the evolution and argumentation of this debate and offer comments on some of the claims that are made.

The debate surfaced over one hundred and fifty years ago. Cynics would possibly point to the coincidence of the height of slavery as an economic proposition with the growth of the theories about black inferiority. Whatever the exact roots and impetus, the arguments have gained in subtlety and sophistication since the early years.

### Ahistoricity .... The White Man's Burden

Charles Darwin's cousin, Galton (1978 Reprint) exemplifies the nineteenth century approach to the debate. He decided to investigate the heritability of genius during the course of an enquiry into mental qualities attributable to different races. He picked four hundred illustrious men of history for investigation and the results were such as to establish the theory that genius was hereditary. Such a view ignores all possibility of environmental explanations, and is oddly ahistorical and subjective. By similar means, he decided upon the racial group characteristics. His impression was that the number amongst "negroes" of those he considered half-witted was very large. He noted that every book alluding to "negro" servants in America was full of instances. He remarked that he was much impressed by this "fact" during his travels in Africa.

Galton's model is the self-perpetuating ahistorical explanation of things from what is currently apparent. It is a view that snubs historical causality and denies change: things are what they are because they appear to be so.

Over the years spanning the last two decades, a fierce transatlantic debate has been carried out between two warring camps whose views have polarized into opposing positions that have settled on certain key questions. Perhaps the foremost is : which contributes most to mental ability, the

various influences of a person's environment or the genetically determined inherited characteristics of the mind? Before describing and commenting upon this controversy a greatly schematized outline of the battleground is offered.

GENETIC CLAIMS OF THE NATURISTS

1. There are measurably distinct differences between racial groups. Blacks are inferior in certain mental abilities.

2. Genetically determined differences in intelligence are responsible for academic differential.

3. I.Q. and other tests confirmed the above claim.

4. Compensatory education that assumes equality of potential won't work. There are two levels of intelligence warranting different teaching techniques.

ENVIRONMENTAL CLAIMS OF THE NURTURISTS

1. Races are too mixed to be usefully classified as distinct for biological comparison.

2. Environment, not genes, determines mental abilities. Factors other than intelligence affect performance.

3. I.Q. tests are faulty and the environment cannot properly be controlled for test purposes.

4. Compensatory education hasn't worked yet because it has always been based on a deficit model.

The unusual emphasis of some of these positions has a historical origin in the American Civil Rights movement (aspects of which will be discussed later) and much of the ammunition involved is of American make. Two figures stand out on the Naturist side as the most eloquent proponents of that position. These are Professor Hans Eysenck of the Institute of Psychiatry, and Arthur R. Jensen upon whose experimental research many of Eysenck's claims are made. The Nurturist camp is made up of a greater variety of somewhat narrower specialists who have taken upon themselves the task of responding to the other side and for this reason the Naturists will be introduced first.

Race and Intelligence

Eysenck claims that racial differences in intelligence exist; that they are biologically determined according to evolutionary processes and that this makes compensatory education unlikely to succeed. His controversial book (1971) on the inheritance of intelligence presents the genetic argument against those who support environmental explanations. More recently, 'The Inequality of Man' (1973) develops the argument.

He contends that as Blacks have a biologically determined lower level of intelligence than Whites, they should not be offered positive discrimination in education to bring their positions up to parity with Whites for their proportion of the population. Black children are in greater need of lower level teaching. White children are in greater need of university places. He states categorically that some people are better suited to a given position than others; some children require remedial education, others are able to benefit from advanced tuition. He adds that it is not possible to alter these facts by legal requirement.

He argues that it would be wrong to change the law so that minority races could be guaranteed places in colleges in proportion to their population numbers. He warns that these practices would lower drastically the quality of education available to children and university students alike. This would be a serious consequence of disregarding the facts of biological inequality.

He asserts (Eysenck, 1979, p.852) that:

"Quota systems such as the 'affirmative action' system introduced in the U.S., are certainly not the answer; the consequences in American education have been unfortunate, to say the least."



Eysenck's argument finds support from Jensen's many studies on intelligence and educational achievement, such as his (1969) paper in the Harvard Educational Review which argues that racial characteristics and Intelligence Quotient (I.Q.) correlate on a group-to-group basis. Biological determinants necessarily place Blacks, as a racial group, amongst the lowest achievers in any education system containing Whites and Blacks, according to Eysenck.

This body of thought is not merely an academic matter for debate. It governs the allocation of funds for education and determines job-allocation after schooling. In some countries it offers the rationale for official policy (as reported in the Daily Mirror, June 16th, 1980):

"Blacks are not being included in a new Constitution-making Council because they have 'slower thought processes', the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, Mr Hennie Smit, announced in the South African Parliament."  
(pp.8-9)

Jensen's (1970) contribution on race differences in 'Disadvantaged Child', pp.124-157, argues that 80 per cent of the population variance in I.Q. is attributable to genetic variation, and that I.Q. differences between racial groups cut across the I.Q./social class correlation. Gene frequencies differ between different racial groups. American Blacks score one standard deviation lower than Whites on I.Q. and there is one standard deviation difference in scholastic achievement. In other words, Blacks do worse at I.Q. tests than Whites, for biologically determined reasons to do with their race, and this explains why they have worse results in school. He holds that far too much attention has been paid to environmental factors, and that this genetic explanation of the achievement differential between racial groups is too often ignored or ridiculed. By way of explanation for the cause of the phenomenon he claims to have uncovered, Jensen offers the possibility that slaves in America were

bred for brawn rather than brain, or so selected prior to their original transportation from Africa. He considers that more than three hundred years of slavery must have had some genetic consequences.

### Genes and Environment

It may be assumed that genetic changes have taken place in response to natural selection processes, and that the genotypes that happened to be adapted to a particular environment survived. Geneticists define races according to inherited differences, such as blood types which are distinct for whole racial groups despite the various genotypic differences within groups. For instance, Blood Group B has a 17 per cent frequency amongst Asians and 6 per cent frequency amongst Caucasians. Within group differences, however, are greater than between group differences, and all genetic combinations can be found in all races. Caution should therefore be exercised in making assumptions about group characteristics, especially when the group involves a racial mixture such as the Black population in the United States, or the West Indians in Britain.

Jensen's suggestion that slaves were bred for muscle and not mind is questionable on a genetic basis. Its assumptions rest on animal breeding findings involving artificial selection. But if one applied this approach and examined it further, one could estimate what would be necessary to get a 15 point I.Q. difference after seven generations of slavery. Bodmer (1972) estimates that two I.Q. points per generation would mean that 15 per cent of the most intelligent would have had to have been eliminated from reproduction. And if one takes the position that the differential is explained on genetic grounds that only the less intelligent Africans got caught to become slaves in the first place, Bodmer calculates that it would have had to be the lowest 5 per cent I.Q. group in order to achieve the 15 point difference currently measured.

The environmentalist explanation of the difference in academic performance between racial (and class) groups involves a claim that racial minorities, like working class children, suffer certain disadvantages in their home background, cultural enrichment and psychological encouragement in comparison with white upper class and middle class children. These claims are refuted by a body of opinion that holds that academic differentials remain despite improved circumstances.

"During the last thirty years, the environmental differences have greatly diminished. Both the economic and cultural conditions prevailing in the humbler classes have undergone vast improvements. If the environment was the chief source of the difference between one class and another, we would naturally expect that the I.Q. difference would likewise have diminished."

This view of Conway (1959) (pp.5-14) was typical of the early debate over whether environmental or other factors caused I.Q. differences and differences in educational achievement of different groups within the population. It assumes that environmental factors involve only things like money, education and material wealth; that environmental variables are discrete entities and that cultural differences amount to cognitive deficit on the part of the "humbler" group. It does not consider the environmental influences of low expectation, aspiration or motivation.

Eysenck's (1971) polemic against the 'environmentalist' position argues a case around observed regression towards the mean between parents and children, whereby children of parents with extremely high or low I.Q.'s will tend to have I.Q.'s approaching the mean. Parents may have 140 point I.Q.'s, yet their children have a mean I.Q. something like twenty points lower. Similarly, parents with low I.Q.'s have children whose I.Q.'s rise several points over their parents.

Eysenck concludes that the facts are not compatible with any environmentalist hypothesis yet proposed, but are exactly as demanded by a theory

combining heredity with environmentalist determinants in the proportion of four to one. To reach these conclusions, Eysenck has based his assessment on Jensen's data. He assumes identical environments of certain white and negro groups, an assumption which is challenged by Vernon (1971).

His argument is that if you hold constant the factors which environmentalists claim affect achievement, differences between groups remain. He concludes that a genetic explanation must therefore be put forward. Rex (1972) criticizes Eysenck's assumptions and goes on to question the quantitative methods so often applied by the 'naturists'. He accuses them of a faulty ideology of operationalism whereby intelligence becomes that which is measured by the intelligence tests.

One of the obvious problems confronting attempts to resolve the Nature-Nurture dispute, is the limitation placed on experimental research by humanistic considerations. Experiment is necessarily limited to attempts to produce 'beneficial' effects. Experiments on mental qualities of humans are quite limited also because it is impossible to create 'laboratory conditions' when studying people. We make assumptions based on inference alone.

"The arguments about the proportions of the variance in test scores attributable to heredity and to environment all contain some idea that the central nervous system in interaction with its environment leads to the development of a mind ... Nobody knows anything about the specific relationship between genes and qualities of mind."  
Swift, (1972), p.150.

Swift holds that neither intelligence nor environmental influences can be reduced to discrete entities for meaningful measurement.

"Two techniques of data analysis favoured by researchers using the maze model of the environment, are factor analysis and regression. The variables must be discrete and independent and distributed in the population according to the statistical curve of random error. ... Unfortunately these are the two very assumptions which may not be made about them."  
Swift (1972) p.155.

He concludes that

"the social environment is not external to the subject; it cannot be broken down into variables which are discrete in the statistical sense of being independent, or specifically causal regardless of context." Swift, (1972), p.155.

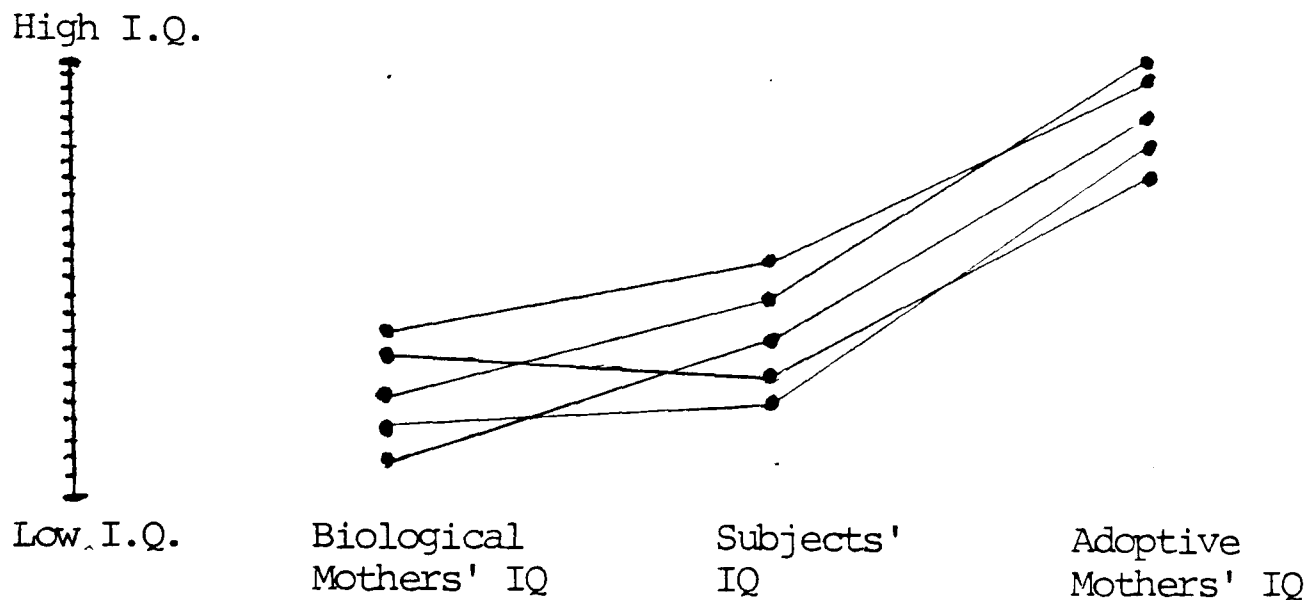
### Some Hazards in Experimental Approaches outside the Laboratory

Eysenck (1979) and others have recommended the testing of adopted children as an approach to discovering the relative contribution of inherited and acquired intelligence. A comparison can be made between the I.Q.'s of the children and those of their natural and adoptive parents.

Studies of adopted children have found that their I.Q.'s were closer to those of their biological mothers than to those of their adoptive mothers. This would lend argument to the claim that genetic influences are stronger than environmental ones. There is a flaw in this type of approach, however. Children are not adopted at random. Biological mothers putting children up for adoption tend to have a lower socio-economic status (SES) and lower I.Q. than average. Furthermore, adoption is into higher SES families than average.

In fact, there is a rise in the I.Q. of children after adoption (which environmental explanations would expect), though it is less than the huge gap between the children's I.Q.'s and those of their high SES adoptive parents. The following diagram shows this actual relationship:

Fig. 6.1 Figurative Representation of I.Q./Maternal Links



Time and again the debate has polarized into two views that are so inflexible and arbitrary that they both miss some of the truth. If we are required to make statements on the qualities of the mind (as the Naturists insist we must) and more specifically, on operations of the human brain, then so be it. Paradoxically this is just where the two opposing camps are forced together in an inseparable embrace of cause and effect.

The Naturists had insisted that the name of the game was causality. They had claimed to find low intelligence in Blacks causing low academic results in school. They had actually found the low results and claimed the cause. The Nurturists had claimed that intelligence is environmentally acquired after birth and is not related to the physical nature of the brain. We are all potential Einsteins, only some of us didn't get the intellectual breaks.

Unfortunately, we cannot simply say that the truth lies somewhere in between. Causality is involved but it is the environment that is the physical cause of an inherited physical effect with regard to the brain. Such is the view of Professor Steven Rose, an eminent biologist.

## Brain Structure and Environment

Rose (1972) claims that the question 'what determines intelligence?' should be rephrased in neurobiological terms as 'what factors decide or influence neuronal cell number and connectivity in the brain?'

The genetic programming of each individual (DNA content) cannot be considered separate from environment. He asserts that talk of high I.Q. genes or attempts to disentangle the genetic programme from the environment in which it is expressed is both disingenuous and misleading.

Early undernourishment in animals has been shown to cause irreversible brain retardation and deficient brain DNA. We know that by one year, the human brain is 60 per cent of its adult weight, and that unlike all other organs, brain neurons form a non-dividing cell population. It would be reasonable to conclude that early undernourishment can never be made good in later life. The brain in this respect is unlike other parts of the body. Protein deficiency in humans correlates positively with reduced head circumference, and low SES with low I.Q.

In developing his argument from food factors to other environmental factors, Rose refers to the Bennett, Krech and Rosenweig studies of rat-rearing. Rats which were environmentally impoverished, though fed enough, were found to have thinner cerebral cortexes and different enzyme concentration from other rats. Transgenerational effects were also found in these animals, which took several generations to reverse themselves.

Rose concludes (p.143)

"Brain structure and chemistry determine performance and brain structure and chemistry are themselves subtly but profoundly affected both by immediate environmental influences and by those stretching back beyond our own generation and into an indeterminate distance into the past."

This position is reinforced by the argument presented by Hambley (1972) regarding genes and environment. Hambley states (p.116) that:

"there is no evidence that environment can cause directed adaptive change in the genetic material itself; the mediation is by changes in the rates and numbers of genes acting over time. Environment, then, is not a simple concept - it is not a 'unitary thing' that can be 'allowed for' very easily. No clear distinction can be made between influences external to the organism and those within."

He states that posing the problem as genes versus environment, misunderstands the biological diversity involved. He says that all aspects of an organism are 100 per cent genetic but not 100 per cent determined. He speaks of genetic origins, not genetic causes. Because of this inter-relationship, he criticises analysis of variance methods when used to measure heritability assuming no interaction between the components of variance. Genetic and environmental factors are not discrete.



CHAPTER SEVENTHE ELUSIVE QUALITIES OF INTELLIGENCE

Chapter Seven discusses the problems that have been encountered in attempting to measure intelligence. The pros and cons of various test procedures are presented. Factors that have little bearing upon intelligence, yet manage to influence intelligence test results, are described.

What is Intelligence?

An evaluation of what attributes constitute desirability in terms of intelligence, is open to debate. Binet, Wechsler, Heim and Burt valued such qualities as the ability to reason, to handle abstractions or to conceptualise. Their tests are based on these qualities. Validation is by correlation plus some external criteria (often a prediction of school performance). It is possible that intelligence tests are measuring educability or adaptability as much as intelligence.

Tests should not claim to measure 'innate potential' prior to environmental influences, if that potential ability can only be tested by the measured behaviour in a test that necessarily relies on some learned behaviour (even if this isn't knowledge). Though I.Q. tests may minimise the effects of education or social experience, they cannot effectively separate out cognitive ability from environmental factors. Furthermore, we should not assume that they act as filters which leave a residue of constant proportions.

Ryan (1972) p.54 stated that

"I.Q. is not, and could not be, a measure of cognitive abilities abstracted from all social and motivational factors. In as much as I.Q. tests measure anything, they measure the likelihood of educational and S.E.S. success in a particular society."

She claims that cognitive abilities are part of what they measure, but not all.

What is I.Q.?

General intelligence assumes a high correlation between verbal spatial, perceptual, motor and numerical abilities. Stanford-Binet combines different cognitive abilities at each level and it is scored by

adding these for each level, thereby covering together the different abilities that are contributing to the cumulative score. Wechsler separates out verbal I.Q. Some of the new tests are designed to give profiles of different qualities.

The tests are constructed by graded difficulty based on age. According to Ryan (1972), p.49,

"An I.Q. score is essentially an expression of how far up the scale of difficulty an individual has got with respect to his chronological age group."

The Stanford-Binet I.Q. is mental age divided by chronological age times 100, which is a measurement of rate of development.

Standardisation of the tests is done by a large sample, representative of the population on which the test will be used. In the American sample this would have meant mostly Whites. Tests cannot be used on cultures different from the ones they were designed for and still measure the same thing. Does this perhaps also apply to Blacks in America, when they are separated out as a group? An I.Q. test on Blacks is testing how Blacks perform on a White-based test. Should there be cultural differences between these two groups, then we must assume these differences could be affecting test results.

For all of the above reasons, care should be taken in stating exactly what a particular test is actually measuring. Similar problems necessarily face British researchers studying ethnic minorities.

Houghton (1970) argues that different minority groups do badly on tests involving differences in language structure and values which are a hidden content of tests set within the context of the majority's culture and language. He goes on to suggest that this might explain some of the high referrals to Educationally Sub-Normal (ESN) institutions of minority children.

Several researchers have extended Bernstein's work to an application to testing procedures, in an attempt to extract cultural or linguistic bias from tests. J. Haynes (1971) has attempted to develop unbiased tests for the NFER (National Foundation for Educational Research). Haynes asserts that present intelligence tests have a verbal bias which makes them inappropriate in multicultural schools with children who may neither write nor speak English as well as the indigenous children. The 'objective' tests developed include geometrical drawing and classifying sets of objects. When tried out on Indian and English groups, they were found to be superior to previous intelligence tests and to teachers' assessments, but were not completely culture-free.

Whatever caution must be exercised in making assertions based on present testing methods, or even in using testing systems for placement and selection, one cannot ignore the beneficial effects of increasingly discerning test systems designed to assist educators in a diagnostic capacity for their work in language teaching. Mittler and Ward (1970) have adapted the American test, the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities (ITPA) and found that it was comparable to the original. It is used to assess nine different aspects of the child's linguistic functioning, and is recommended for four year olds.

A test battery has been developed by the NFER (1973) for primary school immigrants whose language or dialect is different from Standard English. Listening, speaking, reading and writing are tested separately. The tests use pictures as a stimulus.

#### Other Factors influencing Assessment Procedures

There has been a resistance amongst many educationalists to any form of testing, as they believe that these procedures may create a vicious circle of expectations either on the part of teachers or pupils. Rosenthal and Jacobsen (1968) hold that teachers' expectations of children's

performances influence those children's subsequent achievement levels. (The results of their tests are not conclusive, however).

Differences between the background of the tester and testee may very well affect results of tests. Vernon (1967) is quite emphatic on this point and claims that tests should be developed and administered by cultural representatives of the testee's own background. These conclusions were reached after Vernon's own East African studies.

Even non-verbal tests are called into question on similar grounds. Pidgeon (1970) used non-verbal tests for primary children from three different ethnic groups in Africa, and tested the effect of coaching in test administration. His results indicated that non-verbal tests were not necessarily "culture-free". (Coaching effect differences were significant for African and European children, although the Indian group showed no significant difference).

It would seem that I.Q. tests are not stable in certain circumstances. Watson's (1973) research with slow-learning pupils found that the West Indians scoring less than 80 in a verbal WISC (Wechsler test) had a greater score rise when retested 18 months later than did the non-immigrants. The difference between the means was significant for the West Indian pupils tested.

Jensen (1970) had found a 15 point differential between Blacks and Whites and also that Blacks performed better on simpler rote-like tests and worse on complex ones. He concluded that Blacks were less intelligent for the abstraction component of intelligence. However, stress theories would predict Jensen's results. Watson (1972) refers to the Katz (1968) experiments, where Blacks performed well under mild stress (White tester plus mild shock or Black tester plus severe shock) but poorly under severe stress (White tester plus severe shock).

Given this level of distrust and apprehension, it is not surprising that the race of tester and testee in any experimental work is a factor

affecting results. Watson (1972) examined these effects. I.Q.'s of Blacks tested by Whites were six points lower than when tested by Blacks. Post-war American research had found that cultural differences affected tests, and Watson suggests that the 'stress factor' predominates in a situation involving a cultural minority inside a dominant culture. It is not a simple effect, however. Stress appears to improve performance on simple tasks, but to hamper it on more difficult tasks.

Tests on West Indian teenagers in Britain are also reported, Watson (1972). There was a difference of several points in their scores when tested by White or Black testers. Another possible component involves levels of suppressed aggression. Watson refers to studies that found that Blacks inhibited their aggression more than Whites, and points out that in tests comparing performance and aggression levels, it was found that when aggression levels rose, performance scores fell. Watson's conclusions point directly to racial attitudes as a key factor affecting achievement:

"Till now, psychologists, whatever their views on the origins of differences in I.Q., have recognized only two kinds of environmental influence - those related to childbearing and those related to cultural differences. It is time a third was added - differences in motivation due to chronically poor race relations." Watson (1972), p.67.

With regard to the Nature/Nurture dispute, the point in contention here has centred upon the quality and measurability of intelligence. Intelligence tests are challenged as inappropriate instruments in that they measure something, but it is not innate unlearned intelligence. They are also challenged as faulty instruments in that the results vary according to a number of factors which have nothing to do with the mental ability of the subject.

Another aspect of the debate looks at the lower levels of academic achievement of racial minorities from the viewpoint of the effects of cultural differences.

CHAPTER EIGHTCULTURAL FACTORS AFFECTING ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Chapter Eight considers various cultural influences upon performance. What effect does the age of children have upon their ability to learn? Do immigrant children suffer 'culture shock' or problems of adjustment in a society where the majority of the population have a very different culture? What image of themselves do racial minorities have, when they grow up in a country where white is for Persil-clean, Holy Ghost, purity and goodness, but black is for evil spirits, black deeds and Accident Black Spots?

### Environmental Handicaps

Vernon (1961) studied the intellectual development of a sample of West Indian schoolboys in the West Indies in 1960. He compared the findings to those of a similar sample of English schoolboys in a later study, and found the former group to be retarded by environmental handicaps. Deficit scores varied considerably on different tests, however. Practical and non-verbal 'g' tests produced greater deficit results than educational attainment tests. It appeared that factors contributing to the handicap were: low S.E.S., poor cultural and linguistic environment, inadequate education and family instability.

Vernon concluded that although non-linguistic tests are usually favoured as unbiased tests, it was possible that children from non-technical cultures are seriously handicapped in picture and performance tests as well.

### The Age Factor

Several researchers have claimed that more stress should be placed on early learning, rather than concentrating on the junior and secondary levels. They say that children learn language best at the infant and pre-school levels.

W. Van der Eyken (1969) holds that the most advantageous time to influence children academically is at pre-school age. (See also Bloom, 1976). The U.S. Educational Policies Commission's findings from research carried out in America are cited. Research indicated that the first four or five years of a child's life is the period of the most rapid growth in physical and mental characteristics. Three projects in kindergarten and nursery schools which examined pre-school development are described. These were said to show the need to initiate any programmes at a very early age.



Such a project was started by the NFER in 1968, designed to encourage language development. Quigley (1972) describes the course of the five year project which involved four nurseries in Slough and 200 children. A language programme was used adapting the Peabody Language Development Kit (PLDK). Initial findings indicated that the short-term effects of the PLDK programme on the experimental group were positive. They showed superior performance to the control group. Evaluation of effects was by tests in language, intellectual and perceptual abilities.

There have been two studies on the language usage of immigrant children in infant schools during recent years. Stoker's (1970) survey looked at teaching methods in infant schools with high proportions of immigrants, and Lucas' study of language learning of immigrant children in infant schools, (1972), examined interaction.

Stoker studied methods of teaching English to five to seven year olds. She found that the informal atmosphere of the schools gave children scope to work at their own pace, but that teachers had no way of knowing the level of English of the individual child. She found that pre-reading oral comprehension tests were not generally available in the schools. She noted that teachers were not trained to teach English to immigrants. This is probably due to the fact that most local authorities have assumed that infant non-English speaking children do not need any special tuition.

She concluded that, contrary to current theory, teaching English to groups of infant school children, requires systematic training in structured language for the infant teachers. She suggests that the high incidence of immigrant children in junior schools needing special language help, refutes the notion that infant pupils pick up English automatically. A direct result of her survey was the development of the Scope Handbook, Storybook and Supplement for infants (1973).

Lucas' study corroborates the Stoker findings. She notes that children did not mix between racial groups and that children with language difficulties often showed withdrawn behaviour. She recommends special language teaching at the infant level.

### Early Intervention questioned

Several recent studies have argued a case against early intervention on the grounds of it being harmful to a child's development. Rohwer (1971) claims that children often learn better later. Elkind (1969) found no evidence that pre-school "enrichment" affected later school performance, and went so far as to recommend the opposite approach in certain circumstances. Elkind maintains that the longer that formal instruction is delayed up to certain limits, the greater the potential for later learning.

### Acculturation affects Achievement

Acculturation has been noted as an important factor affecting score differentials of West Indian and English pupils. Little's (1968) study found that immigrants who had been in England longer did considerably better than recent arrivals. McFie and Thompson (1970) corroborate Little's findings in their own study, including a comparison of West Indian children arriving before and after the age of five.

A factor connected to the arrival time is often referred to as 'culture shock'. Triseliotis, in Oakley's (1968) work, argues that cultural shock, caused by the tremendous difference between the lifestyles and environments of the West Indies and Britain, was responsible for withdrawal symptoms and behaviour problems among West Indian immigrant pupils. Kitzinger (1972) reports on the adaptation problems of

some West Indians, caused perhaps by the extreme contrasts between the two cultures. Differences are noted between the environment of the home, church, school and community. Kitzinger argues that behavioural norms are also extremely different, and that parents and teachers should be made sensitive to some of the psychological stresses that this might cause in children.

A (1970) study of culture conflict and resocialisation, by Bhatnagar used an adjustment scale, whereby well adjusted meant socially acceptable, personally satisfied, free from anxiety and with an "objective" self concept. Measuring instruments included: Raven Progressive Matrices, Mill Hill Vocabulary Scale and the New Junior Maudsley Personality Inventory. Bhatnagar found that although no group encountered major adjustment problems, there were some marked differences in levels of adjustment. The English group were best adjusted, followed by Cypriots and then West Indians.

### Self Image

Studies attempting to examine the self image of immigrant children have made evident some disturbing results, that may well prove to be a major factor affecting school performance. Milner (1971) conducted a study of 500 Asian, English and West Indian children five to eight years old. They were asked questions about white and non-white dolls. All groups attributed good characteristics to white dolls and bad ones to non-white dolls, and preferred white dolls. Almost 50 per cent of the West Indian children said that white dolls resembled them more than non-white dolls and 72 per cent said that they would rather be a white doll. This was a higher percentage than amongst Asian children. Milner concluded that West Indian children have the lowest self image, wanting to think of themselves as white. His (1972) work

on identity conflict, suggests that negative self-esteem generates low expectations which leads to low achievement. He calls on the black community to foster cultural identification as an ethnic group, and official education policy to support cultural pluralism and introduce more black personnel.

The Evening Standard, April 22, 1977 reports on a project set up by North Lewisham teachers. They found that children were ashamed of their colour:

"Some black children in a London dockland area are so ashamed of their colour that they try to portray themselves as white - by painting self-portraits with blonde hair."

The project was set up to look into reasons for underachievement of black youngsters in Deptford. The teachers found that the negative self image remained until the children were taught about black history in a positive way:

"children had negative views about Africa because they had only ever seen it portrayed through slides of wild animals rather than its people and culture".

### Generation Gap

There have been several studies of parental influence. Fitzherbert (1968) found that there were differences between parents and staff over discipline. She claims that West Indian parents are often ambitious for their children, but are dissatisfied with schools because of what they consider inadequate discipline by teachers. Bowker (1968) points to the inter-generational clash of cultures and identity that may occur when the second generation children begin to come to grips with the English way of life. All immigrant children and second generation immigrants, whatever their relationship with home or peer group, will

inevitably find themselves in a marginal situation where they are no longer fully accepted by either the family because of their English education, or by the native community because of their colour or cultural origins. For the individual there is likely to be a crisis of cultural identity. The English child of West Indian parents may wonder if he or she is 'West Indian' or 'Black British'.

The extent to which this becomes an acute problem of identity may depend on the extent of the recognizable prejudice and discrimination in the individual's immediate occupational and social environment.

The effect of parental influence may be very much outweighed at certain age groups, by peer group effects. Rowley (1967) gave sociometric tests of friendship choices to a sample of primary and secondary multiracial classes. Patterns of in-group and out-group choices indicated that 90 per cent of British children preferred British friends, and 75 per cent of Indian children and 68 per cent of West Indian children, preferred friends of their own group. (There was a tendency for in-group choices to increase as children grew older).

This is corroborated by Bhatnagar's (1970) study which found that friendship groups were not integrated ethnically and that the groups expressed different views from each other - for instance regarding job expectations.

### Other Influences

While Bhatnagar had found that vocational aspirations of all groups were high (despite the lower job expectations of the West Indian group), Hilton (1972) found that Asian and West Indian pupils had narrow occupational aspirations which were more influenced by peer group expectations than by father's occupation. Hilton's study comprised fourth

form boys in Manchester. While none of these studies was adequately broad to give a comprehensive view of the parental or peer group influences, they do indicate that the degree of integration, level of aspiration and direction of influence or modelling involves a number of factors which may be 'pushing' in different directions.

Attitudes of the host community, host peer group in school and host employers after school would surely have considerable effect on the attitudes of immigrants towards their school work. If employment prospects seem bleak because of racial reasons, there can be little incentive for a black child to achieve in school. Figueroa (1969) undertook an experiment to ascertain attitudes in the host community. A group of London West Indian school leavers, matched with a group of English school leavers with comparable or slightly less impressive qualifications, were sent round to apply for jobs. The West Indians were less successful in getting jobs, and the range of choice open to them was considerably narrower than the white English group. Figueroa is now checking to see whether other factors (such as deprived backgrounds) can be held responsible, or whether it is indeed a case of a colour barrier against West Indians.

Older studies of immigrants, and studies of third generation immigrants, such as Bloom's (1971) study of Bute Town residents in Cardiff, indicate that there was little integration even before the recent large-scale immigration. Bloom found that third generation residents had not moved out of their area because they feared rebuff. They stressed differences in opportunities and education available to immigrants. It would seem that the barrier goes back a long way.

Evans' (1971) study of attitudes of young immigrants is based on analyses of the Marplan (1971) survey of 16-24 year-old immigrants. 42 per cent of West Indians thought that their jobs were below expectation and attributed this to colour prejudice. 64 per cent of

West Indians thought that the police dealt unfairly with them (compared to 31 per cent of Indians and 23 per cent of Pakistanis).

Whatever conclusions we draw concerning the host community, we can at this point say that immigrants appear to view the host community as hostile.

### Economic Factors

The economic recession of the 1970's and 1980's is accentuating the problems facing all school leavers and black school leavers in particular. As generations of young blacks finish their text book career training in school and begin their adult working life on the dole queue, word gets back to children still in school that the situation is hopeless.

The Observer newspaper study of unemployment by Robert Taylor (27 July 1980) details this bleak outlook facing school leavers:

"Black Britons are also among the worst hit. Between February 1979 and February 1980 the rate of unemployment among the ethnic minorities rose four times as fast as overall figures. By this May the number out of work had gone up 25.8 per cent from the same time last year. At the latest count there were 55,922 black unemployed, 3.9 per cent of the total, with 23,088 in the South-East (7.8 per cent) and 13,624 in the West Midlands (9.4 per cent). During last winter the percentage of ethnic minorities among unemployed school leavers increased from 28 to 40."

### Contributing Factors weighed in the Balance

In the heat of the debate over mental ability and the various measurable environmental factors, the issue of motivation has been much overlooked. Discrimination in the job market following school would certainly deter many children from attempting to pass exams that held no promise of future careers. Possibly the most sinister of all

the variables affecting black children, however, is the lack of self-esteem noted by Milner and others. It would be well worthwhile to consider these types of influences when conducting an investigation into the operations of the brain of any individual. The debate, however, has tenaciously clung to the issue of brain composition on the one hand and the opposing camp's positions regarding material environment on the other.

On the 'brain debate' it is our view that some physical characteristics of the human brain associated with mental abilities, are inherited. Some of these are environmentally determined by nourishment and probably also by differing levels of stimulation, and are probably transgenerational regardless of improved environmental factors (nourishment, etc.) amongst children. However, the biological considerations of brain material and its heritability are overshadowed by the psychological factors affecting academic performance.

These rank high up alongside the 'social' factors of having books around the house, verbally stimulating parents, quiet study rooms and personal coaching. Glowing self-confidence based on a highly valued identity and a regularly tested and reality-reinforced self-esteem, a self-confidence composed of high motivation in the certain knowledge that with effort great things may be accomplished in life, such characteristics as these will surely add a few points to anybody's test score. Yet how are they to be provided when the odds appear to be so heavily stacked against black youngsters in Britain?

The emphasis of the debate is beginning to shift. While some protagonists have held the ground around the issue of the nature of intelligence and the difficulties that arise when attempting to measure it, others have concerned themselves with a different approach. They have looked instead to the problems in society at large that may influence the academic results of black children. We have thus seen



arguments concerning stress, etc., as factors affecting performance. Implicit in these positions is an acceptance that tests are actually measuring differences, but that the differences are due to something other than lower levels of intelligence.

The next area of discussion to be examined involves a further shift. This is the position of those who consider that something is lacking in what racial minorities have learned in school, or possibly in what has been offered by the educational system. This comes under the heading of compensatory education. In Britain the schemes that are just now starting in a few schools are usually referred to as affirmative action programmes. Whatever the name, they share one common underlying assumption. They consider that the black child has some kind of deficiency that can be made up by an extra helping of what was offered before. This 'more of the same' approach is often referred to as the deficit model.

CHAPTER NINECOMPENSATORY EDUCATION

Chapter Nine traces the history of the failure of programmes of compensatory education. Its beginnings in the United States with the Civil Rights Movement are noted. Teaching methods developed by researchers involved in special programmes are described. Their failure is considered as a possible explanation for the subsequent return by some researchers to considerations of race-linked explanations for underachievement. Others call for total reappraisal of the theoretical framework underlying policies of compensation and attempt, unsuccessfully, to turn the axis of the debate upon the failure of the system rather than the children taught by that system.

Compensatory Education - History of its Failure

In 1964, under the Civil Rights Act, the United States Congress used one and a quarter million dollars for a school survey of inequality in education involving racial minorities. Contrary to expectations, the Coleman Report (1966) which presented the survey results, did not find that racial inequalities in school performance were due to unfair schools. In 1967 the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights survey of compensatory education found that none of the programmes appeared to have raised significantly the achievement of participating pupils. It seemed that ample facilities in schools and in these programmes were still producing poor results amongst black children. A performance contracting scheme also failed to produce positive results.

Page (1972) described the findings. Not only did both groups do equally poorly in terms of overall averages, but also these averages were very nearly the same in each grade, and each subject, for the best and worst students in the sample, and, with few exceptions in each case. He remarked that the most interesting aspect of these conclusions was their very consistency.

The failure of Head Start programmes is documented by Freeman (1971). According to Elkind (1969) early intervention was not a factor. And Jensen's recommended aptitude x training interaction (ATI) was not successful as of Bracht's (1970) study. This resounding failure of compensatory education in the United States was causing many researchers to re-examine the racial group genetic inheritance explanations for educational differences between black and white children. Jensen (1973) recommended further genetic analysis of the correlations which he believed form the traits that emerge from factor analysis of human behaviour. He also thought behaviour analysis would separate experiential factors from genetic ones.

### Different Teaching Methods for different Groups

Jensen investigated the possibility of achieving the same goals using different methods of instruction in an attempt to equalise performance and compensate for lower I.Q. He developed the idea of constructing an aptitude x interaction model aimed at reducing the overall correlation between school performance and I.Q. so that low I.Q. learners would be at the least disadvantage possible.

Jensen (1970) (p.22) posed it thus:

"If low I.Q. children are to be helped to learn more in school, without their having to expend appreciably more individual time and effort than do high I.Q. children, the question becomes: what abilities that are relatively uncorrelated with I.Q. can be substituted for I.Q. in scholastic learning?"

Jensen examined theories of neurological hierarchies, and decided that cognitive development is hierarchical for individuals and depends on an environmental cumulative input plus a maturation of a hierarchically ordered neural substrate. Certain patterns of neural growth are a precondition for the development of intelligence involving reasoning ability, conceptual abilities, symbolisation, etc. The rapid shift between 5-7 years from associative to cognitive activity, led Jensen to assume that maturation of common growth mechanisms was taking place. He holds that language development is not a cause but a correlate of progressively sophisticated learning. Jensen's interest is in line with his underlying assumptions about the lower level of black children's ability in certain mental processes, accounting for lower performance levels.

Jensen hypothesised that there were two levels of mental abilities, Level One involving associative learning ability, and Level Two involving conceptual learning and problem solving. These, he claimed, are genetically conditioned and inherited, though genotypically

independent. Level Two is functionally dependent on Level One. Low I.Q.'s did well on Level One tests sometimes, but low performers at Level One never had high I.Q.'s. Thus he concluded that Level Two performance depended on Level One, but not vice versa.

He found social class differences. Social class differences in ability involved mainly Level Two processes rather than Level One. He criticised present-day schooling as being over-g geared to conceptual modes of learning, exclusively suitable for children of average and superior Level Two ability. He recommended teaching low I.Q. children (this usually involves low S.E.S. children and black children) by methods in keeping with Level One, such as rote learning.

#### No Reappraisal of the Method

The reassessment of Compensatory Education did not lead to a rethinking of the basis of the idea of "compensating", but to conclusions which gravitated away from further effort. Freeman (1971), an economist and Nixon adviser, concluded that it wasn't possible to teach certain groups of children as fruitfully as others, and little could be done for them.

Very little was done in the field of investigating cultural differences that might be affecting the education programmes. In 1941, Herskovits had criticised the lack of study of cultural and historical backgrounds of blacks. The critique noted that vast programmes of "Negro education" were undertaken without the slightest consideration given even to the possibility of some retention of African habits of thought and speech that might influence the Negroes' reception of the instruction thus offered. Herskovits asked how schools could ever expect to reach their stated objectives.

One cannot but ask the same question today. Baratz and Baratz (1970)

took up the challenge in a critique of the cultural or linguistic deprivation theories which underlie most compensatory education projects - i.e. they know nothing except what we teach them. They accuse these interventionist programmes of being ethnocentric and even racist. They characterise the interventionist view as holding pathological rather than multi-cultural explanations for the differences, because deviations from the norm of white America were considered deficits. They attribute this view to integrationist policies, where the total denial of Negro culture is consonant with the melting pot mythology. (American policies of "integration" correspond to early British practice which is better labeled "assimilation").

At every point, differences meant something was wrong with the blacks. Baratz and Baratz claim the traditional racists think something is transmitted by the genetic code, while the ethnocentric social pathologists think something is transmitted by the family. They hold that the entire intervention model of Head Start rested on an assumption of linguistic and cognitive deficit.

They claim that although available data did indeed indicate that these culturally different black children were not being educated by the public school system, the data failed to show

1. that such children had been unable to learn to think, and
2. that, because of specific child-rearing practices and parental attitudes, these children were not able (and presumably would never be able) to read, write, and cipher - the prime teaching responsibilities of the public school system.

They recommend that the researchers start reviewing their own assumptions, rather than blaming the black children for the inadequacy of their models. They believe that critical intervention must be done, but on the procedures and materials used in the schools rather than on the destruction of extant behaviour and the superimposition of a new

culture upon a presumed vacuum.

The last mentioned contributors have thus brought the issue back to a question of deficit, but challenge the assumptions that the deficit is with the minority children and throw responsibility onto the shoulders of the educational framework in an accusation that there is something wrong with the teaching, the materials and the monocultural outlook of a system that assumes its own way is best, or in fact is unique.

A parallel debate to the one involving the issue of intelligence, and one germane to it, involves the question of language. Since children in school receive instruction in language and are required to express themselves for many tests in language, this is necessarily central to the question of academic ability. Even more central perhaps is the connection between language and thinking processes. They are obviously inter-dependent, but what is their relationship, and to what extent is it possible that black children might be at a linguistic disadvantage which could affect school results? How much would a language deficit hamper a child's other intellectual abilities? Should there be compensatory or deficit-redressing services with regard to language that might alter subsequent school performances in other subjects? Or, as some pessimists would argue, is it too late by the time the child reaches school because he or she has been stunted in an early developmental stage that cannot be made good, and does this perhaps explain the failure of Headstart and other such programmes?

CHAPTER TENTHE LANGUAGE ISSUE

Chapter Ten raises the question of the role of language in the learning process. Could language deficiency prohibit mental development? What is the relationship between language and thought? Theories are examined that shed light on current references to arrested cognitive development with regard to the structure of creole languages.



Theories of arrested cognitive development due to linguistic underdevelopment were noted amongst secondary teachers interviewed by Vorhaus (1976) when asked about the academic performance of black children they taught. This was true of English teachers in ordinary secondary schools and also of one specialist teacher responsible for a Basic Education Centre in North London. The prevalence of these views amongst teachers responsible for black children's education gives rise to some concern, since the theories would tend to make a teacher gravitate towards a fatalistic outlook - nothing can be done to improve children's academic output when they are stunted during the pre-school years in an irreversible way. This is especially true in the case of remedial teachers who may be led to believe that there is no 'remedy' if the problem lies within the child. For this reason, key theories of language learning and thought development that have a direct bearing on this particular issue, will be discussed.

### Theories on Learning and Language

One of the most important contributors to learning theory is Piaget (1954) who was greatly respected by educationalists for his explanation, from his own study, of the development of children's powers of logical reasoning. He argued that there are different chronological stages of learning, marked by different characteristics. He believed children passed through a number of crucial stages during which they developed capacities in particular ways. Before two years old, according to Piaget, children are limited to simple perceptual and motor adjustment in their environment. Reasoning is at first limited to concrete operations. At about eleven years old, children master abstract concepts.

Piaget did not approach intelligence as a set of individual and independent capacities, but rather as a whole organisation interacting both with the environment and with certain functional invariants. One

might have expected that as a biologist he would be drawn to examining which factors in the environment would encourage mental growth - just as a biologist might examine the effects of potassium or nitrogen on plant life. But Piaget did not consider development along these lines. He was interested in the integrated process of development, rather than in treating the human mind as a machine composed of distinct components.

His (1926) work presents his views on the relationship between thought and language development. Apart from his early study, little of his work concentrated on the role of language particularly in cognitive development. Although most of his work was concerned with the very early stages of development, he noticed that some adolescents with extremely limited language were able to carry out complex activities. From this and his studies of very young children, Piaget concluded that language deprivation does not hold back mental development.

Piaget's concept of early developmental stages laid the foundations for subsequent investigations into the relationship between language development and thought processes. Lev Vygotsky (1934), working on studies of speech-development, built upon Piaget's ground-work while substantially modifying his conceptions.

### Language and Thought

Vygotsky's starting point was the assumption that there is a pre-linguistic phase in a child's use of thought and a pre-intellectual phase in the use of speech. Where Piaget had presumed that speech developed with suppression of the total egocentrism of early childhood, Vygotsky did not hold to this concept of exclusive stages and examined more closely the connection between thought, "inner speech" and language.

Cognitive development, he argued, was linked to language in so far as the use of language can be a tool for the thinking process. However, he did not consider it a condition upon the development of cognitive

processes. His (1934) work gives credit to Piaget for his initiative in the study of child language and thinking and his realization that child perception was not just 'miniature' adult perception, but qualitatively different.

He examines Piaget's views. Piaget held that the bond uniting all the specific characteristics of child logic is the egocentrism of the child's thinking. Piaget believed that "autistic" early thought excludes language and that language develops during socialized "directed" thought, chronologically, via the child's progression from total egocentrism towards an outward direction.

Piaget thought that egocentric speech did not fulfil any realistically useful function within its developmental stage. Vygotsky disagreed. He held that egocentric speech early assumed a very definite and important role in the activity of the child.

Vygotsky proceeds to show the link between speech and thought, which, he claims, develop together with "inner speech". It was his hypothesis that the processes of inner speech develop and become stabilized approximately at the beginning of school age and that this causes the quick drop in egocentric speech observed at that stage. To Piaget, the development of thought involves the gradual socialization of deeply intimate personal autistic mental states. He held that social speech followed egocentric speech. Vygotsky turned this around. The hypothesis he proposed reverses this course.

He asserted that the primary function of speech in both children and adults, is communication: social contact. The earliest speech of the child is therefore essentially social. This is key to the development of his position because the whole conception of speech development differs profoundly in accordance with the interpretation given to the role of egocentric speech. And Vygotsky would argue that in his conception, the true direction of the development of thinking is not from

the individual to the socialized, but from the social to the individual.

The flaw in Piaget's otherwise brilliant insights, according to Vygotsky, was his assumption of a genetic sequence of two opposite forms of mental activity based on the pleasure principle versus the reality principle. From Vygotsky's point of view the drive for the satisfaction of needs and the drive for adaptation to reality cannot be considered separate from and opposed to each other. He holds that needs only get satisfied with some adaptation to reality, and that no child would adapt to reality just for the sake of it!

His research claimed to find a pre-intellectual stage in the speech development of the child, and a pre-linguistic stage in the thought processes. He found no specific interdependence between the genetic roots of thought and of word. It became plain that the inner relationship he was looking for was not a prerequisite for, but rather a product of, the historical development of human consciousness. If one followed Vygotsky's reasoning, one could conclude that cognitive development is related to language, but does not depend upon it. Thought and word are not connected by a primary bond. A connection originates, changes, and grows in the course of the evolution of thinking and speech.

Furthermore, the relationships between thought and word involve an interconnection with societal influences that modify, develop and extend both.

If one accepted Vygotsky's position for the moment, and applied his thinking to the field of education, there could be a situation, say in Maths teaching using complex language, where one source of input would be differently received. Pupils with a knowledge of algebra but deficient in language would not be in the same position to learn as pupils conversant with both. Vygotsky would argue that the more complex and far-reaching systems (thought and/or language) modify what has been previously received and assimilated, and that language in that

sense can affect thinking. His argument would view language as a 'tool', but in a different way from the argument that says the language system determines the thought system.

Vygotsky's work raises many questions germane to the present study. Does language at the level of differing mastery of a particular system affect a pupil's grasp of the material presented within the context of that particular system? Is there a particular kind of language system more suited to the mutually beneficial interaction between thought and language Vygotsky describes, given that the functional basis of language in modern societies is so specific? Could there be a disadvantage amongst some pupils who do not have mastery of a particular system, when that system is used to explain other subjects taught in school?

Thus far, the linguistic debate had a starting point based on a stage-building model (drawing upon Piaget's contribution which was interpreted as implying a separation between the inner development of a child and the linguistic development). The contribution of Vygotsky offered modifications to this model, with suggestions of an interactive process whereby language development is not seen as a rigid pre-requisite stage for conceptual thinking, but a concomitant with a 'booster' effect. The debate took another turn with Bernstein's several contributions on language and linguistic codes.

CHAPTER ELEVENDEFICIT MODELS

Chapter Eleven examines the claim that a linguistic disadvantage affects the test performance of children from lower class backgrounds. The issue of linguistic codes is discussed and some of the weaknesses in language theories based on social class are investigated. The extension of these theories to an application to ethnic minorities, particularly black children, is discussed.

The Deficit Model

Jensen's paper on the role of verbal mediation in mental development in Jensen (1973) pp.131-166, examines the contribution of language to cognitive growth, on the assumption that a linguistic deficit stunted the development of some thinking capacities. He supports a certain degree of combination between the theories of cognitive development stressing biological growth stages and those concentrating on environmental factors and learned behaviour. At the same time, he states his interest in seeking behavioural means to improve intelligence within special enrichment schemes (a position Jensen later withdrew from).

Certain processes are not used by some groups of children, according to Jensen, and they are processes that facilitate cognitive development. He claims that labeling is not so common among "culturally disadvantaged" children. Semantic generalization is an associative process that develops with age, and is weaker in children with lower I.Q.'s.

He goes on to estimate what tools of speech aid memory or other mental processes. For instance, he claims that paired associates are better learned when they are related in a sentence rather than when presented on their own. Thus: "hat, chair" is more difficult to learn than "the hat is on the chair". He found that children under six did not benefit from the whole sentence structure, and concluded that their verbal mediative behaviour does not affect learning or problem-solving at that age.

Words and constructions varied in their power to aid or hinder as mediators. Abnormal syntax hinders the learning of constituent noun pairs. Verbs are the most and conjunctions the least effective mediators.

Jensen proposed that if one could isolate the cognitive skills that seemed to develop in children at certain ages, then enrichment

studies could concentrate on these.

However, he opposed the cognitive arrestation position. While Jensen did not hold that latent learning abilities were impaired by an early linguistic deficit, he did believe that the bulge in the lower half of the population I.Q. distribution, should be attributed to cultural drag. Low SES children, he claimed, often show the effects of linguistic cultural disadvantage, and for them, enrichment programmes would work. (It therefore follows that I.Q. is almost totally unpre- dictive of learning ability in the low I.Q. range for low SES children, according to Jensen.)

Language deficiencies were, he said, the greatest of all exper- iential deficiencies. He claimed that slum children had half the vo- cabulary of middle class children; that they use less complex sentence patterns; that they showed inadequate conceptual abilities for abstract- ion or use of symbolic thought and that they were slow readers.

Jensen takes Bernstein's (1959) position as a starting point and asserts that abstraction and conceptual learning are retarded because of language deficits. The child's language facilities actually shape his intellectual development, and language deficit places a low ceiling on educational attainment. It does not, however, cause later permanent retardation.

Jensen recommends the intervention programmes which try to make good the deficit at the language level, but also introduce exercises aimed at developing the cognitive skills presumed missing. Bereiter and Engelmann's work is described in this light. It used if/then con- structions to develop deductive thinking, and picked on the linguistic forms best suited, in their opinion, to cognitive development.

The latest recommendations from Jensen (1973) are for a greater diversity in curricula and goals to cater for a large number of child- ren with very limited aptitude. However, should the rather fatalistic



predictions of his later studies prove incorrect, it may well be worth going back over some of his earlier work, to see whether the teaching methods he examined could be applied.

### Social Class and Language

The mid-century interest that focused on the educational opportunities of working class children was not without its researchers and theoreticians. The British education system was scrutinised and achievement measured. It was discovered that working class children were not doing as well as others. The quality of education offered them was criticised. Their teachers' attitudes were queried. Much of this research activity took place after it became clear that the 1944 Education Act had failed to introduce equality of opportunity.

One of the factors open for investigation was language. Was there a language barrier in the schools that operated to the disadvantage of working class children? If the middle class operated in a different language register from the working class, and if teachers in their training if not their social origins, operated in the middle class register, would this close up the channel of communication between teachers and the working class pupils? Was it possible that the language of working class children was restricted in its structure, so much so that literacy became impaired or even the cognitive development of the child? If so, then one could assume that this social group would be at a disadvantage in school despite the 1944 Act, and even in a situation where all class background selection procedures were eliminated.

Basil Bernstein (1966) examined the education system with a view to establishing whether such a language barrier existed. He hypothesized that working class children only have access to a style of language characteristic of their social structure, and different from the language used in school.

Bernstein

Bernstein's theories rest on a language deficit model, although they have shifted somewhat over the years to a less extreme position. The material he has presented on restricted and elaborated codes is rooted in his early position that language develops out of the class-based social context and that it determines thought patterns. He held that middle class and working class children both used the restricted code sometimes, but that working class children did not develop elaborate codes.

The Restricted Code is held to be context specific; to be supportive of group norms; to be unsuitable for abstract thought and to be used primarily by social groups with positional oriented families. The Elaborate or Extended Code is held to be more generalised; to emphasize individuality of the speaker; to facilitate the development of abstract thought and to be used by social groups having person-oriented families.

The connection between language, social group, family and norms of behaviour is strong, according to Bernstein (1971). The family using the Restricted Code, or Positional Family is very rigid in its relationships. Rules follow formal status in the family, there is little verbal negotiation over roles, decision-making and judgement are exercised through formal status; social control is physically enforced and extensive non-specific verbal interaction is restricted to peers.

By contrast, the Person-oriented family uses language with flexibility in a less rigid interrelationship. There is verbal negotiation over family roles, decisions are negotiated, reasoning and explanation reinforce parental power, and there is verbal interaction across and between generations.

The educational process extends in school the elaborate code that middle class children have already learned at home. The mode of interaction with adults in school is very different for working class children but not for middle class children. Children from the working class position-oriented family, have to learn not only a new language code, but also new social values. This may include the rejection of the social world of their family background and their own family's values (such as the support of collective versus individual competitive action). Bernstein argues that the child faces a clash of cultures, personal loyalties and other stresses as well as a language barrier.

Bernstein's theories on language codes restrictive to one social group who are also excluded from the language of another social group which includes teachers, have provided the underpinnings of later projects in education which approached the education of working class children or the children of minority groups on the basis of making good the deficit created by the restrictive or inadequate language. Interventionist programmes in America operated on this deficit model. Theories about the arrestation of cognitive development also rest on a deficit model. Such views state that the language used by blacks is inadequate for the development of abstract thinking processes. For these reasons it is worthwhile examining Bernstein's theories carefully.

His (1959) study of the implications of the working class language (which he then called public language rather than restricted code language), holds that this language is so restricted as to present a handicap. He describes it as having poor syntax, short unfinished sentences, limited use of adjectives and adverbs and little scope for symbolism. He claims that a simple verb structure means one cannot express process; that limited use of adjectives and adverbs means one cannot elaborate or qualify, or that reason and conclusion become confounded, leading to categorical statements rather than reasoned argument.

Bernstein gives as an example, the typical parental response "do it because I say so". This line of argument is continued through Bernstein's later (1966) work.

It is necessary to question some of Bernstein's assumptions and also some of his claims. He has assumed that the restricted code implies other relationships within the family. He has assumed that working class children, because they operate in the restricted code, have an extreme limitation of access to the elaborate code. He has assumed that to a certain extent language determines thought patterns. None of these assertions are supported by evidence.

His claims raise certain immediate questions: what if the relationship implicit in the restricted code were more sophisticated than that expressed at the verbal level, or indeed, were not as harmful as Bernstein suggests? One could certainly argue a case against the stress on negotiation and permissiveness-in-words within middle class families where, as in all other families, parents are the ultimate decision makers. What if working class children, at least in part, chose to use the code of their social group, yet understood the other code spoken by teachers? A case can certainly be made for the operation of in-group language usage which does not imply that one group cannot understand the language of the other. Who wants to go round talking like a toffee-nose after all? One would need to examine language usage in its context and in the cultural background of its users, before concluding that some thought processes were restricted. Can one say that differences in the proportionate employment of parts of speech is a case for deciding that non-standard English usage is inhibitive of mental development at the abstract level? Bernstein's argument whether he intended it or not, has been applied with gusto by a school who claim West Indian Dialect causes arrested cognitive development because of its primitive structure. Can one really claim that the

differences between:

"John never got none", and

"John didn't get any"

amounts to mind-crippling backwardness on the part of the non-Standard structure?

Differences in language style do not amount to deficit. In the case of working class language usage, writers such as John Brin and Alan Sillitoe have illustrated the conceptual range and emotional depth possible within the linguistic forms typical of working class language. They defy the 'restrictive' label.

To be fair to Bernstein, he cannot be held responsible for the conclusions others have drawn from his assertions. However, it is important to examine his work to discover some of the theoretical basis for the cognitive arrestation positions. Bernstein's positive contribution was to open for examination the possibility of functional differences in language usage between social groups and cultural groups, and to make teachers sensitive to the linguistic patterns expressed by different groups of pupils.

CHAPTER TWELVEA LANGUAGE BARRIER (ALTERNATIVE MODEL)

Chapter Twelve introduces arguments that pose the question of language differences in a less alarming light. The concept of language deficit is rejected and an alternative model proposed. It is suggested that a language barrier operates in schools to the disadvantage of certain groups. The unacknowledged differences between Standard English and West Indian Dialect are viewed from the perspective of possible interference in the learning process. Is literacy hampered by the gap between the two language forms? Do children of West Indian descent find themselves in a linguistic limbo when neither language structure is fully explained to them? Are these children under psychological stress when their teachers ignore or devalue their use of English?

Language Style

Some critics of Bernstein consider that he overstresses the barrier imposed by the different language usage of different social class groups in schools. Labov (1970) argues that the 'restricted' code of blacks is not as limited as has been claimed by adherents of Bernstein's theories.

Labov (1969) criticizes the 1966 Bereiter and Engelmann study, in which Bereiter claims that

"the language of culturally deprived children is not merely an underdeveloped version of Standard English, but is a basically non-logical mode of expressive behaviour."

Labov conducted his own interviews of black youngsters, introducing a black, swearing, vernacular-speaking 'interviewer', and finding that interviewees' language usage increased considerably as a result. He claims that low verbality is a normal defence mechanism, which should be expected when a young black person is introduced into an experimental situation controlled by authoritative white researchers.

He presents a defence of non-standard black speech, holding that it contains as much logic as white middle class speech. As an example he reports interviews in non-standard speech involving games of logic. He warns against the problem of partial transposition. For instance, if the interviewer's question or stimulus is in Standard English, this might be confusing in a discussion. An example is the Standard English 'if' or 'whether'. Labov quotes an example where "I asked Alvin if he knows ..." brought out "I asked Alvin does he know ...". Labov states that there is nothing in the vernacular which will interfere with the development of logical thought and contends that the logic of Standard English cannot be distinguished from the logic of any other dialect of English by any test that can be found.

Labov claims that Non-standard Negro English (NNE) is a language system that differs from other dialects in regular and rule-governed ways so that it has equivalent ways of expressing the same logical content. He supports English as a Second Language (ESL) teaching methods. The methods used in teaching English as a foreign language are recommended, not to declare that NNE is a foreign language, but to underline the importance of studying the native dialect as a coherent system for communication.

### Dialect Interference

Studies carried out recently, including the initial phase of Project Dial, sought to determine whether dialect interference was inhibiting the language learning of West Indian children in Britain. Wight's early study (1971) argued that dialect interference impeded West Indian children in the British education system.

Wight asserts that the child will speak at least two dialects, with the formal school dialect being intelligible to non-dialect speakers, but that in spite of the child's facility with the school dialect, Creole is the child's first language. At various points in his school career, this Creole background places the child at a considerable disadvantage.

Although the initial tests on Creole interference, using word association and sentences designed to test whether Jamaican children are sensitive to clues that would not exist in dialect, have not indicated dialect interference as a principal cause of comprehensive failure, Wight maintains that other factors are inhibiting understanding. His (1971) report on teaching methods states that many West Indian children do have a range of severe language learning problems which have to do with dialect per se. So far, there has not been adequate



research to uncover which dialect effects are a block to learning.

### Language Barrier

One component of a language barrier at the early stages of learning to read and write, is most likely to involve the auditory and visual gap to be overcome by a Dialect-speaking child attempting to function in the Standard English used in schools. Literacy involves grasping the connection between the spoken and written sides of language. It follows that the step between the aural medium and the visual medium must be as small as possible. If one learnt French as a two-year-old and the first written language taught was English, one would have considerable difficulty.

Dialect interference might affect a child's writing if the gap between the verbal usage and the Standard written English was great. Spelling and syntax would be the likeliest to suffer in this case.

For a young child learning to read and write, the problem is two-fold. Children need to learn to analyse and sequence units of spoken sentences into written form. Then they must also work out the relation between sounds of words and how they look when written in Standard English.

A Dialect-speaking child suffers on both counts. Dialect is an impediment to building and matching the sequence, and phonic word-building is hampered by the even greater discrepancy between his dialect pronunciation and the Standard English written form.

Another component of the barrier involving dialect relates to the status afforded the form of speech used by a child. If a dialect were not so different from Standard English as to interfere with the language learning process, there would be no problem. If, however, it had some characteristics of a separate language, but was treated

as a form of English, then problems would occur.

It would be very difficult to adjust to Standard English structure if the structural differences were hidden from a child who thought and spoke in the Dialect. Discouraged from using the original language form, unaware that he or she was actually being asked to learn a new form, and lacking any explanation of what the structural differences amounted to, the child would become boxed in by this exclusion from the facilities for making a structurally meaningful transition from the one language form to the other.

A compounding factor may well exist at a psychological level. If a Standard English speaking teacher, confronting a Dialect-speaking pupil, with the official policy-training that this is an "English-speaking" child, took the view that the pupil was using 'bad' English, the effect could hardly be beneficial. The message would be clear: there's something wrong with the way you talk.

Fitzherbert describes this situation in her (1968) article, noting some of the attempts to remedy the problem. Until recently school teachers treated any patois usages as 'bad' English, which it was their duty to correct. Then a research project at the University of the West Indies showed that patois should more properly be regarded as a language in its own right, whose peculiarities can be expressed in terms of grammatical and syntactical rules, similar to those of any other complete language.

She cites the example of differences in 'O' Level English results between the French and English-speaking West Indies. Students in the French-speaking islands achieved better results in English 'O' Level, having been taught English as a foreign language. West Indian children growing up with patois in the "English-speaking" islands, are given their lessons on Standard English grammar, but the structural differences between Dialect and Standard are never explained, so that the English of

their daily usage in no way resembles the language they encounter when they sit their examination.

It may be that West Indian children who learn English as a second language are at an advantage over those classified English-speakers. Once in Britain, however, West Indian children are usually considered English speakers. The linguistic and psychological aspects of a language barrier would then operate to the disadvantage of any child whose main usage or affiliation lay outside the Standard English norm.

CHAPTER THIRTEENWHAT IS PATOIS?

Loved or hated by West Indian parents, this strongly emotive language form is investigated in one country of origin. Its historical roots are touched on briefly to see what light they shed upon West Indian Dialect. Its structure and key grammatical features are outlined. The concept of a Dialect Continuum is described.

What is Patois?

As a form of speech, patois is used throughout the West Indies and is also current in some African countries. Being a combination of African languages plus the language of whichever European country's influence was greatest in the area, patois varies between islands. Within islands it is also subject to variation. Most of the West Indians classified as "English-speaking" come from Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, Tobago, Grenada and Antigua. Mainland Guyana is also considered part of the "English-speaking" West Indies.

It is estimated that nearly 80 per cent of the immigrants from these West Indian islands are from Jamaica. This form of patois is therefore chosen for examination.

The Language used in Jamaica

Variously called "Dialect", "Patois", "Creole", "Vernacular" and "The Jamaican Language". the English spoken in Jamaica is not even consistent in its name. However, the people using these different names would be referring to the same thing: an island-based evolved dialect that is a mutant containing English and other root languages.

Another variable affecting Dialect involves the attitudes of the Jamaicans towards it. These range from a pro-British/pro-Standard English position to a pro-nationalist/pro-Creole position. The pro-British/pro-Standard Jamaicans look upon Dialect with scorn and refer to it as 'bad' English. There is just as strong a view in the other direction. The pro-nationalists hold that Dialect should be treated as a separate language in its own right.

The former position expresses contempt for the non-Standard dialect. Creole is treated as a degenerated English coming from lazy pronunciation. "Disya" is merely a corruption of "This here". The

proponents of this argument rely on tracing patterns in the dialect that go back to Standard English. A further argument that Creole is merely English deformed, is that it is never used in writing (a position that came unstuck with the rise of a Jamaican cultural movement which produced Creole writers who use Dialect for plays and poetry very effectively).

This attitude to the Jamaican language has a parallel in attitudes towards Jamaican culture, including institutions such as family structure. The Jamaican family is viewed as a distortion of the English nuclear family, rather than a distinct form rooted in African tribal structures and changed during slavery. Clarke (1957) described these attitudes. She noted that the principal features of slavery had the effect intentionally or unintentionally of obliterating African institutions and that at a later period there developed a coloured middle class which not only adopted European values but was highly sensitive to any reminder of African antecedents.

A direct contrast in attitude was expressed by the pro-Creolist Jamaican initiative to treat Dialect as a separate language, taught in schools and used as part of daily life in situations where in the past Standard English was required. Grace Wright, Education Officer to the Jamaican Ministry of Education in 1976 reported that many Jamaicans, particularly the youth, use Creole in situations that used to be considered appropriate for Standard English only. (She based her opinion on her own questionnaire).

It is not just the younger generation who support Creole. The last Jamaican Government indicated considerable support for the language form, which gave it a prestigious cultural 'boost'. Ministers delivered speeches using the dialect, in order to show official support. The same attitude has been expressed by members of the High Commission in Britain. We can expect that such support for the dialect will have repercussions

in Britain.

Another aspect of the Jamaican dialect is the variation in usage. Jamaicans will use either Standard or Dialect, depending on which they consider appropriate to the occasion, and will also vary their speech within a situation. According to Bailey (1966), they will switch between Standard and Dialect within the same sentence. A given speaker is likely to shift back and forth from Creole to English, or something closely approximating to English, within a single utterance. Most observers of language in Jamaica have encountered extreme difficulty in distinguishing between the various layers of the language structure, and indeed the lines of demarcation are very hard to draw.

#### The Structure of the Dialect

Those who argue for separate language status, offer the following reasons. A regional dialect of English differs from Standard Received Pronunciation to a certain extent. But the difference is primarily one of lexis and phonology. The grammatical structure remains the same. Linguists have attempted to trace the regional differences in the original settlement areas where Anglo-Saxon varied. Despite dialect variation, the grammar is currently standardized by and large, so that the skeletal structure of English spans all regions. This is not the case with the Jamaican dialect, where, for instance, the tense system is inferred, not integrated into the verb patterns.

Traditionally, it is a spoken language, which gives it very different characteristics, although this is no more an argument that it is an 'improper' language or derivative of English, than Welsh, whose characteristics are marked by its oral origin and development. An oral basis to a language in its evolution can mark it in specific ways. For instance, the interrogative structure of the Jamaican dialect shows its oral basis.

## Origin of Jamaican Dialect

The language originated amongst West African slaves from the Gold Coast and southern Nigeria who spoke Niger-Congo and West Sudanese dialects. They were forced to learn English during slavery, but were not taught the language formally. Professor Le Page (1967) argues that the Africans learning English in this manner reinterpreted it into the phonemic structure of their own languages. Vowel sounds which did not exist in the West African languages were simply dropped or replaced by the closest sounding vowel available. Twi, for instance, does not have the same distinctions between long and short vowels that existed in seventeenth century English. English stress patterns were not adopted and West African tone patterns were carried over.

A similar case can be made for other aspects of Dialect. Slaves were not taught English in an educational setting. English words were learned out of necessity. They were not explained within any structural context. The words were therefore placed in an African context. Whereas only about 250 African-derived words remain in modern Jamaican usage, and English words predominate, the influence of the original African structures remains.

The West African languages do not inflect in the same manner as English. They do not have possessive or plural endings. Verbs do not change in past tenses and pronouns do not change for case. What would be the effect of a head-on collision of irreconcilable structures as must have occurred in the West Indies between African and English structures?

An example of language structure collision can be seen in what happened to nouns. There is no inflection in modern Jamaican usage. I would argue that this is the result of the problems caused by an English system (plurality and possession expressed by inflected suffixes)



confronting the Niger-Congo system (changes occur at the beginning of the word). For example, Twi for drum is Akyene and for drums is nkyene. The Jamaican solution was to drop all inflection and to substitute alternative systems to indicate plurality.

### History of the Language Development

As a protection against rebellion, many plantations mixed slaves from different areas together so that they would be unable to converse. The lingua franca which emerged established itself in varying admixtures on different islands. In Barbados the proportion of Europeans to Africans was high compared to Jamaica, and the European model had a stronger influence.

The model available to the first West Africans arriving in Jamaica was not exactly BBC English ... or its Shakespearean equivalent. English was learnt from poorly educated charge hands, many of them Irish, Welsh and Scottish. The proportions of these groups have been estimated as: 80% English; 12% Welsh; and 7% Scots and Irish. A further complication was the shift in speech amongst the white minority towards Creole, a phenomenon that was noted with some distaste by Victorian observers visiting Jamaica.

Certain archaisms do exist, such as the dropped 'g' ending, and even some terms now extinct in Britain such as 'paraventure' which is still current in rural areas. On the whole, however, the vocabulary is clearly and recognisably English and has modernised itself much as Standard English has.

### Pronunciation

The most outstanding characteristic in pronunciation is the lilt. In many West African languages, the pitch affects the meaning, which

changes according to intonation. In Jamaica, different intonation patterns are used to express negatives and affirmatives, although it is no longer a tone-based language in regard to the meaning of individual words.

The Jamaican dialect has the same vowel sounds as Standard English, with the exceptions of some sounds that have to cover for two vowel sounds in Standard English. A doubling up process takes place, whereby like-sounding words can only be distinguished by their context. Edwards (1979) p.23, cites the following examples:

<u>Received Pronunciation</u>	<u>Creole equivalent</u>	<u>Resultant homonyms</u>
æ	ɔ	/a/ rat, rot
ai	oi	/ai/ tie, toy
ʌ	ɜ	/o/ bud, bird
iə	ɛə	/ia/ fear, fare
ŋ	avn	/ong/ tongue, town

The consonants 't' and 'd' in Standard English stand for 'th' of 'thin' and 'then' which is not used in Jamaican dialect.

Example:      tin            (tin OR thin)  
                  den            (den OR then)

To compensate for the doubling up and to express a difference, some words are changed in a systematic way. 'K' and 'G' when preceding 'a', become 'ky' and 'Gy'.

Examples:      kyat            (cat)  
                  gyaadn        (garden)

The consonant 'h' is dropped and added in an unsystematic way, much as it is in Cockney, probably as an inconsistent adaptation to Standard English after the formative period of the language. Other than this consonants are similar.

Aphetisms

These occurred in the development of Standard English, and the process continued during the formation of the dialect, giving words like 'nuff', 'pon', 'weh', 'bout', 'long'. These words derived from 'enough', 'upon', 'away', 'about' and 'along'. Characteristically, the 's' is dropped before 'p', 't' and 'k' in the dialect, giving words like 'pider' and 'corpion'. Also consonant clusters with typically English combinations, where West African languages do not have the same combinations, are simplified in Jamaican.

In other combinations, sounds are sometimes added. The Standard English 'hunting' and 'fishing' are pronounced 'huntnin' and 'fishnin'. It is not clear whether this is an African influence, or possibly a throwback to the Old English form (from 'huntnunge' and 'fiscnunge').

Grammar

Compared to the West African and English source languages, West Indian dialects lack an inflectional basis. Grammatical information is carried in the syntax and by the addition of particles. An analysis of the structure of the language used in Jamaica has presented problems to English-trained linguists who do not approach the work from a syntactic starting point, but rather from their own classical training and methods which are suitable for most European languages.

Bailey (1966) describes this dearth on the side of structural analysis, and explains how some of the best considerations of the Dialect remain the descriptive and comparative studies rather than those which attempt to break down the grammar by using systems appropriate for inflected languages.

Perhaps the best contrastive study, which limits itself to a comparison between Dialect and Standard forms, is Cassidy's (1967) study

of Jamaican English. Rather than attempting to formulate a systematic analysis of the structure, he and Le Page have assembled their 'dictionary' as evidence of the differences between Standard and Dialect.

The following description of structural forms contains examples drawn from the above references, and from the fieldworks of V.K. Edwards (1976) and Vorhaus (1976).

### Nouns

West Indian dialect forms usually omit both the plural 's' and possessive 's'. Lacking inflection for plurality or possession, nouns sometimes take 'dem' in the plural and the possessive 'fi' (meaning for) replaces the Standard English 'of' or apostrophe 's'.

Examples:	two book	(two books)
	de man dem come	(the men come)
	the girl brother	(the girl's brother)
	fi Jan hat	(John's hat)

### Personal Pronouns

These have maintained their Anglo-Saxon roots in Standard English better than nouns and verbs, thus showing person, number, gender and case to some degree. However, the dialect form has no case indication, although in number, its second person is more precise than Standard English, there being a separate form for the singular "you" and the plural "unu", which is possibly derived from the Ibo word "unu".

Examples:	mi (I)	we (we)
	yu (you singular)	unu (you plural)
	im, she (he, she)	dem (they)

Demonstratives

These are as distinct as Standard English forms.

Examples:	dis-ya	(this)
	dem-ya	(these)
	dat-de	(that)
	dem-de	(those)

An adjectival or pronominal "ya" is sometimes added.

Example:	dis-ya one ya	(this)
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Demonstratives can carry the plural indication missing from a noun.

Example:	dem girl de	(those girls)
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Interrogatives

Unlike Standard English, there is no inversion of the word order to indicate a question, or use of the Standard English convention of "do" for questions seeking yes/no answers. Questions maintain the affirmative order. Interrogatives are signalled verbally by a rising inflection at the end of the question, and by use of the who, which and what forms.

Examples:	how much you want?	(how much do you want?)
	you go home?	(are you going home ?)
	what time it is?	(what time is it?)

Relative Pronouns

These are usually discarded.

Example:	is dis tree dem chop	(it is this tree which/ that they chopped).
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Indefinite Pronouns

In place of the Standard usage of "thing" and "person", "sinting" (something) and "smady" (somebody) are used.

Examples:

dat not de sinting im want	(that isn't the thing he wants)
im is a haad smady	(he's a difficult person)

Verbs

The verb "to be" is not normally used in Dialect.

Example:	John very angry	(John was very angry)
	The baby little	(The baby is little)
	Me too cold	(I am too cold)

Verbs are not normally inflected in Dialect. The Standard English verb uses inflection as an indicator of time, number, etc.

The suffixes 's' or 'es' indicate the third person singular; 'ed' or 't' indicate the past simple; 'ing' indicates the present participle and 'en' indicates the past participle.

Examples:	He walks,	he dances
	He worked,	he learnt
	He is eating	
	He has eaten.	

A lack of inflection in the Dialect form means that tense cannot be indicated within the verb.

Examples:	John come home	(John came home)
	Peter jump up	(Peter jumped up)

It also means that there is no subject-verb agreement.

Examples:	He stand still	(He stands still)
	The spider have big eyes	(The spider has big eyes)

Alternative systems are used in Dialect to do the work of the verb which is inflected in Standard English.

The progressive tenses in Standard English (present tense of verb 'to be' plus verb plus 'ing', past tense of verb 'to be' plus verb plus 'ing') are not used but the auxilliary forms 'de', 'da' and 'a' indicate these tenses. The "de" and "a" probably trace back to African forms. For instance, "a" means "it is" in Twi, and "de" means "to be" in Ewe and Ibo.

Example: Elmina da work hard now (Elmina is working hard now).

Past time is indicated by the auxilliarities "ben" and "wen".

Examples: A ben go las week (I went last week)

Ef she wen good (if she had been good)

The auxilliary "did" is also used to indicate the past.

Example: He did see the teacher (he saw the teacher)

Future time is expressed with the auxilliary "Will" and "wi".

"Gwine" is sometimes used as in the common Standard English future "going to" plus infinitive.

Example: Him gwine dead (He will die, he is going to die)

There is no passive voice in Dialect.

Example: that thing use a lot (that thing is used a lot)

One special characteristic of Jamaican verb usage is the repetition of a verb in a phrase.

Examples: He go go look a job (He's going to look for a job)

A run John run make him fall down (It's because John ran that he fell down)

### Conjunction, Prepositions, Adverbs

While in Standard English these connective and modifying expressions do not change form according to their placement in a structure, a problem

is presented by vocabulary differences.

Examples:	Before	(instead of)
	so	(even as)
	sake a/ fe	(on account of)
	same like	(similar to)
	same way	(as usual)
	after	(in imitation of)
	kya	(no matter)
	fe	(to, towards)
	ya	(here)
	de	(there)

### Word Formation

Words can change from one class to another with suffixes. The suffix '-a' or '-a + man' may be added to action verbs to form nouns.

Example: raita, raita-man (writer)

The suffix "nis" may be added to any adjective to form an abstract noun.

Example: proudnis (pride)  
badnis (evil)

Though rare in Standard English (e.g. gooy-goody), it is common in Dialect to form words with a repetition pattern. Cassidy (1971) notes 200 words like this which are not derived from Standard English. It is probably an African influence.

Examples: fu-fu (mashed vegetable) in Twi: fufuu  
kas-kas (contention) in Twi: kasakasa -  
to contend  
pra-pra (to gather up) in Twi: prapra  
su-su (to whisper) in Twi: susuw - to  
utter suspicion.



Other words obviously owe their origin to English, although the formation technique is African, thus:

Example: shaky-shaky (earthquake)

At another level, the use of repetition expresses continuation of something or habit.

Example: look-look (to keep on looking)

cry-cry child (a child who is in the habit of crying).

### Summary of Structure

<u>Dialect</u>	<u>Standard English</u>
1. No subject-verb agreement.	1. Verb must agree in number.
2. Uninflected tense system - particles specify time.	2. Suffixes indicate number and tense to limited degree.
3. No passive.	3. Passive form (though not an inflected voice).
4. Adjective predicates without copula.	4. Copula.
5. No case system for nouns or pronouns. No sex indication third person pronouns.	5. Case system for pronouns.
6. Possession indicator by adjectival position in word order, or by use of "fi".	6. Anglo-Saxon genitive apostrophe 's'.
7. No inversion for questions.	7. Inversion and "do/does" aux.
8. No plural for nouns.	8. Plural s, es, ies.

Linguistic Arguments for separate Language Status

In considering whether the Jamaican dialect should be treated as a sub-type of English or as a separate language, Cassidy (1971) concluded that with regard to the vocabulary there could be little doubt: it is a type of English. However, the biggest difference between the Jamaican dialect and Standard lies in the grammatical structure. The dialect structure is certainly not African, and it is also not English. The major complexities of both have been dispensed with, though minor features remain.

Similarly, Baily (1966) disagreed with the scholars who have called the Jamaican dialect merely a lesser form of English. He contended that it could stand on its own as a full language. From the point of view of linguistic typology, he demonstrated by means of the analysis itself and by the ample use of examples, that the language of Jamaica was a genuine Creole language.

What remains an open question, is the usage in Britain. One may accept that the Jamaican dialect has systematic features quite unlike Standard English, and that while its vocabulary is overwhelmingly Standard or Standard-derived, its structure is different in many key aspects. However, it is not clear whether the underlying structure of the Creole form remains in its usage in Britain, or whether it is mostly the 'absences' which mark it. Does the alternative genitive indicator apply in Britain, or not? Is the alternative plural indicator used, or not? What about the tense indicating particles?

The most important part of speech in Standard English is the verb, according to most language experts. The Verb tense system not only serves to indicate time sequence, past, present and future, but also provides the basic resource for qualifying, modifying, planning, etc. Clearly, in some fundamental features, Dialect is based on a language

system very different from English. The lack of an inflected verb structure should point linguistic research in the direction of uncovering the alternative system operating. Dictionaries of Jamaican English are available, such as that compiled by Cassidy and Le Page (1967). A comparative grammar is not as yet available, and we must leave this task in the hands of linguistic experts in the West Indies.

### The Dialect Continuum

The debate between the pro-standardists and pro-creolists continues. Both sides would agree that the dialect used in Britain by West Indians is a less stable dialect than those of the Islands. Variation between dialects, with the Jamaican dialect commonest, and a lack of adherence to any internally consistent system, make it difficult to analyse structural differences since neither Standard English nor the dialect is held constant. West Indian children coming to Britain and growing up in Britain are not restricted to a single dialect, and are likely to adopt more English structures than their West Indian counterparts depending on their exposure to Standard English and their response to it.

Wight (1971) argues that a "dialect continuum" operates between the home and school dialect. A child may also adopt a dialect within his or her neighbourhood that varies again. The child moves between the dialect of the family and the more acceptable dialect for formal situations like school, switching back and forth and combining them. The ability to shift between forms of pronunciation, vocabularies, etc. should not be confused with mastery of the structural forms underlying either the school or home language. Certainly the formal written school English is not something that can be picked up easily.

Labov (1967) has shown variation along similar lines, amongst

American black non-standard speakers. Since there is at the present time no internally consistent grammatical structure available for West Indian Dialect, and since the language usage does appear to shift according to the speaker's surroundings, it would seem appropriate to accept Wight's concept of a dialect continuum, and to go on to consider the effects of dialect given this variation within and between patterns of speech.

We are primarily concerned with the language usage of West Indians and their children who live in Britain, where it may be assumed the continuum stretches even further in the Standard direction. For the purposes of the present research the words "Dialect" and "Patois" (found to be the commonest labels for reference amongst school pupils) will be used to refer to the language.

#### Possible Effects of Language Differences within the English Class-room

The problems facing the teacher are considerable. They involve the teacher's understanding, judgement, training and outlook.

The initial difficulty for an English ear lies in the phonological aspects of Dialect - vowels, rhythm and stress vary greatly from Standard English. Often the difference is so great that the listener cannot understand enough to begin to assess structural differences or vocabulary differences. This makes diagnosis very difficult for the average teacher, often working in large classes, who can spend little time on individual pupils.

The teacher's training will probably not have included any instruction in the differences between Standard and Dialect. Indeed, the teacher may have received misinformation as to the likely cause of underachievement amongst West Indian children. This means that the teacher is not only ill-equipped to handle the needed language-teaching in an appropriate way, but may also be pre-disposed to disregard the

possibility of language difficulty and to look elsewhere for the causes of underachievement.

Should the teacher notice language differences, there is little chance of the pupil receiving instruction in either a linguistically or psychologically helpful manner. The Vorhaus (1976) fieldwork found teachers correcting but not explaining language differences, and using expressions about "good" and "bad" English.

The problems facing pupils of West Indian descent in English schools are perhaps greater than expected. Their pronunciation and vocabulary are so similar to other children's that language differences would appear to be negligible. In fact, they may well encounter even greater difficulties than children born in the West Indies.

Firstly, they will not be offered any special consideration on a language level. Yet the elementary but key structures of Standard English have been absorbed by other English children within their families before starting school. Secondly, they may lack any consistent structure upon which to build language skills. Whilst Jamaican language experts can document an alternative language structure in the West Indies, what happens to the so-called second generation child in Britain? Is it possible that this child may enter a type of linguistic limbo where no consistent model is available and no explanation of Standard structures is offered?

It is proposed to consider the Dialect of West Indians in Britain in the following manner. It is not like a regional dialect in its variations from Standard English. It is not internally consistent to the degree that the Dialect of Jamaica has been judged to be.

A further consideration with regard to pupils of West Indian descent in English schools involves psychological and attitudinal factors.

Language forms are often considered to be an important part of one's culture. The study will therefore include an assessment of the attitudes of pupils of West Indian descent towards Standard and Dialect forms and towards West Indian culture. Even without the added complexities of being in a cultural divide between the West Indies and Britain, it is evident that attitudes amongst West Indians towards Dialect are strong, different and emotionally 'loaded' with connotations of other attitudes. For the child born in Britain there are these plus other pressures from the host community. To the pro-British West Indian in Jamaica, the use of Standard English is seen as correct and is a highly valued expression of social standing. To the nationalist Jamaican, Standard English may represent the branding iron of slavery remaining generations after the actual oppression finished. What does it represent to the child of West Indian descent today in the setting of an English school?

CHAPTER FOURTEENRESEARCH DESIGN

Chapter Fourteen includes a statement of the aims and objectives of the research and its theoretical framework. Findings and limitations of previous research are noted and problems re-evaluated in the light of the findings of the literature survey. Assumptions and hypotheses are presented as an outline of the conceptual and experimental bases of the research. The experimental area is further defined in terms of necessary limitations involved in testing procedures. Terms are defined within the framework of the present study.

### The Contribution of Previous Studies

It has been shown that children of West Indian descent go through a different series of educational pathways and find themselves in lower streams in school when compared with other immigrant groups. It has also been shown that there is a question mark over their language usage. Though not explicitly stated, it would seem that most authorities locally and the DES at a national level, consider this group to be Standard English users and therefore not in need of extra language tuition. Furthermore, length of time in Britain is not changing the pattern of underachievement, and length of time in school shows an increasing negative correlation with exam success when compared with other groups in some parts of the country. It is therefore proposed to investigate the language of pupils of West Indian descent, especially their use of Standard English since this is the medium by which all subjects from physics to fine art are taught. Since so much of the evidence of the literature has indicated that strong undercurrents of psychological stress, and more particularly of feelings involving self-image and consciousness, are affecting results, an attempt will be made to ascertain pupils' own views about their language and cultural identity. The direction this investigation takes is towards a probe of the viability of changing teaching strategies to take into account any special needs of children of West Indian descent. It has been noted that in a patchy way in different areas, special programmes that try to encompass aspects of multiculturalism have been initiated. The research will therefore address itself to these small beginnings in an attempt to offer some comment on their potential.



## Aims and Objectives

The present study undertook to investigate several areas of underachievement of pupils of West Indian descent in English schools. In particular it examined whether language difficulties might be connected with this underachievement. It also considered the cultural attitudes of pupils of West Indian descent and of white indigenous English pupils. The research addressed itself to the differences between these groups in order to compare language and attitudinal factors, and to examine whether certain cultural attitudes might be related to the language usage of pupils of West Indian descent in English schools.

Underlying assumptions upon which these aims rest are as follows. Firstly, an assumption is being made that black children can achieve better results in school, despite the enormous disadvantages outside school. These may include the social disadvantages of a lower standard of living, the economic disincentives of post-school unemployment, the psychological disadvantages of institutionalised racism in the community at large and many other factors which may well affect a pupil's academic achievement within school.

Secondly, an assumption is being made about the value of academic achievement. Within the aim of the research an underlying assumption is that an academic achievement level approaching parity with white children is worth striving for. Many would question this goal and state that there are other things in life of much greater importance and that it is of greater benefit to black children to build up their confidence by encouraging them in fields where they may excel with ease. Music and Sports were constantly stressed by teachers during interviews, Vorhaus (1976). Implicit in the research design is a rejection of this approach.

Thirdly, an assumption is being made about the inherent ability of black children to improve their academic results. The researcher rejects the view that racial group characteristics include a significant difference between the intelligence levels of black and white pupils whereby all other things being equal, black children would never achieve the same results. The objectives of the research rest upon the assumption that black children in Britain may achieve results closer to those of white children given changes in teaching strategies. It is understood that this in itself requires a gigantic step to be taken across many alternative hypotheses which would flow from research which did not make these suppositions.

The research is also weighted in the direction of looking at what problems black children encounter when confronted with the English education system rather than the problems that the schools and teachers have when encountering black children. This perhaps takes liberties in its interpretation of the Select Committee (1973) findings and recommendations, but this is done in the spirit of that Committee's understanding of the need for multicultural education to pay special heed to the needs of ethnic minorities.

The literature surveyed indicated certain directions that the research should take. It therefore set itself the following objectives.

#### Language - related Objectives

The study investigated the language usage of pupils of West Indian descent, because this was seen to be an issue of considerable debate within the literature surveyed. It attempted to find out whether pupils of West Indian descent function as well as their indigenous English peers, in Standard English.

#### Culture - related Objectives

The study considered the relationship between attitudes towards

language and attitudes towards culture in an attempt to determine the links between pupils' views about Standard English and cultural attitudes related to their background as children of West Indian descent.

#### Performance - related Objectives

The study examined the achievement levels of pupils on a number of tests and related these to attitudes held by those pupils.

#### Issues and Assumptions are as follows:

##### 1. West Indian Dialect differs from Standard English in its Structure

This assumption is taken as given from the evidence offered in the literature surveyed in previous sections. However, of primary concern to educationalists in Britain is the language usage of children from the West Indies who are in junior and secondary schools in this country, and more particularly to the so-called "second generation immigrants", children born in Britain whose parents immigrated from the West Indies. The research concentrated upon this latter group, because so much of the present controversy within schools centres upon whether or not language problems hold over. Moreover, with the current immigration policy in effect, the balance in schools has shifted to a predominance of this group of pupils over true immigrants.

##### 2. Children of West Indian Descent have a lower academic Performance than white indigenous English Children

Again this is an assumption that is accepted from the evidence of national research carried out by the DES and the NFER as cited in the literature survey. While the debate continues about the relevance of classical academic subjects and the importance of "correct" use of Standard English, it is our view that examination success and general proficiency in academic subjects in school are a prerequisite for access to a wide range of careers after school.

Arguments about equal but different schooling, and concentrating on non-academic subjects, are therefore rejected on these grounds. It is assumed that equality of opportunity must include the opportunity to accept or reject openings in academic fields.

Experimental Hypotheses are as follows:

1. When compared with white indigenous English Children, Children of West Indian Descent will obtain lower Scores on English Tests

It is proposed to test this hypothesis by administering an appropriate set of tests to groups of pupils from these ethnic origins, and comparing results on non-linguistic and other tests. The research of V.K. Edwards (1976) has shown that children of West Indian descent obtain lower scores on comprehension when matched for the same reading ages as English children. Her results indicated that on simpler reading exercises, children encountered few problems, but that the structural complexity of more advanced passages made for difficulty in understanding due to a barrier that emerged with the increase in grammatically difficult sections.

2. Children of West Indian Descent will hold Sets of Viewpoints about Language and Culture whereby Dialect is identified as Part of a black and distinctly different Culture from the dominant Culture of the School

It is proposed to test this hypothesis by ascertaining children's views in interviews and constructing an attitude test which can then be administered to a large enough group for statistical comparison. The initial problem here is in constructing a test so as to offer some type of objective assessment while at the same time avoiding the inherent circularity of test construction which uses preconceived concepts about language or culture.

3. Children taught by a multicultural and bilingual Approach will show better Test Results and a higher Level of Integration than Children taught by conventional Methods in Schools that offer no multicultural Teaching

It is proposed to test this hypothesis by comparing the English test results and Attitude results of groups of children drawn from the two types of school. Underlying assumptions here include the possibility of finding local education authorities that operate a comprehensive multicultural programme and the feasibility of measuring levels of integration.

### Study Design

The research took the form of experimental testing of performance and attitudes of a group of pupils of West Indian descent and a group of white indigenous English pupils. The distinction is made between these groups because factors are to be investigated which relate to language usage, race and ethnic origin.

The financial and time restraints imposed upon the study excluded the possibility of a longitudinal study or detailed observation techniques and individual interviews. It is therefore proposed to use group-administered tests within schools.

A sample was obtained of an age group suitable for an investigation of this kind. This required the maximum length of time spent within school prior to the age of intense specialisation.

An initial period of piloting test instruments and conducting interviews in schools was used to determine the most appropriate test applications. Adjustments to the tests as a result of findings from the pilot work will be described in detail as each account of one of the test instruments is presented.

It is hoped to be able to make a three-way comparison between groups. An experimental group was chosen on the basis of language

teaching methods and school practice of a multicultural approach.

This group comprised pupils of West Indian descent taught by methods most closely approximating multi-cultural Dialect-sensitive methods.

Two control groups were used comprising a white indigenous English group and a black group of West Indian descent, matching the experimental group as closely as possible for everything bar teaching method.

The limitations of the research are most greatly affected by the constraints of resources and time. It was not possible to draw a sample large enough, nor adequately dispersed through regions, to make any claims of being a representative sample. It is hoped, however, by use of the three-way comparison, to form clear indications of whether the outlined hypotheses are confirmed or not, for the sample used. It is also hoped to be able to extrapolate upon the findings to give some indication of the level of generalisation possible and the kinds of teaching methods to be recommended or otherwise based upon an investigation of those methods used.

#### Definition of Terms

For the purposes of this study, the following terms will be used with the definitions given:

- A pupil of West Indian descent (West Indian) will refer to a school child born in Britain both of whose parents have come from the West Indies. It will exclude white West Indians and black pupils who are not of West Indian descent. It will exclude children of mixed parentage.

- A pupil described as a white indigenous English child (English) will refer to a school child born in this country whose parents were born in this country and who is not identified by his or her teachers as other than a white English child.

Children who do not fall into either of the above categories, yet for some reason have been tested along with the above groups, will be excluded from comparisons between the experimental and black and white controls and will be so designated (Other).

CHAPTER FIFTEENTHE SAMPLE

Chapter Fifteen describes the means by which a sample was obtained for testing within schools and the criteria used for the choice of schools and age groups which were picked. The selection of two control groups for comparison with an experimental group selected from a particular borough is described.



### Selection and Description of Sample

This research is looking at the language usage, cultural attitudes and affiliations of children of West Indian descent. In choosing a sample, it was hoped to be able to find schools that employed a comprehensive programme of multicultural studies integrated into the curricula of the school, where teachers called upon to teach sizable proportions of children of West Indian descent would have acquainted themselves with any special grammar points needed for this particular group. Unfortunately this situation did not exist in any schools.

Some schools had employed short-lived Black Studies programmes, but these were beset with the problems of deciding whether they should be laid on as an option for black children only or carved into bits that would then be inserted into other lessons - for instance Caribbean islands appearing as part of Geography. Some schools' head teachers expressed the view that teaching about cultural differences only accentuated the problems that minorities encountered and that Black Studies programmes represented a form of racism in reverse.

While it was possible to find schools in the London area that incorporated parts of what might be considered a multicultural studies programme, these did not include any that paid special attention to language teaching and the English teachers responsible for teaching English language often expressed total ignorance about the linguistic features of West Indian Dialect. Some even explained in detail problems they encountered with language points (such as plural constructions and verb tenses), stating that they did not understand why their pupils had these difficulties and that their teaching efforts did not seem to be effective.

One borough outside of the ILEA-controlled schools employed a system approaching the ideal that would have allowed for maximum clarity

in experimentation. This borough, which had a large population of West Indian adults and children of West Indian descent, set up a scheme using a supplementary service of teachers who were seconded to the programme and attached to schools in the area. Nearly thirty teachers in all were employed to staff the service. They had various backgrounds in teaching but shared a common 'pool' of the supplementary service's approach. This included teaching materials featuring grammar points specifically designed to help children of West Indian descent overcome the differences between Dialect and Standard, and a very large selection of books on every aspect of culture. One afternoon each week all the staff attended the supplementary service centre for group discussions, seminars and their own education. Unfortunately, although all schools in the borough had children taught by the service's teachers at some stage (either primary or secondary) they did not operate a system whereby the service's approach was fully integrated into the school's educational system. Usually one classroom was set aside as a room for the supplementary service teacher, who then would teach groups of children of West Indian descent withdrawn from their mainstream classes for those lessons only. It was the aim of these teachers to see as many pupils of West Indian descent as possible, although the procedure for withdrawal was a matter of negotiation between the mainstream class teachers and the supplementary service teachers.

The education authorities in the borough, the supplementary service and the individual schools in which they operated agreed to allow the present research to be done in the borough schools. Schools were chosen which had an active service teacher operating at the time of the experimental work. Sixty two pupils were chosen for testing, drawn from four schools in the borough.

The age group chosen for investigation was twelve plus. Pilot work had indicated that this age group would allow for a high level of

cooperation while at the same time these pupils held adequately strong views on the issues of inquiry. During the pilot work, groups of children younger and older than this were also interviewed. Younger children found the conceptual approach of the attitude test too advanced for their level of maturity. They did not hold concepts of culture, even in the concretised form of the Attitude Test (which is broken down into views on music, literature, school and teacher liking, etc). Older children appeared to be strongly affected by peer group pressure (Barry 1989) and it was feared that responses would come out accordingly. Children tested during pilot work were asked questions about their views on Black Studies, West Indian music, and when conceptual words such as 'culture' were introduced into the discussion, these were used to draw out the pupil's own terminology and definitions. It was felt that the twelve plus age group was the most appropriate for the type of research in question.

These pupils readily offered concrete experiences of their own to back up their opinions when pressed. It was concluded that the age group was right for examining the concepts in the attitude questionnaire and that the items were of about the correct level for their understanding.

A control group of pupils of West Indian descent was chosen from schools as closely matched as possible for racial composition, SES, class size, and type of school. The schools operated no multicultural programmes, had no orientation to black studies and did not teach English with regard to Standard/Dialect differences. It was not possible to use schools in the same borough as the experimental group schools, because there was no school in that borough that did not either use the supplementary service at the secondary level, or take children from primary schools that used the service. In the control group schools, eighty five children were tested, comprising two groups. One group of pupils who

were English and not of West Indian descent was used as a control for English usage. The other comprised children of West Indian descent which would be used in addition as a control for the cultural studies.

An attempt was made to make sure that the sample was as evenly balanced as possible in terms of pupils' class size, background and sex. In one case, where the children available for a control group all worked in different streamed classes, it was necessary to draw equal numbers from each stream. This was the case in one out of the three schools used for the English non-West Indian language control.

The break down of the groups was as follows:

Total number of schools:	7
Total number of cases:	147
Experimental group:	62
Control group:	85

	<u>Experimental Group</u>			<u>Control Group</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>		<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
West Indian	33	29	West Indian	17	24
English	-	-	English	23	18
Other	-	-	Other	2	1
Total	33	29	Total	42	43
	62			85	

#### Assessment of Sample chosen

A random sample would have been logistically impossible for the type of study outlined. The choice of particular schools within one borough as an experimental group was determined by the lack of any programme of multicultural studies with an emphasis on English language in other schools. Even within this borough, the method of teaching children of

West Indian descent separate from other children, made the experimental group unusual.

It was necessary to rely upon the judgement of teachers and administrators with regard to the social class background of the children in the experimental group. Teachers and Heads were asked about parents' occupations and other background information and then an attempt was made to match schools as closely as possible for the control group.

Discussions were held first with officials at the Local Education Authority level to ascertain general information about schools in the area, and whether the local population matched that of the experimental group for social class, parental occupation, racial mixture and type of school organisation. Individual schools were then targeted and Head teachers approached to obtain further information about class size and structure and, if appropriate, to seek their permission for experimental work to be done in their schools.

It must be emphasized that the nature of the research was considered 'sensitive' by Head teachers and that this may well have influenced their willingness or otherwise to allow the research to be done. Furthermore, the responses of teachers within schools varied greatly. In the experimental schools, contact was initiated through the supplementary service teachers, so that Heads and other teachers were first approached by a staff member they knew. In the control group schools, the initial contact was made by the researcher following an introductory note or telephone call from the Authority official responsible for coordinating multicultural education or with special responsibility for immigrant groups. One school approached as a likely choice for the control group refused permission on the grounds of reorganization taking place at that time within the school.

It is possible that an element of self-selection was occurring, in

that schools that were agreeable to the research were willing to give permission and that others were not. However, since there was only one refusal out of eight schools pin-pointed as suitable and then approached, this was considered acceptable.

CHAPTER SIXTEENTEST DEVELOPMENT

Chapter Sixteen describes the process of developing the tools by which the data would be collected. A search was made for appropriate test instruments and, where necessary, special tests and questionnaires constructed as more appropriate for the specific area of research undertaken by the present study. The development and piloting of these tests is described in detail.

Discussion of Research Needs and Tests available

An investigation of the language usage of children of West Indian descent would require measures of Standard English mastery and, more specifically, a test of the language structures where differences between Standard and Dialect are believed to occur.

It was important to be able to classify pupils according to some measure of non-verbal mental abilities, so that comparisons could be made for language, given a particular level of non-verbal ability.

Since language was to be examined also in relation to cultural identification, it was necessary to seek some method of ascertaining a pupil's views regarding culture, language and related issues. It could then be determined whether any correlations existed between attitudes to language, culture and other factors.

Given that all of these measurements would have to be made under test conditions, and given that previous research had shown significant anxiety-related effects under test conditions (Watson, 1972), it was deemed necessary to include some measure of test anxiety in the battery.

Five tests were used to collect information, four of these being administered to pupils and one seeking information from teachers in the experimental schools. They are described in the following order:

1. The Cognitive Test
2. The Anxiety Test
3. The English Test
4. The Attitude Test
5. The Teachers' Questionnaire.

Tests constructed for the research are discussed in some detail.



## 1. The Cognitive Test

The NFER Non-Verbal DH Test was chosen as a measure of non-linguistic mental abilities. The advantages over other cognitive tests were that it was consistently non-verbal (with the exception of initial spoken instructions); it had not been used previously in any of the test schools, and it could be administered in a shortened form with other group tests.

Constructed in 1951, the non-verbal DH Test was standardized on a sample of 3,415 pupils aged between 10.08 and 11.10. In 1974, 9,785 children aged between 11½ and 12½ were tested for further standardization. New norms have since been established from experiments with older children aged between 14 and 15 years.

The test consists of 96 items in full (although reliable results can be obtained with a shortened version). Items are arranged in puzzles of two forms. One type consists of a large square with the lower right hand corner missing with a selection of smaller squares from which the appropriate fit must be selected, and the other a sequence of three or four drawings with the next one missing and a selection of five more from which the appropriate one must be chosen to continue the sequence.

The test items had been chosen after NFER trials on a representative sample of sixty boys and sixty girls whose average age was eleven years. The 96 items selected are arranged in approximate order of difficulty. Item Efficiencies were arrived at from the formula  $\frac{U - L}{100}$  where U and L were the percentages answering the item correctly in the upper and lower thirds respectively of the distribution of total scores.

The correlation between Non-verbal Test DH and Progressive Matrices (Raven) was found to be 0.81 (86 pupils). The latter test was used regularly by the schools in the experimental group to be tested, and was therefore not chosen because many pupils in this group would have been tested on it previously.

Reliability coefficients were calculated for the 10.06 - 12.00 and 11.03 - 12.09 groups. In the former groups, a value of 0.95 was obtained and in the latter group, a value of 0.94 was obtained, giving values of 3.4 and 3.6 respectively for standard errors of measurement. The Kuder-Richardson formulae were used for these calculations, (Guilford, 1978).

Experimentation on a shortened version of the test (64 items administered in 30 minutes compared to 96 items in 50 minutes) offered scores with a correlation of 0.983 between the two groups. The NFER therefore concluded that a shortened version was acceptable, although inspection of the completed scripts indicated that more time or fewer items would be better. The test is now frequently administered in a shortened form because of time problems when using several tests together.

Modifications to the NFER Non-verbal DH Test were undertaken for the research. Given the severe limitations on time for testing (a limitation determined by the amount of information under investigation and the testing limitations imposed by schools approached) it was decided to contain testing time on this particular test to a limit of 25 minutes. This allowed five minutes for practice items and 20 minutes for the test proper, a shortened version of the NFER test, including the first 32 items only of the test was used. A further five minutes was allocated for explanations of the test procedure.

It was noticed that among the items for testing, some of them contained numerical patterns, involving addition or subtraction, or at least recognition of sequences of numbers equally spaced apart. No information was available of testing according to individual item, apart from the initial construction of the test. It was therefore decided to allow for a separate scoring system that would enable scores on these numerical items to show. Analysis of the scores on these numerical items

would then indicate whether they differed from other items and therefore required separate treatment or whether they showed no significant difference in scores and then a cumulative total could be used. Apart from the numerical patterns, all other patterns in the test were composed of non-symbolic shapes.

## 2. The Anxiety Test

A questionnaire was constructed from an equally balanced set of 30 questions drawn from two extant types and interspersed. The questionnaire combines a test of manifest anxiety and a test of test anxiety.

The Children's Form of Manifest Anxiety Scale (CMAS) (1956), Castenada, McCandlers, Palermo, provided the items for the manifest anxiety part of the test. CMAS is composed of 53 items, combining physical and non-physical symptoms in the proportion of approximately one in six physical. Fifteen items were selected with a similar proportion. Lie items were not included. Some adjustment was made to create a balance of negative and positive responses. Items were also shortened and simplified in certain cases for the sake of clarity for the age group to be tested.

The situational anxiety part of the questionnaire was constructed from the Test Anxiety Scale for Children (TASC) (1960) which is based on questions probing children's anxiety about the schoolroom situation. These items were altered and rephrased to a small extent. Questions were reformulated as statements to which a child could express agreement or disagreement. The length of the statement was shortened where possible, since the questions were quite long. Expressions typical of an American classroom situation and American idioms were anglicized. Statements were phrased in a mixture of negative and positive forms.

The two tests were mixed in equal proportions for administration purposes, with the intention of scoring items separately so that a separation could be made in analysis offering an indication of a pupil's

anxiety level within his personality in general, and his anxiety level within the specific situation of being tested, since it was anticipated that the test battery used in the research might provoke anxiety.

The changes made to items drawn from the two tests (outlined in Appendix i) totalled twenty-six modifications. Seven items were changed from positive to negative statements and a reversed scoring system was introduced to compensate for this. The purpose of the change was to neutralise the test so that it was not so obviously based on anxiety levels.

Nine items were shortened for administration purposes. As the pupils to be tested were possibly to include poor readers, it was considered necessary to make items short and simple.

Three typically American expressions were replaced by English equivalents. Seven changes were made to single words or phrases to make them simpler. Other than this type of change, the only alteration made was to express questions as statements so that the final version was consistent throughout. It is felt that these were not substantive changes and that the character of manifest and test anxiety was retained through the combined items.

### 3. The English Test

#### 3.1 A consideration of available tests

English language tests were examined to find a suitable test that could show any differences between children of West Indian descent and white English children, with regard to their use of Standard English forms.

All the English Language tests examined proved to be unsuitable. Some were culturally loaded. Some were made up of sizeable parts that measured superficial language skills. Others contained a high proportion of language that would produce a bias in results

favouring children from backgrounds of high economic and social status. This latter defect could put West Indian children at a disadvantage, since the majority of the group in British schools available for testing come from lower SES backgrounds than their mostly white counterparts who formed the bulk of the samples from which the tests were constructed, (i.e. representative samples from all British schools).

A brief examination of the tests available suitable for the age group to be tested shows the scope of the problems encountered in test selection. Tests which typified a particular problem are mentioned in detail.

First of all, there was a problem of grammar content of the tests. Several tests measured performance upon language skills that for the purposes of the present research were inappropriate. The study is primarily concerned with structural skills. The Schonell Diagnostic English Tests (1971) reveal this defect of the test instruments for the particular research under consideration. The tests comprise a booklet of five tests suitable for the 9 plus to 16 plus age group, requiring one and a quarter hours to apply. Even when considered individually, the test series proved unsuitable. The second test measures a child's ability to use capital letters and to punctuate correctly. This was rejected on the grounds that it measured a grammatically unimportant language skill. The vocabulary test (third part of the series) was rejected on similar grounds. Vocabulary acquisition was not an important item under examination in the present research and it is also deemed to be reflective of the child's social background. The final section, a composition, was considered unsuitable for test purposes involving a measurement of specific grammar points. The first and fourth sections tested structure mastery in recognition of the correct

Standard English forms (Test One) and use of connective words and phrasing techniques (Test Four). The first raises a particular problem. Could recognition be the same as usage? It seemed doubtful that this should be approached so loosely for the testing purposes at hand. Nobody questions the ability of second and third generation children of West Indian descent to recognize Standard forms in most circumstances. It therefore seemed necessary to reject any tests based on recognition rather than reproduction. This was the case in 29 out of 54 items in Test One, and the total was scored together, making it difficult to select out items.

The weakness of Test Four was that the entire test was limited to an examination of the child's use of linking and connective expressions (and, but, when, which, who, after, etc.). In our examination of Dialect this particular characteristic of language was not in question as a possible different linguistic system from Standard English. Differences existed only with special items (e.g. relative pronoun).

A second problem involved the likelihood of bias based on class background or socio-economic status. Tests were examined with a view to considering whether they would be of the same difficulty for children of different home backgrounds. Several tests failed in this respect. An example of this type of bias was the reading comprehension test EH 1-3 no. 2 (S.M. Bate, NFER, 1970) which heavily favoured a reader accustomed to literary prose and vocabulary. It included words like: indentation, benumbing, fortitude, repine, symbolism, derision and lampoon. Of the eight passages chosen, three are extracted from prose that pre-dates the twentieth century. An advanced general knowledge (such as is acquired in middle class homes of particular types) would be of great assistance to a child - perhaps greater than specific language

skills - in selecting correct answers. For instance, passages included prose selections on shark-hunting and on the Turkish economy.

Apart from the bias of the overall passages themselves, the vocabulary items within them would favour a socially experienced child used to trips out in the countryside of the southern counties. Few inner city black children have encountered words like "thatch".

A greater problem than gradual levels of vocabulary recognition for general comprehension arose upon closer examination of the test item questions and selection of possibilities for multiple choice answers. Where the choice was beyond the knowledge of a child, that child was hampered to a point that could easily mask comprehension level of the original passage. An example from the test illustrates this point.

Silas Marner is "stunned by despair" according to one passage. The child is then required to pick a word to describe his mood, chosen from the following list: delirious/dubious/delighted/defiant/deeply dejected. All children would know the word "delighted". Those who had comprehended the passage adequately, would know that Silas was far from delighted. They would guess from the context (a fair test of comprehension) that Silas was very sad. But how would the child then proceed? From that point it would be a question of Russian Roulette for the lower SES child to continue. The odds then become three to one against a correct answer from a child who may have understood the passage adequately, yet didn't know the meaning of the four words from which he or she is required to pick an answer to show that Silas is sad.

Although all of the tests under discussion are considered suitable for the age group to be tested, upon examination many seemed to be too advanced for this group. This included the NFER English

tests, such as E, F2 and F3 suitable for ages 12.00-13.00, 12.00-13.06 and 12.09-13.08 respectively. Their suitability for the lower part of the age range was questionable in the case of children of more limited vocabulary or reading ability especially. Since it was not reading ability, but structural usage on a systematic level which was to be investigated, these tests were not selected.

An example illustrates the point. Vocabulary limitations would prevent a child from completing structural sections or would make a child guess randomly. A typical item of this kind was no.36 in EPT E (NFER, 1956): "The powerful fragrance on the magnolia was almost intoxicating/intensifying/infiltrating/integrating/intangible."

A similar problem though a slightly different one, was that of obsolescence. Some of the tests included sections based on a knowledge of proverbs. These items would appear to favour the child with access to a highly specialised source of information (perhaps grandparents or Victorian folk tales) and were considered suspect as a test of structural English. Perhaps they could better be described as Folk English, although some are regionally specific. A complicating factor was that many of these proverbs contained obsolete or at least very old-fashioned language. An example of this type of test item was EPT 2 (NFER, 1963) which contained eight separate questions based on proverbs with vocabulary including the words: glisters, hatchet, vessels, coronets and last (used as a noun). These proverbs obviously had to be known, and their meaning could not easily be guessed at by the most intelligent and linguistically sensitive child.

An examination of other English tests revealed one or another of these problems. They were either too advanced for the group to be tested, or biased towards the high SES child, or they were unsuitable on language measurement grounds in that they did not provide



a fair test of a child's ability to construct Standard English forms.

A number of tests designed to measure the English usage of non-English speakers at first sight seemed to overcome the latter problem, in that they appeared to be more conscious of asking the testee to select or construct a correct form. Unfortunately, they also contained a fundamental draw-back for the purposes of the testing needs of this research. Many of the forms that 'foreigners' are likely to be confused about would not affect a West Indian child.

Tests such as the English Proficiency Test Battery, devised by Alan Davies (1973), were typical of the measurement instruments of English learned as a foreign language. It included items based on European structures, for instance, example two of Test Four:

He drives very well,

1. yes?
2. Doesn't he?
3. isn't it?

This particular test was constructed from a sample of overseas students and would therefore need to be rejected for age group reasons. However, even age modifications of this type of test would still leave the difficulties of dealing with structures that could sensitively pick out an inadequate level of English for a European, but not for a child of West Indian descent, many of whose structures would overlap with Standard English on items difficult for a European, and show differences with both European and English items where these latter overlapped.

The solution to these problems appeared to lie in the NFER Tests of Proficiency in English (NFER 1973) designed specifically for immigrant children including Dialect speakers. Unfortunately, this series of tests had serious drawbacks. Norms for specific groups of children were not provided as it was not intended that the tests be used for comparative purposes. They also needed to be

administered individually, which was ruled out in the case of the present research because of restrictions imposed by the schools approached for testing, regarding time and space available. The tests had been constructed from and were intended for use on junior school age groups. Although initially this seemed to be an advantage, since the other English tests had appeared to be too advanced for the age group they were meant for, in the case of this particular test, the series was too elementary. This included its linguistic components.

### 3.2 Development of a new tests

#### i. Dialect features to be examined

A lack of suitable English tests able to ascertain the level of Standard English mastery of children of West Indian descent prompted the decision to construct a test that would attempt to do this. Such a test would have to consider specific points of difference between Dialect and Standard. A short resume of the Dialect features discussed in the Literature Survey follows:

- Nouns lack inflection to indicate number and lack the apostrophe's' typical of the anglo-saxon genitive.
- Pronouns lack case, sex and number indication. (Relative pronouns 'which' and 'that' are discarded and alternative forms are used for the indefinite pronouns 'thing' and 'person').
- Demonstratives are not used and an alternative system indicates number.

- Verb lack inflection to indicate tense, aspect and number.

There is no passive voice.

The copula is lacking in noun-adjective constructions which would use the verb 'To Be' in Standard English.

- Interrogatives are not signalled by word order inversion.

The do/does auxiliary is not used.

The research of V.K. Edwards (1976) found systematic differences between white English children and new arrivals from the Caribbean. She also found differences between new arrivals and children resident in Britain for several years. Her results (see pp.140-150) are summarised as follows:

KEY: Diff. = different  
 Sim. = similar results between groups, indicated by closeness or distance  
 C W T = Caribbean West Indian, new arrival  
 B W I = British West Indian, pupil resident in Britain  
 B = British

<u>Tense and Aspect</u>	Diff.	C W I
	Sim.	B W I
	Sim.	B
<u>Voice</u>	Sim.	C W I
	Sim.	B W I
	Diff.	B
<u>Morphology</u>	Diff.	C W I
(NB. includes possessives, Plural s, and 3rd person s)	Sim.	B W I
	Sim.	B
<u>Zero Copula</u>	Sim.	C W I
	Sim.	B W I
	Diff.	B

Dr Edwards concluded that in some cases, for instance Tense and Aspect, teachers were aware of differences and attempted correction. However, she pointed out that even when

the B W I and B scores were closer to each other than to the C W I scores, differences still remained. There were always some differences between British and West Indian scores.

ii. Test items based on Standard English features exclusive of Dialect

There are certain features of Standard English that do not exist in Dialect. It was therefore decided to construct test items where a Standard English clue would indicate the correct answer, and a pupil who wasn't sensitive to that language clue would be excluded from the information necessary to find the correct answer.

On this basis a 'Quiz' section of the test was specially constructed. It was based on the following language characteristics:

Question One was based on noun inflection to indicate plural endings (absent in Dialect). The 's' and 'es' endings, were both included. Question Two was based on verb inflection as a tense indicator (absent in Dialect). The item was constructed with different tenses. Question Three was based on sex and case indicators in pronouns (absent in Dialect). The item was constructed with pronouns indicating sex as an exclusive clue. Question Four was based on the anglo-saxon genitive apostrophe 's' (absent in Dialect). The item was constructed with two pairs of different genitives. Question Five was based on suffix differences which might offer some confusion. A word was chosen that children would be unlikely to know, and put in a context where it could be interpreted as a verb part or as an adjective.

Each test item was in the form of a question, the answer

to which relied on Standard English for essential information. Therefore, the Standard user would have a clue that was not available to the child who did not have a structural understanding of Standard English.

For example, the first question gave the child the following information:

"Cats in the garden, dog in the road and horses in the field."

The quiz question asked:

"Which place has the fewest animals?"

The 's' and 'es' endings would indicate plurality to a Standard English user only, thereby excluding the non-Standard user from information needed to answer the question correctly.

This 'Quiz' section of the test was piloted as it had been completely originally constructed. It was only possible to find a small group of children of the correct age at the time this particular item was being constructed. Six children of West Indian descent and six English children were tested. It was felt that this would be adequate to give an indication of suitability, overall comprehension and difficulty of individual words, though it would not offer adequately reliable results for statistical analysis. The results did show a slight difference between the West Indian and English children. On all except the third question, the English group got more right answers than the West Indian group. Forty-three per cent of correct answers were scored by West Indian children compared with 60 per cent by English children for the items taken as a whole. (See Appendix ii).

iii. Multiple choice items that require correct construction

It was decided to construct a section of the English Test that would offer pupils a selection of possible sentences where one choice would include a Dialect based 'error' and another would include an error that was not loaded to one or another culture or language form. The pupil would also be offered the third alternative of constructing his or her own sentence if neither of the offered ones "sounded right". The test covered a range of grammatical points.

The purpose of this section of the test was to see if children of West Indian descent would construct correct Standard forms when not offered them as a model. Therefore the selection excluded correct Standard forms except in one of the two examples that explained the test to the pupils. Most English tests examined had sought recognition from the child and any multiple choice items were restricted to that - having a choice between correct answers and errors. It is felt, however, that many children of West Indian descent can recognise Standard forms in situations where they might not be able to construct Standard forms if no model were available.

Eight items were used in the pilot, plus an introductory item which included the Standard form in the alternative offered. (See Appendix iii).

iv. Items based on relevant sections of extant tests

It was necessary to find basic test structures that could be changed and applied in a way that would pick out Standard/Dialect differences. In constructing the English Test, sections of NFER tests were drawn upon as models. Items were then devised according to the requirements of the research.

From E2 (NFER 1963) Questions 1-6 and 40-45 were used as models, and items were devised that would be appropriate for the research. The first series of questions tested pronoun usage in completing sentences. This is one aspect of English grammar that has been questioned in terms of the normal usage of West Indian children. The second series of questions were based on verb constructions when the infinitive was given. It was decided to include items based on these structures because verb tense inflection has also been noted as a difference between West Indian Dialect and Standard English.

A source of other test items was provided by the English Progress Test E (NFER 1956) Questions 11-16 which examined the pupil's ability to make plural forms using nouns, verbs, pronouns and adjectives given in the singular. Plural endings are absent in some Dialect usage, so this was isolated as a characteristic to check for differences in construction.

The English Progress F2 (NFER 1968) Questions 55-60 were studied as a model and a set of items was constructed whereby the pupil was asked to make abstract nouns or "more general words" from a series of words including verbs and adjectives. Three examples were given since it was anticipated that a number of the pupils tested would not know the terminology "abstract noun" and no simple synonym was available.

(The sections based on parts of NFER tests are outlined in Appendix iv with the required English responses filled in. A summary is also available.)

v. Development and use of comparative comprehension passages

Two passages were used for the comprehension section, one in Standard English and one in Dialect. Five questions were set

on each comprehension passage. The purpose of this section of the test was to see whether there would be a difference between the scores of West Indian and English pupils on the two tests. As this was a comparative, rather than absolute exercise, it seemed to be acceptable to test both groups on both passages and compare scores. It would not then matter if there were a slight difference in difficulty between the language structures of the two passages or the complexity of the questions asked. However, as far as possible, the two passages were chosen for being of a similar level of difficulty.

The English passage chosen was taken from Hildick (1969), pp.24,25. This is considered appropriate for the age-group to be tested. No changes were made to the text. Comprehension questions were made to correspond roughly to the complexity of those set for the other passage. The West Indian passage was taken from Squires (1969), p.27. The stories form part of a narrative comprehension course for second year pupils in secondary schools.

Time considerations precluded the use of oral tests where non-stimulated responses might occur. Hence the study did not examine children's non-conscious language associations.

#### 4. The Attitude Test

##### 4.1 Method of collecting item material

To probe the connection between language usage and cultural attitudes, it was decided to construct an attitude questionnaire that would attempt to question pupils about their attitudes to Standard English and Dialect, their opinions on English and West Indian culture, their views on the relationship between language and culture, their attitudes to school, teachers and the classroom situation, their feelings about themselves, their friendship group preferences and their reactions to family/school relations.



It was hoped to be able to ascertain whether there was a connection between these that could indicate possible relationships regarding pupils' use of Standard English and Dialect on the one hand, and their attitudes to the above factors on the other hand. While causality could not be implied from showing correlations between these factors, it did seem appropriate to seek out any patterns of view and behaviour shown by relating the Attitude Test to the English Test results.

The main problem faced in constructing this test was to aim for objectivity in creating measurable questionnaires whilst ensuring that the instruments designed were of the pupils' own making rather than being a projection of the researchers' personal hunches.

A somewhat laborious process was undertaken of going to schools, starting discussions based on fixed questions, tape-recording answers and debate, returning to construct statements from these, going back to schools with the statements, offering them to pupils for comment, adjusting the test instruments accordingly and then submitting them to further trial, first by a set of judges and then as a pilot questionnaire.

The research was seeking child-made definitions that could be translated into short single statements that allowed for agree/disagree responses. It was necessary to probe some comments made by pupils, although naturally, this was kept to a minimum to avoid prompting.

The tape recordings collected were a mixture of answers to set questions and 'unsolicited' comments. Children were never dealt with individually as it was felt that while the collection part of the process would be easier, the influence of the adult researcher in a one-to-one encounter would be overwhelming. Interviews were tape-recorded using groups of about six children each time.

The initial interviews proceeded as follows:

Q. What do you think of Black Culture?

A. What do you mean?

Q. Well what does it mean to you?

A. Well, things like reggae music, rastas.

A group discussion between the pupils was left to develop which often allowed for clarification of terms and sometimes also consensus as to a particular expression's meaning in current usage. It was a useful approach not only in the development of the test instrument, but also in allowing for an assessment of the pupil's level of understanding and strength of views. It was felt that it would be important to extract statements that allowed for a clear response and ones that did not mean different things to different people.

#### 4.2 Grouping items

An attempt was made to ascertain whether the children's statements could be grouped according to categories corresponding to those connected with the research hypotheses.

We were concerned with questions relating to language, especially the place of West Indian Dialect and Standard English within the child's general attitudes about language. We wanted to know about school results and therefore considered attitudes towards school, teachers and English to be important. We were considering the role of cultural affiliation and therefore wanted to have children's views on different aspects of culture, national and group identity. We wanted to examine how identity and self-esteem were involved in cultural attitudes or attitudes to language and therefore included categories like 'family', 'self' and 'peer group'.

Although there was overlap between statements, the following

shows the grouping of 77 statements drawn from the initial stage of interview discussions. Statements outside these groups were not included. In the case of repetitions, when different children produced the same formulation, an attempt was made to choose the shortest statement for inclusion.

### ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

#### ITEMS GROUPED IN COMPONENTS

(Race, England, West Indies, Standard, Patois, School, Teachers, Family, Parents, Peers, Self, Culture).

#### ATTITUDES TO RACE

White people like black people most of the time.  
 I like playing with black children more than with white children.  
 I prefer having black friends to white friends.  
 White children don't like playing with black children.  
 White children are nice but they don't like us.  
 White children think patois (West Indian Dialect) is stupid.  
 White children would sing better if they sang West Indian songs.

#### ATTITUDES TO ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

English people only like West Indians who eat English food.  
 If all English people were black, there wouldn't be any problems.  
 I don't like Britain.  
 I like English people, but not the police.  
 I like living in Britain.  
 English people should know about the West Indies.  
 England is better than the West Indies.  
 English people should eat more West Indian food.

#### ATTITUDES TO THE WEST INDIES AND WEST INDIAN PEOPLE

I'd like to live in the West Indies.  
 I don't like the West Indies.  
 West Indians should behave like the English.  
 West Indian parents beat children more often than English parents.  
 I want to learn about the West Indies in school.  
 My friends all like West Indian things.  
 I prefer the West Indians to the English.

#### ATTITUDES TO STANDARD ENGLISH

People who speak posh English aren't nice most of the time.  
 I'd like to speak like my teachers speak.  
 English is better than patois (West Indian Dialect).

ATTITUDES TO PATOIS

You shouldn't speak patois (West Indian Dialect) in school.

I like speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) at home.

I'd like to speak patois (West Indian Dialect) to be different.

My West Indian friends think patois (West Indian Dialect) is good.

ATTITUDES TO SCHOOL

I like being at school.

School is boring.

Some lessons make me want to run away from school.

I don't like school.

Schools are bad places for children to go to.

Schools should help black children more.

I'm always being picked on at school.

ATTITUDES TO TEACHERS

My teachers don't like the way I speak English.

Teachers should learn about the West Indies.

Most teachers don't like black children.

My teachers are always correcting my English.

I would like to be taught by black teachers.

My teachers wouldn't mind being black.

My teachers are very angry people.

My teachers are friendly people.

My teachers don't like me.

ATTITUDES TO FAMILY

I don't get on at home.

I like to spend week-ends with lots of family and friends.

My brothers and sisters are always picking on me.

ATTITUDES TO PARENTS (CONCEPT OF PARENTAL VIEW)

My parents like the West Indies better than Britain.

My parents are much more strict than my teachers.

My parents don't care about school.

My parents are always making me do homework.

My parents don't like speaking patois.

I like to spend week-ends with my parents.

My parents like Britain.

ATTITUDES TO PEERS

My school-friends are different from my friends at home.

My white friends like black music.

I like to be with my friends more than with my family.

ATTITUDES TO SELF

I like staying indoors.

I don't like being asked questions in class.

I do lots of nice things on the week-ends.

Other children don't like me very much.

There are lots of happy things to do.  
 Most people in school like me.  
 I like to get outside as much as possible.  
 I'm always bored.  
 Playing with friends is a waste of time.  
 I'm unhappy most of the time.  
 There are lots of things I like to do after school.

#### ATTITUDES TO CULTURE

I like English stories better than West Indian stories.  
 I like English food better than West Indian food.  
 English music is better than West Indian music.  
 I like West Indian music better than English music.  
 I like eating West Indian food.

The best thing about Black Culture is reggae music.  
 Speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) is part of Black Culture.  
 They should teach black studies in school.

The definitions were put into simple statements for pilot testing on groups of pupils from schools in different areas in order to ascertain whether terminology was adequately general as to be current in several geographical areas.

The list of 77 items was sent out to a panel of judges consisting of educationalists, West Indians, English teachers, bilingual specialists and teachers in schools with large proportions of children of West Indian descent who regularly taught children of the age group to be tested (twelve plus). Along with the list a covering letter (see Appendix v) asked the judge to note firstly whether a particular item was such that a twelve year old West Indian pupil would hold strong views on it, and secondly whether the item was couched in language that pupils of that age group could understand.

Of thirty panel questionnaires sent out, twelve were returned completed. These twelve judges comprised:

- 2 secondary schools teachers (in London schools with a high proportion of black children),
- 1 trainee educational psychologist,
- 1 West Indian community worker (specialist in multi-racial

2 research officers (specialists in attitude studies),  
1 black psychiatrist (specialist in child development),  
1 West Indian student teacher,  
4 language teachers (specialists in English as a Second  
Language).

As a result of the comments and suggestions, some minor alterations were made. However, the consensus of the judges was that the items would be both understandable and of a nature to elicit strong views of agreement or disagreement.

After the questionnaire had been adjusted upon the recommendations of the panel of judges, it was piloted on a group of children of West Indian descent attending a large comprehensive school in the borough in which the main testing was to take place. This group of children was of the age-group to be used in the main experiment.

They were told that the questionnaire was to see how they really felt about things. They were advised that there were no right or wrong answers, but that all answers were right if that was how they felt. They received the assurance that their answers would only be seen by the test administrator, and the only explanation concerning the nature of the test that was offered was that it was necessary for a research project. The pupils were asked if they were willing to help by answering the questionnaire and it was explained that this was neither compulsory nor in any way connected to their school.

It was only possible to obtain a sample of 16 pupils at the time of the testing of the pilot; however this group of 16 included all students asked as none of the group refused to participate.

Each statement was read aloud to the pupils tested while they followed the words by reading, so as to minimise any misunderstanding of the statement due to poor reading ability. Pupils then ticked one of two boxes to show their agreement or disagreement with the statement.

At the end of the testing period, pupils were asked for their comments about the items in general, whether they felt the statements were pertinent, and whether any items were unclear in meaning. Their comments were noted and provided further elements of adjustment in the final test instrument. In particular, pupils were asked such things as their use of the words 'patois', 'dialect', 'Jamaican' and 'black culture'. This was done to ascertain whether these expressions were in common current usage among the age group to be tested, since such terms tend to have a short life-span.

The data was programmed using the SPSS package, checked for variables receiving absolute number of agree/disagree responses and then a list was compiled of items receiving one or less response agree/disagree, with the intention of removing most of these items, as recommended by Edwards, (1957), p.14.

Items receiving absolute agreement or disagreement from the 16 (all West Indian) pupils, were as follows:

I like West Indian music more than English music	(all agreed)
English people only like West Indians who eat English food	(all disagreed)
I do lots of nice things on the week-ends	(all agreed)
My parents don't care about school	(all disagreed)
English music is better than West Indian music	(all disagreed)
They should teach black studies in schools	(all agreed)
I want to learn about the West Indies in school	(all agreed)
Schools are bad places for children to go to	(all disagreed)

Items receiving one or less positive or negative response totalled 19 out of 77. These were then studied and the following were removed, retained or amalgamated and adjusted to 'depolarise' the statement. (For the full list see Appendix vi).

Items No. 32 and 51 received no support amongst the pilot sample group. They were retained, however, because it was considered important to maintain a selection of items that sought to identify a small but distinct minority group that might express opposing views or represent a significant current amongst the larger population of the experimental group. Under particular consideration were the possibilities of culturally 'detached' pupils and individuals who selected aspects of more than one and possibly opposing cultures. There was also the consideration of the misfit pupil, unhappy at home and at school, who might represent a very small proportion of any group to be tested.

Item No.4 was retained (though it received only one dissent) to seek out a cultural minority among parents who might prefer Britain to the West Indies. This had been found to be the case in research carried out previously, based on interviews with groups of West Indian parents (Vorhaus, 1976).

Item No.76 was retained (though it only received one contrary view) to allow for the identification of a possible small group of unhappy children whose outlook on other questions and whose scores on tests might well be affected by their state of mind.

Items 26, 40 and 46 were retained (despite their overall endorsement) to seek out a possible minority who identified with a racially different group. This phenomenon had been noticed in group discussions with West Indian children where there might be one black punk rocker amongst a group of twenty reggae fans, who criticised that pupil for 'white' taste in music. It was considered important to include items that would attempt to sift out the difference between this type of 'taste' difference and the phenomenon of identification with the high status dominant group - studied and tested by David Milner (1971) in testing the self-concept of black children.



Items 43 and 61 were retained because they were pertinent to language considerations and might unveil a subtler degree of differentiation as yet not identified from the pilot. The research concerns itself with motivation for using patois as much as with the mechanics of language forms used.

Items 5 and 37 were retained to seek out the possible minority group of pupils dissatisfied with school and to differentiate possible 'school' unhappiness from general unhappiness. Since the research concerns itself with the performance of children of West Indian descent in school, and was initiated because of comparatively low performance by this group, it seemed pertinent to show whether school-liking was a relevant factor amongst this group.

The amended list, with original item numbering for ease of reference is appended (vi).

A Factor Analysis was run on the Attitudes of the pilot group in order to get an initial impression of the types of set of attitudes that might occur together. This could not be used as evidence for the research since it had been possible to obtain only sixteen subjects for piloting purposes.

Nevertheless, the analysis offered a feeling for the attitude groupings that might be expected to go together, and it did seem to be the case that marked sets of attitudes were being recorded. The high loadings (including hybrids that loaded on two factors) are shown first, followed by the high positive and negative loadings of the first factor. Where a hybrid is included, indication is made of the other factor upon which that variable loads highly and whether positively or negatively. (See Appendix vii).

The pros and cons of using factor analysis as a technique, and the particular use of factor analysis upon the Attitude Test, are discussed later in the description of the administration of the

Attitude Test to the main experimental group.

#### 4.3 Interpretation of factor structure

A clear polarity of pro-English views and anti-West Indian views emerged as the dominant character of Factor I although this seemed to be combined with the single anti-school variable No.15 with a high loading.

With regard to the issue of patois and children's identification with the West Indies or Britain, the attitudes to patois were loading on more than one factor in several cases and it was difficult to obtain a clear picture of attitudes towards patois in the context of other factor items. Factors One, Two, Three and Four contained 'hybrid' items that referred to patois.

It was not possible to obtain a much better estimate of possible groupings of attitudes from other factor structures formed by altering the number of factors upon which variables could load, and hand rotation was not improving the clarity of interpretation by very much. Given that the numbers in the sample were so small, it seemed better to proceed with the main experiment on a sample size that could properly be used for analysis

#### 5. Teachers' Questionnaire

It was decided to seek information from pupils' teachers regarding abilities, performance, attitudes and behaviour over a number of issues, for each pupil tested. It was hoped that this would offer additional data not available through school records.

Questions were asked about Maths and English to show relative performance, and also language ability and language usage. Questions were asked about pupils' interest in other cultures and races and their behaviour

in respect of pupils of other races and cultures. While it is understood that teachers may not know these things about all their pupils, it was hoped that they might offer comments about pupils' observed behaviours which could contribute information different from the expression of attitude made by the pupils themselves.

It was further hoped that the information or lack of it offered by teachers would give some indication of their own level of involvement in school affairs beyond the simple requirements of subject teaching. In this sense, the questionnaire was also seeking information about how well and in what way teachers knew the pupils they taught (See Appendix viii).

This questionnaire was based on questionnaires developed by Dr. S.M.K. Barry, of the Department of Education, Brunel University.

The Teachers' Questionnaire was seen as a back-up tool for the process of interviewing form teachers, specialist teachers and Head Teachers to get accurate information about the sample.

Since school records did not contain information about race or ethnic origin, it was necessary to obtain this from teachers. The questionnaire involved a laborious process of filling in information about each child, but this was considered important, especially in the case of the experimental group which was expected to be responsive to the cultural enrichment of the special programme taught to that group.

CHAPTER SEVENTEENTEST PROCEDURES

Chapter Seventeen describes the administration of the tests after presenting the opinions of the children who were tested. Since the research concerns itself with the attitudes as well as the academic performance of pupils, it seemed appropriate to let them speak for themselves, not only on the issues involved, but also on the procedures applied for extracting information from them.

CHILD'S EYE VIEW

'Objective research' is often accepted as binding because it uses tests whereby results can be presented as scientific 'proof' of something: the hard evidence of corroborative data to support a claim or confirm a hypothesis. 'Subjective research' is often dismissed as inherently unscientific, based as it is upon the suppositions or individual observations of the researcher and lacking any support from experimental practice.

There is not such a great gulf between them, however. Tests are extraordinarily fallible. There is no guarantee that they measure what they claim to measure. Questionnaires have an inbuilt circularity, seeking data from respondents according to the construct of the seeker. Interviewers cannot neutralize their own identity. Even sex or race may affect results.

The struggle for experimentally checkable research has meant that tests must force the respondents' answers into neat patterns which can be analysed. Unfortunately, this means that the respondent's breadth of expression is curtailed by the predetermined model of the experimenter. Little is known of the respondents' attitudes towards testing or the content of the test.

The present study contains a piece of 'objective research' whose results will be described. Hopefully, its limitations will also be clearly stated. It sought the opinions of children on questions of race, language, school-liking, culture and other issues, and it subjected them to prolonged testing. It seemed appropriate to let them have their own say on what they really thought about this whole procedure before the presentation of these test results.

CHILDREN'S COMMENTS

Pupils were encouraged to make any comments they wished by writing on their test papers. They were also given the opportunity of writing a short statement after the testing. If they wished to do this they were offered a separate sheet of paper and told that they could put their name or leave it blank; that anything they had to say was important to the researcher and would help her work; that she particularly wanted to know what they thought of the tests, what they thought the researcher was doing in their school, and their opinions about things they considered important. It was stressed that if they wanted to say something rude, this might be as helpful as saying something nice if it was their opinion.

What follows is a selection of comments drawn from the 'essays' written by 65 pupils. Although it was an open-ended invitation, the various prompts about the test, (the research mentioned above) meant that many of the pupils covered these points in their essays. Other categories of replies are also reported, however. The responses have been grouped in categories and sometimes (where pertinent) divisions of remarks into ethnic groups are made to show differences or similarities worthy of comment.

Naturally this group of 65 essays is a highly selective sample. It is assumed that only the pupils who felt strongly one way or another about an issue or issues raised by the testing, would bother to stay and write an essay after a prolonged period of testing. They are also the group with the most time to respond, as they were on the whole the pupils who either finished early or on time but excluded pupils who were struggling to complete their other papers. They are probably also the pupils for whom writing came more easily than others.

Data are not complete on the group as some of the pupils chose not to put their names. All that could be known in some cases was the

school, and possibly sex or ethnic origin if it was a single sex school or a group of exclusively one ethnic origin.

Of the 65 pupils, 25 were of English indigenous origin, 20 of West Indian origin, 19 of other origin and the ethnic origin of one is not known. Thirty seven of the group were girls and 28 were boys. As the researcher is female, it is possible that the preponderance of responses from girls was due to identification, although it may well be due to other reasons - possibly that girls of that age group (12 plus) are keener writers than boys. At any rate, as these comments are included as a new view of the form and content of the tests, and not as statistical evidence, it is hoped that any bias will be taken as a given and the results weighed up accordingly.

(Children's own spelling is retained throughout quotations).

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"CHILDREN DON'T OFTEN GET A CHANCE TO EXPRESS THEIR IDEAS"

---

Thirty three pupils commented that they enjoyed doing the test and responses varied in enthusiasm from mild approval to great enthusiasm. All three ethnic origins expressed themselves in similar ways, and there were approximately equal numbers of each group amongst those who made comments showing liking for the tests. Responses of enjoyment from the three groups included a few variations.

The indigenous English group included remarks typified by the following comments:-

"I liked doing it"

"The test was quite fun to do"

"It was very different from our exams in school".

All three groups included some comments about the tests being fun or different.

The pupils who were neither of West Indian descent nor English (for ease of reference to be called Others) included some comments of very mild approval:-

"The test was alright"

"The test was OK",

and some extended comments about the novelty,

"I think it was very good because children don't often get a chance to express their ideas".

The group of West Indian descent responded in a similar way to the indigenous English group:

"I enjoyed it"

"It was fun to do"

"It was different".

---

"I THOUGHT IT WAS RUBBISH"

---

Seven pupils stated that they did not enjoy the test or like doing it. All three ethnic groups were included among these. Responses were within the categories typified by the following comments:-

"It is a waste of time"

"It was boring"

"I thought it was rubbish".

Amongst this group, one pupil stated that it was boring because it was too easy:-

"Could've been better if the questions were sufficiently difficult",

another wrote that the test was:-

"a bit boring because it was hard".

Enjoyment of the test or non-enjoyment of it was separated where possible from the question of whether or not pupils approved of the test



or of testing, as it was felt that some children might like or dislike the tests themselves or the physical process of doing the tests, yet hold a different set of opinions about the slightly separate issue involving their approval (or otherwise) of the research.

There seemed to be a balance of ethnic origins amongst the likers and dislikers and no notable difference in the type of remark each group made both within likers and dislikers. A slightly different picture emerged from an examination of responses indicative of approval or disapproval of testing.

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"THEY SHOULD DO MORE TESTS LIKE THIS TO FIND OUT CHILDREN'S VIEWS ABOUT COLOUR"

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The 15 pupils who included statements of approval of the testing were mostly of indigenous English origin or of West Indian descent. Only two 'Others' made such comments and these were restricted to simple statements of approval:-

"It was a very good idea to stage this test".

Both the West Indian and English groups included remarks indicating why they approved:-

"I wish more people would carry out more tests like this to find out what people think about each other".

(Indigenous English child)

"They should do more tests like this to find out children's views about colour".

(child of West Indian descent).

Within the general category of approval, a number of remarks showed a certain mildness of response that may have been simply out of politeness:-

"The test was good", and

"not doing any harm at all".

It may be assumed that the general preponderance of positive remarks outweighing negative ones includes not a few of this type.

On the other hand, remarks also included strong expressions about issues that were in the same essays as remarks of approval for the tests:-

"It's a good thing you are doing and more tests should take place".

The issues underlying the testing would have become evident to pupils during the last section of the tests (the Attitude Questions) and it may well be that this enthusiasm is related to the pupil's attitudes.

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**"YOU SHOULD NOT ASK PRIVATE QUESTIONS"**

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While only 8 pupils expressed disapproval of the testing, their opinions were strong, clear and worthy of serious consideration. They included 5 pupils of English ethnic origin, 3 'Others' and no pupils of West Indian descent.

One consideration raised by children was the issue of investigating matters they considered private or personal:-

"I don't think it's anyone's business about my personal views", and

"The questions were far too personal".

Another consideration they raised involved responding to statements that required a comment indicating their view about a friend's attitudes:-

"Some of the questions about your friends needed to be confirmed by them".

These pupils felt reluctant to give an opinion about anyone else's views, and did not like being asked to guess the attitudes of others.

Most of the criticisms or reservations involved two parts of the tests, the Anxiety Questionnaire and the Attitude Questionnaire. An examination of the essays revealed clear groupings of opinions on these sections of the tests.

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"I LIKED THE END BIT BEST"

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Of the 31 pupils making some kind of remark about separate sections of the test, the largest number commented on the last part, the Attitude Questionnaire, and most preferred that part to the other sections, although criticisms were often included amongst positive approval. For instance, a pupil who approved of the test overall and specifically mentioned the Attitude Questionnaire as a "good thing", also stated:-

"Sometimes you can come across some embarrassing questions especially in the West Indian part".

Many pupils seemed to be a bit conflicted in their attitudes to the last section. They were not accustomed to being asked to make comments about things they considered personal. Nevertheless, while noting that it was personal, many said that they liked this:-

"I like the part where you have to tick your opinions of sentences which were given, because it was personal".

There were some objections to the parts about the things to do with West Indians or the West Indies:-

"The questions about the West Indies I didn't like",  
(child of 'Other' group)

and "They asked too many questions about black people".  
(white indigenous English child)

There were no reservations, however, about the personal bits concerning teachers or school:-

"I like the parts where you tick the box if it ask you personal things about school".

This remark was typical of several comments about the school-related statements, coming from all three ethnic origins.

The Attitude Questionnaire was constructed with a choice of agree and disagree responses but no middle ground, forcing pupils to choose between quite strong statements. Some balked at this and stated in their essays that they would have liked the opportunity to indicate a middle position:-

"For some of the questions the answer could have been 'sometimes', but instead I had to put yes or no".

Many pupils answered the Questionnaire with agree/disagree ticks and then wrote "sometimes" or similar qualifiers beside their answers. Other pupils approved of the Questionnaire's format, however:-

"It made people put what they really thought about different things".

Another pupil raised the semantic difficulty of the Attitude Test, which required a disagree response in all cases except agreement with the statement - thus including lack of information with lack of a strong positive opinion:-

"A lot about the West Indians and patois and West Indian music to which I had to disagree to because I really don't know much about them".

(Asian child)

The difficulties of having a test that was primarily aimed at seeking information from and about pupils of West Indian descent and comparing them to their white English indigenous counterparts, yet which was necessarily administered to considerable numbers of children outside these two cultures, such as the Asian children tested, were not overcome by the present research. While some of the Asian children had

stated that they answered the questions as if they were West Indian, and others appeared to be less interested by this last section of the tests, it was a West Indian child who objected most strongly on their behalf:-

"Asian children are eliminated from the exam completely".

Or, as an Asian child put it:-

"Some parts were nothing to do with me".

However, most of the 'Other' category pupils who commented about this section of the test, said that they liked it.

---

"SOME OF THE PATTERNS WERE A BIT RUBBISH"

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With regard to the first section, the Non-verbal DH pattern test of the NFER, pupils seemed to feel strongly one way or the other if they made any comment. On the whole, pupils who achieved high scores said that they found the test easy, and those who said they found it hard were amongst the lowest scorers - although this is just amongst pupils who wrote statements about the testing afterwards, a limited number when compared to the numbers taking the test.

"The picture test was easy".

(child of West Indian descent scoring 30/32  
on DH test)

"The puzzle bit was harder than the questions".

(child of West Indian descent scoring 11/32  
on same test).

Comments expressing liking or disliking for the DH Non-verbal Test were often related to pupils' experience of ease or difficulty, except for some who thought it was boringly simple.

---

"THE WRITING PART WAS MORE HARDER"

---

Given the mixed ability of the pupils tested overall and the difficulty that a number of pupils experienced with English or with writing, there was a notable problem with keeping groups together during group administration of tests. Presumably brighter and more literate children were finishing early and a number of children who had difficulty reading instructions and writing, were trailing behind. Although ample time was given for these pupils to finish the tests (other than the timed NFER non-verbal test), they must have been under pressure from other children finishing early and getting restless. Some pupils appeared to be working slowly but thoroughly and this was reflected in statements made by pupils:-

"Some of the questions it took time  
to answer because I am not bright at English".

(pupils of West Indian descent)

The English Test required the greatest elasticity in coping with extremes of competence in written English:-

"The writing test was too easy".

(Indigenous English child)

"Some of the questions I found bit too  
hard to answer".

(pupil of West Indian descent).

One pupil who had great difficulty with the English instructions (a Turkish child with a limited command of English) also noted the difficulty with other parts of the test:-

"I got mixed up in turu and faus". (true and false)

This comment surely must make us cautious in accepting the results of the so-called non-verbal tests which contain written instructions to the pupils.

---

"TEACHERS WILL TREAT BLACK CHILDREN LIKE DIRT"

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Teachers came in for a lot of stick in children's comments about the issues underlying the testing. Several of the Indigenous English and West Indian pupils made comments about presumed attitudes of their teachers, although none of the 'Other' category made any comment with regard to attitudes about race.

"There is one thing that I do not like is that teachers will treat black children like dirt".

(white English pupil)

"I think a teacher should be able to tell you off and not hold a grudge against you for the rest of the term, like some do".

(Ethnic origin not known)

One comment from a pupil of West Indian descent who was critical of school indicated some of the underlying stress that black children in predominantly white-run schools experience:

"Think about what teachers do if they suddenly turn Black in the night and come to school".

---

"BLACK CHILDREN SHOULD NOT HAVE ANY PRORATY"

---

Four indigenous English pupils made comments about the tests which indicated that they were conscious of the emphasis of the tests weighing on the West Indian side of the balance. One hastened to point out that she was not a racialist:-

"The tests find out if we are prejudiced to West

Indian and coloured children, I, personally am not",

although she considered that:

"many criticize the black both British and West Indians".

Another pupil stressed that equality of treatment should override any compensatory approach:-

"I think black children should not have any proraty over white children they should not be taught patois or favoured in any way what so ever. They should be treated like us".

There was also a comment expressive of the 'assimilationist' stance:-

"The test seemed very preudice against the English. I am very proud of my country and our culture and Blacks should learn to be like us".

---

**"THEY THINK BLACK PEOPLE MAKE TROUBLE"**

---

Six pupils of West Indian descent made comments about race, racialism or race differences and related issues. Such types of remarks were of the following variety:-

"I don't see any right for anyone to criticize the blacks both British and West Indian".

Another pupil offered an explanation of the presumed racialism:-

"Some people are prejudiced because they think black people make trouble".

One pupil commented on her attitudes to whites:-

"I wouldn't mind helping white people because I just think of them as my sisters".

The slightly greater number of comments of this type from the black pupils (6 compared to 4 both sympathetic and unsympathetic from the white indigenous English pupils and none from the 'Others') found a corresponding



set of suggestions for increasing racial harmony coming from black pupils, but not from either the white indigenous English or 'Other' pupils. The positive category of suggestion was typified by the following comment:-

"They should have more black television programmes on the telly".

It is, of course, open to interpretation as to whether the white indigenous English group considered itself to be under fire as a race and therefore felt defensive and resistant to these types of considerations, or whether the black pupils were simply more interested in the question of changing race relations.

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"WHAT ME AS A PERSON THOUGHT ABOUT COLOUR"

---

Twenty pupils made comments about what they thought the tests were for. They showed some degree of understanding of at least part of the tests' purposes. Since very little information was given out until testing had been completed, it was important to try to ascertain how much information was gleaned from the introductory remarks or from the test content. Children appeared to get most information from the last section which contained 70 statements of attitudes about language, culture, race etc. Hence comments like:-

"... Trying to find out children's views about people's colour and what they do in there countrys and I think they should do more tests like this".

(white indigenous English child)

"... goes strait to the point and what me as a person thought about colour and the place I live so I found the test interesting".

(pupil of West Indian descent).

Several children held the opinion that the tests were designed somehow to offer help to black children:-

"They are to try and help West Indian children in speech and writing and work".

(white indigenous English child)

"I think the student are here to help the black people".

(pupil of West Indian descent).

It is noteworthy that the first of these remarks was made by a pupil in the control group taken from the experimental schools, where there may well have been a heightened awareness of the issues, given that the supplementary teachers were operating in the schools with a special programme for West Indian pupils.

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"I DO NOT KNOW WHAT MISS IS HERE FOR"

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Eleven pupils included comments in their essays that indicated that they did not have any clues as to why the research was being done, or what issues were involved in it. Typical responses varied from comments like:-

"Something to do with International Year of the Child",

to comments indicating some type of competition:-

"The test is for who is the school with the birainyest children".

---

"I LIKE IT BECAUSE WE GOT OUT OF SCIENCE"

---

Three pupils made some statement about missing other lessons in order to take the tests. One child was unhappy about the particular lesson missed and suggested an alternative:-

"I am a bit disappointed because it was in our science lesson and I enjoy science, I think it should have been in R.E."

The other two children seemed relieved to miss Science:-

"It was getting out of science and I liked it".

#### Test Administration

The tests were administered to the pupils in groups after an initial introductory chat when pupils were told that the testing was important for some research and that their answers were confidential and would be seen by nobody at school and in fact only the researcher would be allowed to look at their scripts. They were asked not to talk to each other or compare notes, just like in a school test, and were reassured that no marks or reports would be kept about them since the research ultimately was interested in the responses of many pupils and not just individual responses. They were told that the testing was voluntary and that their assistance would be greatly appreciated. One girl from the experimental group decided not to take the tests and one boy in the control group did not take part because his parents had raised objections. Since it was necessary to make some explanation about the nature of the tests, given that the Attitude Test was explicitly about race and black culture, and yet also essential to exclude information that would affect pupils responses, a prepared statement on the above lines was used each time for the introductory chat. Pupils were allowed to ask questions about the tests before starting, with the proviso that some questions

couldn't be answered until afterwards in case it spoilt the testing. In each case an offer was made to come back to the school after the final testing and answer any questions left over or talk about the research. Teachers' cooperation was also important, and forthcoming. Teachers were asked to allow the researcher to administer the test, and it was explained that during the Attitude Test it would be preferable if they could absent themselves from the room completely since the test was quite sensitive about school and teacher liking. After every testing session pupils were asked if they had any further questions or wanted to say anything about any of the tests. Many pupils took up this offer and a discussion followed the end of the testing period.

#### Sequence and Timing

The order of testing was as follows. The NFER Non-verbal Test was administered first as this was considered the most taxing, being a race against the clock. Class periods varied in length from 35 to 45 minutes, so the division of time and approach necessarily varied for the administration of the other tests. The English Test followed, sometimes after a break, and this usually took within 35 minutes to administer. Pupils were told that they could work on their own if they wished to read the instructions to themselves and continue at their own pace, or wait for the researcher to read each section's instructions and give them time to answer the questions. They were then told to leave gaps if they hadn't finished a particular section and turn over for the next section, to go through that with the researcher and fill in gaps afterwards. This was to give less able readers the opportunity to look at each section with the aid of spoken instructions. The Attitude Questionnaire followed after the initial instructions and explanation had been read aloud. Then each statement was read aloud and pupils ticked boxes

as appropriate.

After the last scripts had been collected, pupils were given the opportunity to ask any questions they wanted and these were answered as accurately as possible. If pupils finished early they were asked to write something about what they thought of the tests. In several schools, children took up this latter suggestion with great enthusiasm. In another school, some boys (all of whom were white pupils from the same school as one of the experimental groups) became involved in a discussion about the test and about racism. They informed the researcher that some parents of white children were in the National Front, and that the researcher should be testing parents and not pupils, because the parents didn't grow up with black children in the same schools, and therefore weren't used to them.

Children's perceptions of the testing varied but they did seem to have an understanding that the tests were connected in some way with race relations at the school level, as reported previously from children's written responses.

A teachers' questionnaire was given to the teachers and, where possible, completed with them. In other cases it was necessary to leave the forms with teachers and return to collect them. An attempt was made to get the questionnaires back before final testing so that they would be properly completed. Returns were obtained from all but one school, so that teachers' information about 9 pupils is missing from the experimental group.

CHAPTER EIGHTEENRESULTS

Results are presented of the five tests administered, the scripts having been checked for errors and an error estimate calculated (results of which are presented in Appendix xxi). Techniques of analysis are described and results are discussed in the light of assumptions made from the hypotheses concerning anticipated findings.

## 1. Cognitive Test Results

Results of the cognitive test (NFER DH) were expected to show similar scores for the experimental group and the West Indian control group, and a close but possibly slightly higher set of scores for the English control group.

Mean scores for the three groups were not as anticipated, however, the experimental group obtaining significantly lower scores than either of the controls. (See Appendix ix).

It was clear that on the Non-verbal DH tests, which reflect some kind of non-verbal mental ability involving pattern recognition, the groups were showing a marked difference. Although the overall mean score of the combined West Indian groups was high enough to be comparable to the English control group, it was being dragged down by the lower score of the experimental group. The English control group mean score was peaking over a somewhat skewed distribution - probably because the upper end of the test was too easy for this group to reflect the spread of scores necessary for a normal distribution. But at least it showed just one peak. The lowest mean of 17.4 for the West Indian experimental group masked a split distribution with a highly abnormal curve - showing that the population was probably not homogenous.

## 2. Anxiety Test Results

The scores of the experimental group and the two controls were compared using the T-Test of significance.

Results were as follows:

<u>Group</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Mean Score</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	
Experimental (Pupils of West Indian descent)	62	12.8	5.7	N.S.
West Indian Control (Pupils of West Indian descent)	41	10.9	6.2	N.S.
English Control (White indigenous English pupils)	41	11.4	5.7	

N.S. =  $p > 0.05$

While the mean score of the experimental group was slightly higher than that of the other two groups, the difference in score was not statistically significant, and there was a negligible difference between scores of black and white pupils. No further analysis was conducted on group results for this test.

### 3. English Test Results

The cognitive test had indicated that something was affecting experimental group scores. The mean of the group was lower than both the control group means and there was a noticeable bi-modal distribution.

Similar trends were reflected in the English results. Both the 'Correct answer' scores, which were based on awarding one mark for every correct answer, and the 'Aggregate score' based on a weighted scale which awarded partially correct answer marks as well as correct answer marks, showed a clear difference between groups.

Whereas significant differences were anticipated between both West Indian groups and the English control, and slight differences between the West Indian experimental and control groups, results actually indicated a greater difference between West Indian groups than expected. (See Appendix x).



Comparison of Cognitive Test, Anxiety Test and English Test Results

A comparison was made between groups, using the T-Test of Significance for scores on the above three tests. (See Appendix xi).

It would appear that the difference between the scores of the experimental group and those of each control group on the non-verbal DH Test reflected some quality that was also affecting results for the English Test (though not for the Anxiety Test).

Although the means and standard deviations were close enough on the DH results for a comparison between the West Indian control group and the English control group for other tests, this was not the case for a comparison between the West Indian experimental group and either the West Indian control group or the English control group.

Given that the supposedly 'neutral' test - the non-verbal DH - was showing such a marked difference between groups, and given that this was designed to be used as the anchor for comparison with the other tests, it was necessary to try to off-set the extreme differences of score.

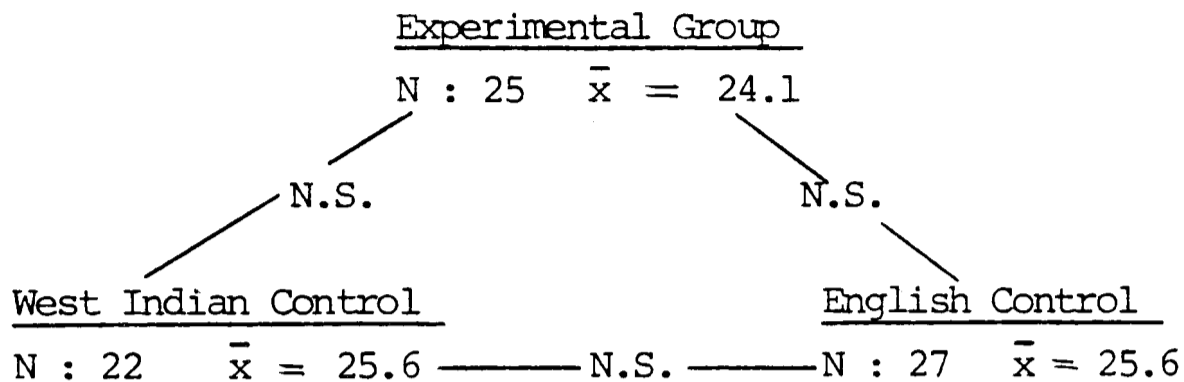
It was decided to split the groups according to their score above or below the Grand Mean of the non-verbal DH test, and then compare results on other tests depending on a pupil's score on the DH; that is either above or below the Grand Mean. Thus two sub-groups for each original group were created and test results could then be compared between sub-groups.

T-Tests would then show whether a comparison between particular groups for one test were valid; that is, whether the 'anchor' on the DH test was adequately stable so that any difference between results for the sub-groups on other tests represented a meaningful difference. Results are appended (Appendix xii). The following table offers a summary:

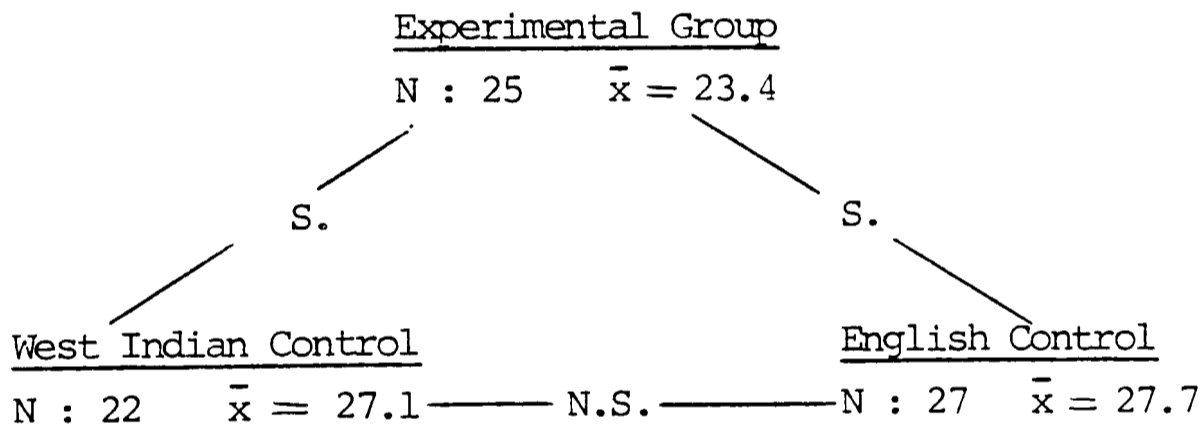


Sub Groups sharing Mean Score  $DH \geq 19$

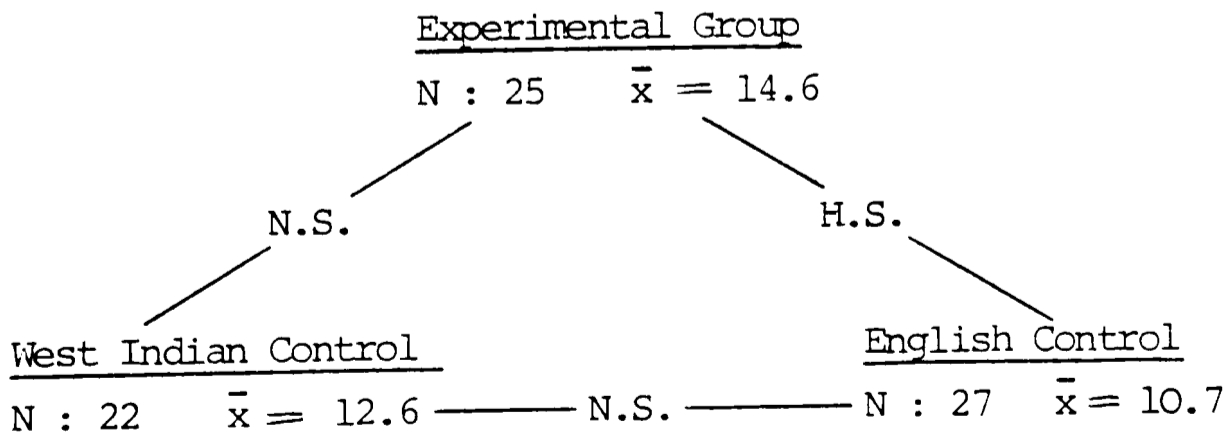
COGNITIVE TEST RESULTS



ENGLISH TEST RESULTS



ANXIETY TEST RESULTS



Using this device of splitting the groups across the Grand Mean, it was possible to section them into sub-groups that were more close-knit on the DH level. Results showed no significant difference between sub-groups on the Cognitive Test. There was a significant difference between sub-groups on the English Test for the low scorers on the Cognitive Test and a significant difference between sub-groups on the Anxiety Test for the high scorers on the Cognitive Test.

It was clear that there were certain characteristics within the Experimental Group that made it qualitatively different from the groups with which it was compared. These characteristics were not limited to the differences in Cognitive Test results (Appendix xiii). The high scorers on the Cognitive Test showed comparatively high anxiety scores and low English scores. The low scorers on the Cognitive Test showed no difference from other sub-groups on the Anxiety Test.

#### 4. Attitude Test Results

The small pilot study, with children of West Indian descent only, had been factor analysed and had yielded a clear factor of pro-English and anti-West Indian attitudes. Other factors were not very clear, however.

There is considerable discussion at present on the use of factor analysis with dichotomous data, such as that of the Attitude Test. In considering the pros and cons, several considerations were examined. Young children have difficulty choosing between more than a few responses, so that a five or seven point scale would have been inappropriate. This was further complicated by the type of children being tested in this case. The literature had indicated that children of West Indian descent from inner city schools often encountered reading problems, and it was felt that a complex test would not elicit accurate answers. The statements had been constructed

out of a process of interviewing and questioning children of this age group (12 plus) and selecting statements that children, through their own expressions, felt were so or not so. It was considered preferable to construct the test according to the information it was seeking and the type of sample to be used, rather than according to the strictures of a particular technique of analysis. (The final form of the test is attached, Appendix xiv).

It was considered appropriate to proceed along the lines of a cautious examination of the results, using more than one technique for comparison, and by making a comparison with results obtained by methods geared specifically towards the analysis of dichotomous data.

The results of the Attitude Test were therefore factor analysed as in the pilot study (to check whether similar results obtained) and it was decided to construct a composite variable set from the factors, based on a weighted scale, which would then offer a continuous scale for further analysis and comparison with the other results which were obtained from tests based on a continuous scale.

#### 4.1 Factor analysis of Attitude Test results

Using the SPSS package, an unrestricted factor analysis was run on a sample of 103 pupils, all of West Indian descent, including experimental and control groups. A factor matrix, allowing factors of an Eigenvalue of one and above, yielded 25 factors. Amongst the first eight factors of the rotated matrix, there were enough unique high loadings to indicate some clear factors corresponding to those of the pilot work, and also others that were new. (See Appendix xv).

Factor structure (all West Indian N = 103)

- Factor One came across as a factor expressing attitudes of feeling persecuted, racially and particularly by teachers, and of being disliked. Four variables bore loadings of .5 and above with no significant loading on any other factor. These were:

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.608	Other children don't like me very much	(38)
.574	My teachers are always angry	(53)
.549	My teachers don't like me	(34)
.533	Most teachers don't like black children	(20)

Also loading uniquely on this first factor was the variable

.477	I'm unhappy most of the time	(70)
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Loadings on other variables were high but not unique, as for instance:

.485	White children are nice but they don't like black children	(41)
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A group of variables bearing lower and mixed loadings also maintained the same attitudes:

.380	I prefer having black friends to white friends	(63)
.374	I would like to be taught by black teachers	(43)
.304	I'm always being picked on at school	(33)

- The second factor appeared to be linked to attitudes supportive of English culture. Four variables bore loadings of .4 and above with no significant loading on any other factor. These were:

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.699	English music is better than West Indian music	(48)
.612	I like English stories better than West Indian stories	(14)
.589	I like eating West Indian food ( <u>negative loading</u> )	(61)
.529	I like English food better than West Indian food	(47)

Loadings on other variables of .3 and above were not loading uniquely, but two of them maintained the pattern of liking for English culture.

These were:

.393	I'd like to live in the West Indies ( <u>negative loading</u> )	(19)
.319	England is better than the West Indies	(62)

- The third factor appeared to express feelings of contentment and family oriented happiness. On first sight this might seem to be the opposite of Factor One, (and might therefore be expected to load on Factor One with negative loadings), but it seems to involve more variables connected with family. There were only three unique loadings and only two of these of .5 and above:

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.649	I like to spend week-ends with my parents	(44)
.513	My brothers and sisters are always picking on me (negative loading)	(45)
.320	My parents are much more strict than my teachers (negative loading)	(07)

- Factor Four included attitudes of liking and disliking Britain and the West Indies within the same factor. This was similar to the first factor of the pilot study where pro-West Indian attitudes and anti-England attitudes had loaded on the single factor. There were only two variables with unique loadings of .5 and above. These were:

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.651	My parents like Britain ( <u>negative loading</u> )	(65)
.643	I don't like Britain	(17)

One variable loaded uniquely on this factor at less than .5

.492	My parents like the West Indies better than Britain	(03)
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Another with a loading of .500 was also loading on Factor One (the 'persecution' factor):

.500	I like living in Britain ( <u>negative loading</u> )	(28)
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- Factor Five included variables concerning attitudes towards patois. Only two variables bore unique loadings, however:

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.742	My West Indian friends like patois	(68)
.512	All my friends like West Indian things	(64)

One variable had a negative loading of .321 which was also loading elsewhere:

.321	You shouldn't speak patois in school ( <u>neg.</u> )	(06)
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Mixed loadings were reflecting attitudes to race. A typical example was:

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.409	I like playing with black children more than white children	(24)

This was loading on the previous factor at .449.

- Factor Six also seemed to be language related, though again without adequate clear unique loadings.

The single unique high loading in this case

was:

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.815	I'd like to speak like my teachers speak	(15)

With this went mixed loadings:

.390	My teachers don't like the way I speak English	(01)
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- A similar situation was encountered with the seventh factor.
- Factor Eight, however, had three clear unique loadings all related to school liking (which corresponds to the pilot study). These were:

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.726	I like being at school ( <u>negative loading</u> )	(04)
.672	School is boring	(08)
.632	I don't like school	(39)

This factor also showed a loading of .324 on variable (01) above.

It was difficult to determine the most appropriate cut-off point for factor analysis, given the spread of loadings across twenty-five factors. A scree test was constructed showing several possibilities. (See Appendix xvi).

Levelling out did not occur until the ninth factor which indicated that too little variance was contained within the later factors to justify using the scree test as a way of determining factor choice.

It had been anticipated that a sharp difference would fall between pro-West Indian and pro-English attitudes. Yet the pilot study indicated that something else was included within these opposed views. School-liking had correlated positively with pro-West Indian views.

An examination of the twenty-five factor output showed that distinct attitude poles were emerging beyond the simple expression of liking/disliking things West Indian or English. Sometimes within the general category of pro-West Indian attitudes, a separation occurred as with Factors Four and Five. Factor Four includes an anti-British element in the pro-West Indian attitude and Factor Five includes a pro-patois element. Similarly, both the second and ninth factors indicated liking for things British, but while the former was showing loadings on variables related to British culture, the latter seemed to be a school-oriented factor, to do with attitudes to behaviour and teacher's presumed attitudes.

The strongest factor, Factor One, expressed a sense of persecution and discontent. This is not as anticipated, and bears some further investigation. In line with this, the third factor, also concerning expressions of contentment, loaded separately perhaps because of the family-oriented nature of it. At any rate, this result is not the same as the pilot study where the heaviest loadings were on the first factor covering attitudes towards things West Indian or British.

No single factor stressed language alone, a result that had been hoped for, although Factors Five and Six included attitudes to patois and a certain linguistic self-deprecation in Factor Six.

An attempt was made to seek sharper differentiation between factors without losing the subtlety of difference. Further matrices were therefore constructed, limiting the computer run to set numbers of factors. Three factors were chosen first as the cut-off point, hoping that thereby a clear pro-West Indian and pro-British polarity might develop while allowing enough leeway with the third factor for the other attitudes to load off into it.

On a three-factor matrix, the structure that emerged fell into three clear categories, with the first factor having loadings on variables to do with happiness/discontent. The third factor was a clear factor of attitudes towards patois. However the second factor, while containing attitudes towards things West Indian and things British, also contained racial attitude, school-liking and self-image. It appeared to be holding too much for the finer differentiation required.

TABLE 18.2      Attitude Test Groupings from  
SPSS Factor loading matrix for rotated 3 factors (n=103) \*

<u>FACTOR ONE</u> ( <u>variables with unique loadings</u> )		
<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.572	My teachers don't like me	(34)
.565	White children are nice but they don't like black children	(41)
.563	My teachers are always angry	(53)
.544	School is boring	(08)
.493	Other children don't like me very much	(38)
.467	Most teachers don't like black children	(20)
.463	I'm always bored	(60)
.451	I'm always being picked on at school	(33)

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.441	I'm unhappy most of the time	(70)
.425	My teachers don't like the way I speak English	(01)
.402	White children don't like playing with black children	(37)
.386	I don't get on at home	(05)
.371	My parents don't care about school	(29)
.312	I don't like being asked questions in class	(23)

FACTOR TWO (variables with unique loadings)

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.599	England is better than the West Indies	(62)
.570	I like English stories better than West Indian stories	(14)
.517	I like eating West Indian food ( <u>negative loading</u> )	(61)
.484	English music is better than West Indian music	(48)
.454	I'd like to live in the West Indies <u>(negative loading)</u>	(19)
.439	I like English food better than West Indian food	(47)
.408	White people like black people most of the time	(22)
.345	I'd like to speak like my teachers speak	(15)
.340	My parents like the West Indies better than Britain ( <u>negative loading</u> )	(03)
.335	Teachers should learn about the West Indies <u>(negative loading)</u>	(10)

FACTOR THREE (variables with unique loadings)

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.561	My parents don't like speaking patois <u>(negative loading)</u>	(52)
.453	I like speaking patois at home	(21)
.420	Speaking patois is part of Black Culture	(40)
.402	You shouldn't speak patois in school <u>(negative loading)</u>	(06)
.347	My West Indian friends like patois	(68)
.343	I like to spend week-ends with my parents	(44)

Interpretations of the Three Factor matrix would have to account for the seeming mix of attitudes. The first factor clearly involves discontent; it is school-based and passive in its expression. The second factor expresses pro-English attitudes and preference for English over West Indian things. The third factor is a language-related one, though it includes other elements. It might be described as the Pro-Patois Factor whose elements appeared in the pilot study loading negatively on the first factor in combination with pro-English attitudes.

It was hoped that by expanding the scope for a restructuring of factors, it would be possible to allow for further differentiation without losing the clarity of the second and third factors of the three factor matrix.

Seven possible categories could be discerned from the original twenty five factor matrix which had been run with the criterion of a cut-off point at the Eigenvalue of one. It was decided to begin a process of fine-tuning, starting with a run allowing for seven factors. This was done in an attempt to allow for greater differentiation of other attitudes not reflected in the three factor matrix, yet hinted at by the twenty five factor yield. It was hoped that a strong factor of

pro-West Indian or pro-British attitudes could be freed to appear as a separate factor from the attitudes to race, school, etc. These might then fall into distinct categories of their own (as they had with twenty five factors) or at least leave other factors uncontaminated enough to be useful for further work in cross-correlating these factors with the English Test and Anxiety Test results.

The Seven Factor matrix which emerged did not achieve this (see Appendix xvii). The 'unhappiness factor' which featured as Factor One in previous runs, came out clearly again, though in sixth place:-

FACTOR SIX (variables with unique loadings)

(of Seven Factor rotated matrix)

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.541	My teachers are always angry	(53)
.519	I'm unhappy most of the time	(70)
.497	I'm always bored	(60)
.451	Other children don't like me very much	(38)
.400	Most teachers don't like black children	(20)
.363	There are lots of happy things to do	
	<u>(negative loading)</u>	(54)
.464	Most people in school like me <u>(negative loading)</u>	(56)
.486	My teachers wouldn't mind being black	
	<u>(negative loading)</u>	(46)

Unfortunately, key aspects of the present investigation, such as attitudes towards language, were loading with other factors. Factor One included language items with liking for Britain and the West Indies, for example (04): My teachers don't like the way I speak English, loading significantly at .450. Similarly, attitudes towards patois were included in Factor Three which was involved in attitudes

to do with family:

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.516	I like speaking patois at home	(21)
.626	My parents don't like speaking patois (negative loading)	(52)

The process of allowing for more factors failed to draw off the attitudes which did not load as heavily as the pro-West-Indian/pro-British divide attitudes and the happiness/discontent attitudes. It was decided to restrict the next run further to five factors, thereby attempting to allow for a clear-cut separate language factor and a left-over factor for the debris.

TABLE 18.3      Attitude Test Groupings from

SPSS Factor loading matrix for rotated 5 factors (n=103) \*

FACTOR ONE    (variables with unique loadings)

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.622	White children don't like playing with black children	(37)
.507	I like English people but not the police	(27)
.504	West Indian parents are more strict than English parents	(51)
.471	I don't like Britain	(17)
.465	I like playing with black children more than white children	(24)
.383	Most people who speak posh English aren't nice	(02)
.473	My parents like Britain ( <u>negative loading</u> )	(65)

\* Eigenvalues & Communalities appended (xxxviii) p. 366

FACTOR TWO (variables with unique loadings)

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.654	I like English stories better than West Indian stories	(14)
.551	England is better than the West Indies	(62)
.529	English music is better than West Indian music	(48)
.469	I like English food better than West Indian food	(47)
.406	White people like black people most of the time	(22)
.340	Teachers should learn about the West Indies ( <u>negative loading</u> )	(10)
.395	I'd like to live in the West Indies ( <u>negative loading</u> )	(19)
.559	I like eating West Indian food ( <u>negative loading</u> )	(61)

FACTOR THREE (variables with unique loadings)

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.581	My teachers are always angry	(53)
.513	I'm always bored	(60)
.506	Most teachers don't like black children	(20)
.496	I'm unhappy most of the time	(70)
.455	Other children don't like me very much	(38)
.371	My teachers are always correcting my English	(26)
.346	I like to get outside as much as possible	(59)
.256	My parents are much more strict than my teachers	(07)



FACTOR FOUR (variables with unique loadings)

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.544	I don't like the West Indies	(25)
.526	I don't get on at home	(05)
.496	School is boring	(08)
.332	I don't like being asked questions in class	(23)
.278	My brothers and sisters are always picking on me	(45)
.320	I like to spend week-ends with family and friends <u>(negative loading)</u>	(31)

FACTOR FIVE (variables with unique loadings)

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>(Test Ref.No.)</u>
.555	You shouldn't speak patois in school ( <u>(negative loading)</u>	(06)
.532	My parents don't like speaking patois <u>(negative loading)</u>	(52)
.445	<u>GENDER</u> (nb. this was the only factor on which sex was loading significantly)	
.429	My West Indian friends like patois	(68)
.374	I like speaking patois at home	(21)
.347	I like to spend week-ends with my parents	(44)

Thus far, the five factor matrix offered the most useful output for making a comparison with the other results. Factor Five in this case was taking up the language attitudes connected <sup>with</sup> patois. Factor One was including the expressions of attitudes critical of Britain and conscious of racial differences between children. Factor Two was taking up preferences for English cultural items over West Indian ones. Factor Three showed heavy loadings on the variables that had appeared further out along the Factor matrix on the seven-factor run - which has been

referred to as a measure of unhappiness or discontent. Factor Four at first glance appears to be a similar type of factor. However, the difference between them would seem to centre on an expression of being disliked in Factor Three and disliking in Factor Four.

#### Construction of composite variables for Five Factors

In order to overcome the problems of having dichotomous data in the Attitude Test and continuous data in the other tests and questionnaires, it was decided to construct new composite variables, using a weighted scale, from the unique loadings on the variables of the five factor rotated matrix.

Factor loadings of .255 and above were included. Since the lower end of the scale represented less reliable loadings, this was given a comparatively lower score. Thus the spread was decreased at the upper end, giving:

Factor loadings of	.255 - .350	score 1
"	.351 - .450	score 2
"	.451 - .500	score 3
"	.501 - .550	score 4
"	.551 - .600	score 5
"	.601 and above	score 6

To deal with the situation where a pupil would score a 'disagree' response to certain items as strongly as an 'agree' response to others, the weighting system on negative loading variables within a factor were treated accordingly.

For example, in creating a scale for Factor Four, the 'disliking' factor, variable (31): I like to spend week-ends with family and friends, carried a negative loading, and the appropriate response was a 'disagree' mark from the pupil who would 'agree' with the other statements of that factor.

The newly scaled Factor Four variable would therefore be composed as follows:

(Test Ref.No.)	(Loading)							
25	.544	'agree'	scores	4		'disagree'	scores	0
05	.526	"	"	4		"	"	0
08	.496	"	"	3		"	"	0
23	.332	"	"	1		"	"	0
45	.278	"	"	1		"	"	0
31	.320	"	"	0		"	"	1
29	.303	"	"	1		"	"	0
39	.322	"	"	1		"	"	0
33	.451	"	"	3		"	"	0

In this way, pupils would receive a score that depended on how many items making up a particular factor they concurred with. A low score indicated a low degree of concurrence with whatever factor was reflected in agree or disagree responses to particular variables.

Given the reservations concerning factor analysis as a technique and also in particular its application using dichotomous data, a more robust form of statistical comparison was required for use in examining the Attitude Test results.

An examination of individual items, using the Chi Squared comparison as an indication of the likelihood of a difference in response between two groups occurring by chance, was undertaken.

Since the Attitude Test was constructed with a dual role in mind, namely comparing West Indian groups with each other and white English groups with West Indian groups, some items might be expected to show statistically significant differences although a comparison is not valid (for example use of patois is largely restricted to the West Indian groups). The complete list of differences (see Appendix xviii) between the white indigenous English pupils and pupils of West Indian descent is assessed in this light.

In studying the items that show significant differences in terms of the scores of the white English children and the black children of West Indian descent, it is necessary to make a subjective appraisal of these. Which items are simply not comparable? Which items represent a cross-cultural comparison where one would expect different responses from the two groups of pupils? Which items would one expect to contain no cultural bias and therefore anticipate no differences between groups?

As is usually the case, the two extremes are easier to isolate and judge than the middle ground. Certain items are clearly only applicable to the West Indian group. Certain items can fairly be said to contain no inherent bias towards either group.

Items (03), (21), (52), (57), (61) and (65) refer to parental liking of the West Indies, speaking patois, parents speaking patois, liking for West Indian food and parental liking for Britain. None of these items could fairly be included in a comparison of children of West Indian descent and white English children whose parents would have been born in Britain for the most part, and few of whom would be able to speak patois.

At the other end of the scale items which are not culturally loaded, upon first examination, and on which one should anticipate similar responses for the two groups, were actually showing marked differences.

One of the most striking of these was pupils' attitudes concerning teachers. It would appear that the children of West Indian descent considered their teachers hostile to them in marked contrast to the responses of the white English control group.

The variable 'My teachers don't like me' (34), showed a significance level of  $< .01$  on the Chi Square test comparing responses for the two groups. Only two of the forty three English children agreed with the statement compared with thirty two out of one hundred West Indian children. Along the same lines were responses to variable (53):

'My teachers are always angry', where responses between the two groups showed differences significant at  $< .01$ , and the pattern was consistent with the previously mentioned item; that is, although not a majority, a very large proportion (43 per cent) of West Indian pupils agreed with the statement compared to a very small proportion (7 per cent) of the English pupils. Similarly, with variable (69): 'My teachers are friendly', differences in responses were significant at  $< .05$ , again reflecting a similar pattern. Most of both groups agreed with the statement, but a sizable proportion (38 per cent) of West Indians disagreed compared with a smaller proportion (17 per cent) of English respondents.

Although this attitude to teachers, or rather a perception of teacher attitude, was being expressed consistently by the West Indian group, there was a sharp difference between attitudes referring to teachers and attitudes towards school. While teachers were seen as disliking them, angry or unfriendly by a proportion of these pupils, they showed a similar response to the English group indicating a liking for school. Thus variable (04): 'I like being at school', was agreed with by a majority of both groups, slightly more in fact of the West Indian group though not to a significant extent. Variable (08): 'School is boring', found a majority of both groups in disagreement, as did variable (39): 'I don't like school'. Again in both instances, slightly

more of the West Indian group expressed these views, though not to an extent that showed a statistically significant level.

Within the school situation, other aspects of the school experience emerged as items with significant differences in the responses of the two groups. The West Indian group considered themselves 'picked on' at school (variable 33) more than the English group (33 per cent compared to 12 per cent), and a similar proportion considered that 'other children don't like me very much' (variable 38). This response came from 14 per cent of the English group and 30 per cent of the West Indian group, a difference significant at .08. The previous item had shown a difference significant at  $< .01$ .

On specific language-based items, the difference in response was marked, such as the response to variable (01) 'My teachers don't like the way I speak English', but not adequately so to be statistically significant. This response was from 26 per cent of West Indians in agreement compared to 12 per cent of English pupils. A very large difference between groups showed on variable (02) 'Most people who speak posh English aren't nice'. The significance level for the difference on this item was  $< .01$ , with a majority of West Indians in agreement (68 per cent) compared to a minority of English pupils (35 per cent). Similarly, there was a difference on variable (26) 'My teachers are always correcting my English', with which 48 per cent of West Indians agreed compared with 30 per cent of English pupils, giving a significance level of .08. This item may simply be a reflection of the perceived reality and not of attitude; in other words, teachers may indeed be incessantly correcting the English of West Indian pupils compared with that of English pupils.

Other items from the Attitude Test were showing significant differences of response between the white English children and children of West Indian descent, which were outside the scope of anticipated

results, and which bear out the results of the factor analysis. These items seemed to indicate a lack of ease amongst the pupils of West Indian descent. Variable (05) 'I don't get on at home', was agreed with by 22 per cent of these pupils compared with the English pupils, giving a significance level of  $< .05$  on the Chi Square test. This particular variable corresponded to variables indicating unhappiness at home, such as variable (45) 'My brothers and sisters are always picking on me', (difference significant at  $< .05$ ) and variable (32) 'I like to be with my friends more than with my family', (difference significant at  $< .05$ ). Forty-eight per cent of West Indians felt picked on by siblings compared to 24 per cent of English pupils. Twenty-nine per cent of West Indians preferred friends to family compared to 10 per cent of English pupils.

This disgruntled attitude was not simply a reflection of feelings about pupils' home lives. It seemed to be more general than that. Variable (60) 'I'm always bored', was receiving significantly more 'agree' responses from West Indian children (40 per cent in fact), giving a significance level for the difference between groups of  $< .01$ . A similar item, variable (70) 'I'm unhappy most of the time', was showing a parallel response pattern, with a sizable minority of the West Indian group (23 per cent) compared to a small minority of the English group (7 per cent) expressing agreement with the statement. The significance level for the difference between them on this item was  $< .05$ .

#### Profile of pupils of West Indian descent

Pupils of West Indian descent, in the majority of cases, held the following views, as expressed by the Attitude Test.

They considered their teachers friendly (62 per cent) and did not find them angry (53 per cent). They considered that their teachers did not care about the West Indies (62 per cent) and believed their teachers

should learn about the West Indies (83 per cent). They thought their teachers didn't mind the way they spoke (74 per cent) and were not always correcting their English (52 per cent). They thought their teachers liked them (68 per cent) but did not like black children (61 per cent) and would not like to be black (82 per cent). Sixty three per cent of the West Indian group indicated that they would like to be taught by black teachers. These conclusions were drawn from responses to items 69, 53, 55, 10, 01, 26, 34, 20, 46, 43 in that order.

The majority of the pupils of West Indian descent tested during this research, considered themselves happy and were content at school and at home, according to results of the Attitude Test. They liked being at school (71 per cent on variable 04); considered that school was not boring (66 per cent on variable 08); did not think they were picked on in school (67 per cent on variable 33); did not dislike school (72 per cent on variable 39); believed that people in school liked them (82 per cent on variable 56) but they also considered that schools should help black children more (79 per cent on variable 67).

All of the personal contentment statements showed a majority of the pupils of West Indian descent indicating agreement on the positive side. They thought other children liked them (69 per cent on variable 38); considered themselves to be happy (77 per cent on variable 70); believed there were many happy things to do (84 per cent on variable 54) and were not bored (60 per cent on variable 60).

With regard to their home situation, most of the pupils of West Indian descent tested considered that they got on at home (78 per cent on variable 05); liked to spend week-ends with family and friends (88 per cent on variable 31); liked their parents (81 per cent on variable 44); did not consider that their brothers and sisters picked on them (53 per cent on variable 45); considered West Indian parents to be stricter than English parents (80 per cent on variable 51) and their own



parents stricter than their teachers (52 per cent on variable 07).

Their views on their parents' presumed attitudes were that their parents preferred the West Indies to Britain (85 per cent on variable 03) and that their parents cared about school (85 per cent), but were not always making them do homework (55 per cent on variable 42). They thought their parents liked patois (60 per cent on variable 52) and did not like Britain (58 per cent on variable 65).

The pupils themselves liked Britain (56 per cent on variable 17) (62 per cent on variable 28), but preferred the West Indies (85 per cent on variable 62); would like to live in the West Indies (64 per cent on variable 19), and preferred West Indians to the English (55 per cent on variable 36).

In terms of making a comparison on racial grounds, most of these pupils expressed views that showed they were very conscious of racial differences but considered that the white community was essentially not hostile towards them. Results, however, were not clear in this regard. For instance, they considered that white people liked black people mostly (54 per cent on variable 22); that white children didn't mind black children (72 per cent on variable 37) (68 per cent on variable 41); but that their teachers did not like black children (61 per cent on variable 20). Sixty-eight per cent of the pupils of West Indian descent indicated that they preferred black friends to white friends (variable 63).

The cultural preferences of this group were clear and quite strong. English stories were not preferred (81 per cent on variable 14); West Indian food was preferred (84 per cent on variable 47) and West Indian music was preferred (91 per cent on variable 48).

On the language level, statements had been included in the test that probed attitudes towards Standard English and Dialect. The pupils of West Indian descent disliked people who spoke posh English (68 per cent

on variable 02); believed patois was part of Black Culture (83 per cent on variable 40), and claimed that their West Indian friends liked patois (72 per cent on variable 68). Many of the other items involving language, however, received a less marked response, indicating that either opinions were divided on these, or that the children were not registering strong views as a group. Slightly more than half disagreed that they spoke patois to be different (54 per cent on variable 57); believed that patois should be spoken in school (51 per cent on variable 61), and disagreed with the statement that they liked speaking patois at home (52 per cent on variable 21). Fifty-eight per cent on variable 49 considered that white children thought patois was stupid. There was a very strong response against the statement that they would like to speak like their teachers speak (84 per cent on variable 15).

Strong group views seemed to exist that contradicted the assimilationist position described in the Literature Survey. Seventy four per cent on variable 30 disagreed with the statement that West Indians should behave like the English. Similarly, they believed that the English should know about the West Indies (88 per cent on variable 58). A majority, though not as large, believed that the English should eat West Indian food (67 per cent on variable 66), and stated that they would like to be taught by black teachers (63 per cent on variable 43). Cultural attitudes and racial mixing patterns would seem to go hand in hand. Thus, whereas to the statement 'My white friends like black music', 70 per cent of the West Indian group agreed (variable 18), this was not the case with the white English group tested.

In assessing these results, the most immediate problem was to ascertain why there was a strong unhappiness weighting in the factor analysis and a parallel pattern shown from the Chi Square results, given that most of the pupils of West Indian descent were not expressing views consistent with this position. The raw 'majority' examination

of results had shown that most of the West Indian pupils considered themselves happy and content. The results from the factor analysis, indicating an unhappiness pole, required further investigation.

The first step was to make a preliminary comparison of results for the two groups of pupils of West Indian descent (see Appendix xix) using the Chi Square test of significance along the same lines as previously.

#### Interpretation of results from comparison between West Indian Experimental and Control groups

It might be consistent with the third hypothesis outlined in Chapter 15 to expect a sharper awareness of race and more integrated cultural attitudes from the pupils of West Indian descent taught by the supplementary service than from those who were not taught any programme at all other than their normal 'anglocentric' lessons.

It would not be consistent with the hypothesis to expect the experimental group to show differences along the lines of 'discontent' which appear in these results of the Chi Square tests comparing the two groups of pupils of West Indian descent. Many items with highly significant differences between these groups showed the experimental group as more unhappy:

Variable 70 'I'm unhappy most of the time', (32 per cent of experimental group compared with 8 per cent of the control group, a significance level of  $< .01$ ).

Similarly, this was reflected in feelings of persecution:

Variable 33, 'I'm always being picked on at school', (40 per cent of experimental group compared with 21 per cent of control group, a significance level of  $0.07$ ); and

Variable 38, 'Other children don't like me very much', (38 per cent of experimental group compared with 18 per cent of control

group, a significance level of  $< .05$ ).

Attitudes towards teachers were along similar lines. Seventy-three per cent of the experimental group agreed with variable 20, 'Most teachers don't like black children', compared with 41 per cent of the West Indian control group, a significance level of  $< .01$  in this difference of response. Variable 34, 'My Teachers don't like me', had a strikingly similar response of 45 per cent for the experimental group in agreement and 10 per cent of the control group in agreement, a difference which gave a significance level of  $< .01$ . The pattern was repeated with other items regarding teachers:

Variable 43, 'I would like to be taught by black teachers', (75 per cent of experimental group in agreement compared with 45 per cent of control group - a significance level of  $< .01$ );  
 Variable 46, 'My teachers wouldn't mind being black', (10 per cent of experimental group in agreement compared with 34 per cent of control - a significance level of  $< .01$ );  
 Variable 53, 'My teachers are always angry', (55 per cent of experimental group in agreement compared with 25 per cent of control group - a significance level of  $< .01$ ), and  
 Variable 55, 'Most teachers don't care about the West Indies', (73 per cent of experimental group compared with 48 per cent of the control group - a significance level of  $< .05$ ).

The difference of response based on these feelings about their teachers was the most marked of any attitudes tested. The attitudes that went with this were: being unhappy, being bored, and expressing the view that their parents don't like Britain, as well as not liking Britain themselves.

Whilst results have clearly been strongly affected by attitudes of a group of pupils within the larger category of pupils of West Indian descent, it is possible to differentiate between views thus affected

and views which hold true for the entire group.

A comparison was made of the English as against West Indian results with the West Indian Experimental as against West Indian control results.

Certain items were not showing significant differences between the two West Indian groups but were still registering significant differences between the West Indian and English groups. In other words, certain attitudes showed an overriding effect regardless of the bias introduced by the set of variables marking differences between West Indian groups.

These items are appended showing the weightings of opinions and significance levels for the differences (see Appendix xx).

Whilst it was thus possible to extract sets of attitudes that might be termed characteristic of the entire West Indian sample, it was still necessary to isolate and attempt to identify the difference between the two West Indian groups (Experimental and Control). This difference in attitudes was not anticipated and indicated some special characteristics within one of the groups.

##### 5. Teachers' Questionnaire Results

Information from the Teachers' Questionnaire (Appendix viii) was used for several purposes. It offered a check on sample matching for things like size of class and parents' occupations. It contained its own intrinsic information in terms of details about the pupils tested which could not be obtained either from the tests administered or from the pupils as respondents. It offered a means of making a cross-comparison between results, for instance comparing a teacher's opinion of a child's ability at English with observed results on the English test, or a teacher's opinion of a pupil's cultural attitudes with the child's stated opinions in the Attitude Test.

In the first capacity mentioned above, the Teachers' Questionnaire revealed exact information about the size of classes from which the pupils tested had been drawn. During the initial period of the investigation Local Education Officers had been interviewed, including Officers in charge of the special needs of immigrants, with regard to the type of schools in their areas. Head Teachers were then approached after particular schools had been pin-pointed as suitable for control purposes.

Information from the Teachers' Questionnaire was obtained for all but one school of the experimental group schools, where the teacher responsible left during the term when testing was carried out. It was complete for all other schools, although not complete for all pupils. Altogether, information was obtained for 131 out of 144 pupils.

With regard to the size of classes, the experimental group schools had been found to have quite large class sizes (although these pupils were withdrawn to small groups for the supplementary service lessons). An attempt was made to ensure that schools picked as controls for the experimental group matched them as closely as possible in respect of class size.

Of the 62 pupils making up the experimental group, the Teachers' Questionnaire shows that only four pupils were withdrawn from classes numbering 20 or less. Twenty-one pupils (40 per cent) were withdrawn from classes numbering between 26 and 30 pupils. Appendix xxii shows the distribution of pupils according to their class size. Class size refers to the pupil's form or, where this does not exist, from the class in which the pupil "usually works". An attempt was made to avoid schools whose class sizes were usually less than 20 pupils.

Results from the Teachers' Questionnaire show that this latter aim was achieved. No child was reported as coming from a class of less than 20 pupils in the control group schools. The West Indian and English

controls match each other almost exactly for class size, with 94 per cent of reported cases covering the West Indian control coming from classes of between 26 and 30 pupils, and 100 per cent of the reported cases covering the English control coming from classes of between 26 and 30 pupils.

In fact, the control groups showed slightly larger class sizes than the experimental group which had only 40 per cent of its population in the 26 to 30 class size group and 53 per cent of its population in the 21 to 25 class size group.

Another characteristic of the sample that was investigated in some detail was the parents' occupations which could only be ascertained from information from teachers. Teachers were asked to note parents' occupations because it was felt that this was one aspect of concern to the research as parental occupation is the best indicator of social class differentiations.

It was felt that this was something that might well affect academic results and also be an influence on language, as reported in the Literature Survey, Chapter 11.

Given that information from teachers could neither be complete nor fully accurate about their pupils' parents' occupations, results must be considered for guidance only, and results (including numbers of 'omit' responses) are recorded. Appendix xxiii details the full results of this part of the Teachers' Questionnaire.

In summary, no parent (either father or mother) from the experimental group was entered in the 'professional' category. This also held true for both the West Indian and English control groups. In the experimental group, no pupils' fathers were recorded as 'not working now' and this also held true for both of the control groups.

Pupils' mothers did not hold true to the same pattern for all groups, however. Ten of the English control group mothers, seven of the experimental group mothers and one of the West Indian control group

mothers were listed as 'not working now'. A majority of the West Indian mothers (in both groups more than three times as many) was in working categories. A minority of the English mothers (though a large minority) was in working categories.

The largest working category for the fathers for all three groups was the manual skilled and semi-skilled category. The largest working category for the mothers was the clerical and semi-professional category. It must be emphasized, however, that teachers could not be expected to know all their pupils' parents' occupations or to have accurate information, and the large 'omit' group may well have changed the shape of this pattern.

T-Tests of significance on the three groups for the information available on parents' occupations yielded the following information. In a comparison between the two West Indian groups, differences of recorded parents' occupations were not statistically significant for either father or mother. In a comparison between the English and West Indian groups (experimental and control groups combined) differences were not statistically significant for fathers and the significance level for the difference between groups of mothers was .06. The greatest difference was between experimental group mothers and the English control group mothers ( $p : < .05$ ).

It may be concluded that groups were adequately close in match of sample for comparative purposes, with the reservation that mothers' occupations did not follow the same pattern for all three groups.

### Discussion of Results

It was clear that something was influencing these results over and above the items under investigation and that for some reason, the experimental group was a group that contained greater unhappiness than the other groups.



The next step was to try to isolate the cause of this difference. Was there a particular school in the experimental group with particularly unhappy children? Could the multicultural teaching, initiated in order to benefit this group of pupils, in fact be achieving just the opposite effect? What was different about the experimental group compared with the West Indian control group?

A series of tests were made on the three groups, that is, the group of pupils of West Indian descent taught by the supplementary service (experimental group), the group of pupils of West Indian descent taught in schools with no special programmes (West Indian control) and the group of white English indigenous children (English control).

First of all, an examination of the composition of the experimental group did not reveal any clear differences within the group. The possibility of a single school influencing results was rejected after analysis of variance testing on the group by school did not reveal significant differences within the experimental group between schools. The group appeared to be internally consistent, though different from both controls.

This group had registered more unhappiness and greater discontent on the Attitude Test. It had a significantly lower score on the English Test (judging from the original T-Test) than either the West Indian control group or the English control group, and it had a significantly lower score than these other groups for the Non-verbal DH Test.

Before continuing with further analysis of the initial results, it was therefore decided to attempt to get back into the schools from which this group was drawn and measure a group of twelve year-olds across the board, including all class members whether or not they were at that time being withdrawn for the supplementary service. This decision was taken because it was conjectured that the pupils withdrawn for the supplementary service might be subject to an unofficial vetting process by form teachers.

It is generally accepted amongst educational psychologists that the expression of 'unhappiness' and 'discontent' from a pupil is often matched by a feeling of exasperation by a teacher.

It would at least be clear that some other influences were involved in the selection process for withdrawal to the supplementary service classes, if another group tested, this time involving the entire form, was showing markedly different results on the DH, English and Attitude Tests.

With this aim in mind permission was sought from school Head Teachers to test a comparable age group, using whole forms in the testing. These results would be compared with the previous results to see if it would then be possible to use the pupils of West Indian descent as a balanced comparison with the other control groups from the previous testing.

CHAPTER NINETEENSUBSEQUENT PROCEDURES

Chapter Nineteen explains how initial findings of data indicating atypical characteristics within the experimental group led to the decision to draw a fresh sample from experimental schools. The collection and analysis of this subsequent data offer further insights into the area of investigation. Two groups are used, one comprising pupils of West Indian descent who had been exposed to the special programme but were not currently part of it, the other comprising white indigenous English children from the same classes. These two new control groups show close similarity with the first control groups and are different from the original experimental group.

Appraisal of Results from Experimental Group

It had appeared that the original experimental group was strongly atypical in one or more ways and this expressed itself in: a significantly lower score on the Non-verbal DH (cognitive) test; a bi-modal distribution on this and other tests, and a strong 'unhappiness factor' showing itself on factor analysis of the Attitude Test.

It was hypothesized that a selection process had somehow occurred involving the West Indian experimental group (supposedly withdrawn at random from mainstream classes). The decision was made to find a new sample from the same schools prior to withdrawal, for comparative purposes.

It was hoped that this procedure might provide the means of answering some of the questions raised by the difference in results found in testing the experimental group and the two controls. According to the hypotheses stated, one would expect differences between the pupils of West Indian descent and the indigenous English pupils in the area of English Test results (with a lower score amongst the West Indian group). One would expect differences between them on the Attitude Test results. Should the black pupils experience stress during the testing or in the school setting, one would expect differences of this nature to be expressed on the Anxiety Test results. One would also expect slight differences between the two groups of pupils of West Indian descent on the English Test and possibly on cultural items of the Attitude Test, but definitely not on the Cognitive Test.

It was possible that the unhappiness factor was generalized amongst a larger population, but only expressed through the experimental group because of sampling methods used. It was possible that the cognitive test results were area-specific and not just reflective of the experimental group. Alternatively, it was possible that the experimental group

was not simply a group of pupils withdrawn at random for cultural enrichment and extra English (as maintained by teachers). This alternative hypothesis would imply that the enrichment programme for West Indian pupils was in fact withdrawing a select group defined by results examined so far, as having low scores on the cognitive test and expressive of considerable unhappiness as measured by the attitude test.

It was necessary to test a fresh sample from the same schools as the original experimental group in order to examine these issues further.

### Adjustments to Sample

The experimental group schools were approached again and permission was obtained to administer the same tests to pupils in their main classes so that all pupils would be included.

Ninety-seven new pupils of the same age group as previously were tested. These pupils included white indigenous English children (Ethnic origin 1), children of West Indian descent (Ethnic Origin 3) and "Others" (Ethnic Origin 2).

A new set of groups for control purposes was thereby generated for a comparison between the groups' scores on the various tests. The table overleaf shows the composition of the groups.

### Results

#### 1. Cognitive Test

The mean scores on the non-verbal DH test were comparable for both English control groups and for the new group of pupils of West Indian descent. This indicated that there were now grounds for making a comparison of scores on the other tests using the non-verbal test results as an 'anchor'. It also meant that the suspected selection process of the original experimental group may well have been taking place.

(Appendix xxiv shows scores of new groups. See Appendix ix for scores

TABLE 19.1

Description of Sample (as used in Analysis)

Category and Designation	Nos. in Group	Ethnic Origin*	Description
'OTHER' Designation: Lot 4	29	2 (Neither West Indian nor English descent)	All pupils other than those of West Indian or indigenous English descent. NB. mostly Asian pupils.
NEW ENGLISH CONTROL Designation: Lot 5	38	1 (English)	White English indigenous pupils from same schools as original experimental group (Lot 7)
NEW WEST INDIAN CONTROL Designation: Lot 6	30	3 (West Indian)	Pupils of West Indian descent from same schools as original experimental group (Lot 7) including pupils normally withdrawn and not withdrawn
'EXPERIMENTAL GROUP' Designation: Lot 7	62	3 (West Indian)	Pupils of West Indian descent from experimental schools, withdrawn for special WISS programme based on language and culture
'FIRST WEST INDIAN CONTROL' Designation: Lot 8	41	3 (West Indian)	Original West Indian control group for Lot 7. Pupils from other schools in 3 boroughs
'FIRST ENGLISH CONTROL' Designation: Lot 9	41	1 (English)	Original English control group for Lot 7. Three boroughs, and same schools as Lot 8.

TOTAL No. OF CASES - 241

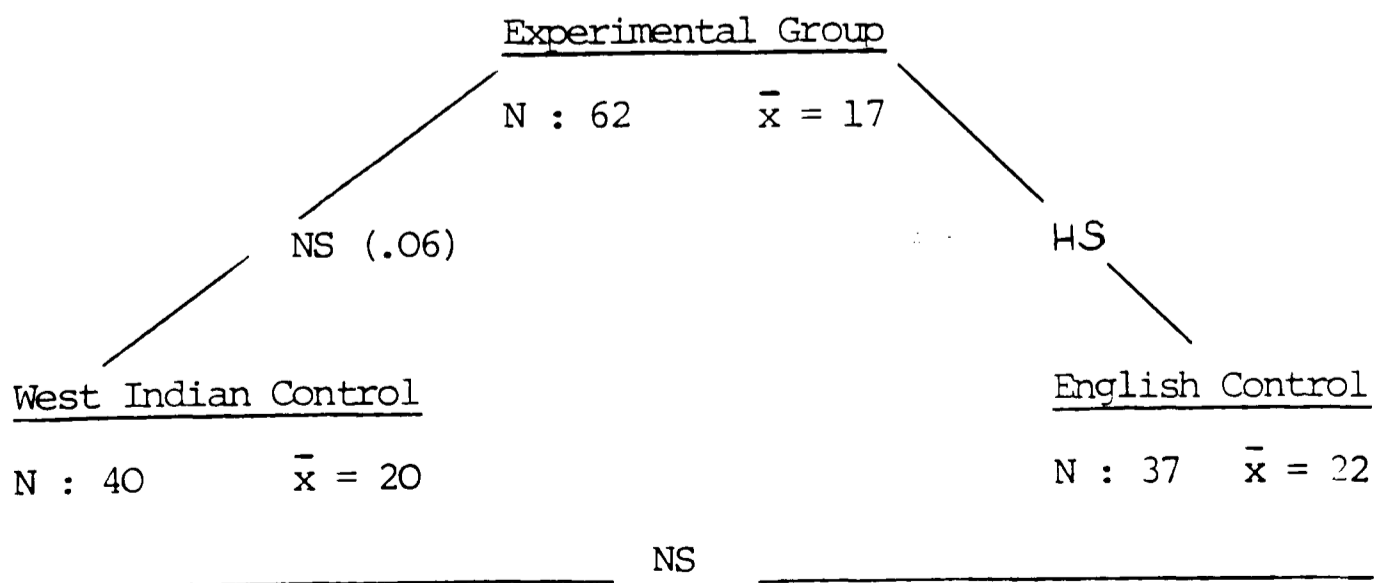
\*Ethnic origin 1 = White indigenous English pupils  
 Ethnic origin 2 = Other than 1 or 3  
 Ethnic origin 3 = Black pupils of West Indian descent.

Cognitive Test scores for the pupils of West Indian descent who came from the same schools as the original experimental group, were normally distributed. It should be remembered that the experimental group had shown a bimodal distribution in those scores and therefore it is clear that the experimental group was not representative of the mainstream classes from which it was withdrawn in respect of the abilities tested with this test. Peculiarly, a bimodal distribution was noted among the 'other' group (children of neither English nor West Indian descent from the same schools), perhaps a function of language difficulties in understanding the instructions of the test.

The next step in analysis was to make a cross-test comparison. Given the relatively similar intelligence scores of the first and second lot of pupils tested (other than the experimental group), and the small difference in scores between English pupils and pupils of West Indian descent, it is proposed to accept the Cognitive Test results as a base line for other comparisons, with a reservation upon the original experimental group which appears to be qualitatively different from the other groups compared.

TABLE 19.2

Cognitive Test Results showing significantly lower score obtained by Experimental Group, using T-Test of Significance for comparison



HS =  $p \leq 0.01$ ,      NS =  $p > 0.05$

TABLE 19.3

Cognitive Test Results showing similarity between Groups , using T-Test of Significance for comparison

NS		NS	
<u>New West Indian Control</u>		<u>New English Control</u>	
N : 30	$\bar{x} = 21$	N : 38	$\bar{x} = 23$
\diagdown	NS	\diagup	NS
<u>'Other' Groups</u> * N : 26 $\bar{x} = 22$			

NS =  $p > 0.05$

\* Only those pupils drawn from second sample included.

## 2. Anxiety Test

There were no significant differences (using the T-Test of Significance) between the scores of the new groups or between the original groups with the exception of the experimental group. There was also no indication of differences in scores registering statistical significance within the test, between its manifest anxiety and test anxiety items.

It is therefore proposed to accept the results of the Anxiety Test with the reservation concerning the character of the experimental group which included pupils expressing certain special features that exhibited themselves to a slight degree in measurements on the Anxiety Test though to a much stronger degree on the other tests.



### 3. English Test Results

The results of the two white indigenous English control groups and the West Indian control groups were extraordinarily close. Lots 5 and 9 (English controls) shared a mean score of 26.0 and a Standard Deviation of 7.1. Lot 6 had a mean score of 24.1 and a Standard Deviation of 7.5. Lot 8 had a mean score of 24.0 and a Standard Deviation of 7.3. Thus the West Indian controls were also very close. While the difference between each West Indian group and its English counterpart (other than the original experimental group - Lot 7) showed a higher score on the English Test for the indigenous English pupils in each case, these differences did not achieve statistically significant levels. The differences between all West Indian pupils tested and all English pupils tested showed highly significant results. The combined English groups obtained a mean score of 26.0 (S.D. 7.1) and the combined West Indian groups obtained a mean score of 22.0 (S.D. 7.9) showing a significance level of  $< .01$  on a T-Test. However, since the latter groups contained the original experimental group (whose typicality was suspect), this had to be examined further.

The use of the second set of control groups of pupils of West Indian descent and English indigenous pupils allowed for a detailed examination of results for the English Test given the comparability described above.

Initial analysis of the English Test results had not been extensive, given the overriding effects of the differences caused by the original experimental group.

It was now possible to examine results from the English Test in its sub-sections based on grammatical parts. The statistically significant differences in results between groups are given in Appendix xxv.

The results based on comparisons between the various groups showed statistically significant differences (using T-Tests) on certain key grammar items.

Control groups maintained an adequate level of parity to warrant their use as controls despite the fine tuning of this more detailed examination comparing sub-sections of the English Test. Neither the West Indian controls in comparison with each other, nor the English controls in comparison with each other, showed differences of a significance level of  $p : < 0.05$  on any of the six sub-sections. (The greatest difference registered a significance level of .07 on the Quiz section with the new English control group having a slightly higher mean score than the first English control). On the whole the groups showed comparable results.

As far as differences between West Indian and English pupils are concerned, there were significant differences between these groups on a number of items, though not always the same ones. The first West Indian control group obtained lower scores in each case than the first English control group, with a significance level of  $p : \leq 0.01$  on items requiring the use of verbs. (The West Indian control group in this case was drawn from schools that did not operate any programme).

By way of contrast, when comparing results of the new West Indian control and new English control, while the English pupils' overall mean scores were higher for all but one sub-section, differences were only

reaching a high significance level on one section, the Quiz. It is possible that the teaching of grammar points aimed at Dialect/Standard differences as practised in these schools was having some effect on pupils, though not enough to alter overall test scores.

The greatest difference of score was noted in the comparison between the West Indian experimental group and the first English control group, as might be expected given the differences between these groups mentioned previously.

A further comparison was made between all West Indian pupils and all English pupils to see whether the differences occurring in results for different sub-sections would balance themselves out or still show marked differences between pupils of these ethnic origins.

TABLE 19.4

Sub-Set Results of English Test

(Combined groups of pupils of West Indian Descent compared with combined groups of Indigenous English pupils)

	Pronouns	Quiz	Plurals	Standard English Usage	Abstract Nouns	Verbs
Difference on whole section	NS	HS	NS	HS	NS	S
Difference on particular item	NS	Item 48 HS	NS	Item 56 HS	NS	Item 66 S Item 68 HS

Scores for pupils of West Indian descent (WI) and Indigneous English pupils (E) on sections showing significant differences

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Significance Level	Test Section
E	3.8	1.1	HS	Quiz
WI	3.3	1.0		
E	3.4	1.1	HS	Standard English Usage
WI	2.8	1.3		
E	3.4	1.6	S	Verb Construction
WI	2.9	1.5		

HS :  $p \leq 0.01$   
 S :  $p \leq 0.05$   
 NS :  $p > 0.05$

4. Results on Attitude Test (See Appendix xiv for Test items for reference)

Given the "unhappiness factor" that had emerged in results from the experimental group upon first testing, it was necessary to compare 'Lots' for each attitude to isolate the atypical attitudes of the experimental group. This procedure would also offer new information about the four control groups now available from the subsequent testing.

A comparison of the first and second English control group results would indicate geographical area differences perhaps or perhaps the difference between children in two kinds of schools, one where a special programme exists and another where it doesn't. Beyond these differences, it was hoped that some consistency of results would occur, showing attitudes typical of white indigneous English children in general.

A similar comparison would need to be made between the two West Indian control groups for similar reasons. If they showed overall similarity of response, these attitudes could then be examined with a view to assessing their generality and items of difference for any

special characteristics that might be showing school effect/<sup>or</sup> geographical differences could be isolated.

A comparison would also need to be made between the newly tested English and West Indian groups and between the original English and West Indian groups for an assessment of their consistency as controls.

Finally, a comparison could be made between all West Indian and English 'lots' put together as two separate groups. With the anomalous items removed, it would then be possible to indicate which attitudes could fairly be said to be 'typical' of either group.

#### Comparison between English Controls

##### (Lot 5 v. Lot 9)

In the comparison of results on the Attitude test between both lots of English controls (Lots 5 and 9), significant differences of score in a Chi Squared comparison were only obtained for three out of seventy items. Since this represented such a low frequency (4.3%), and responses for the majority of items show concurrence between the two control groups, it is proposed to consider the two white English control groups as comparable with regard to their attitudes. (The items showing significant differences are appended in Appendix xxvi).

It may be assumed that these two groups can be used together when comparing them with other groups tested and that the attitudes expressed may be said to be typical of those of indigenous white English pupils from the schools tested.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the two English controls represent pupils drawn from schools in three boroughs and that the majority of the first control group (Lot 9) are pupils from a different borough from those in the second control group (Lot 5), all of whom came from the same borough. In other words, they represent the views of

pupils in different geographical areas. While there has not been any attempt to compare groups from different geographical areas, this is some indication that the sets of attitudes held may be more generalised than the limitations of the present research allows for testing.

Given the provisos and limitations of the study, we can only say that these are the views of the two groups tested; that they showed remarkably similar patterns of response and that this occurred despite the school effect difference of having a multicultural programme for pupils of West Indian descent operating in the schools from which Lot 5 was drawn.

Comparison of first West Indian Control with second West Indian Control  
(Lot 8 v. Lot 6)

Similarity between these controls shown by a lack of large numbers of significant differences on the Chi Squared tests would indicate their usefulness as a joint West Indian control. For results see Appendix (xxvii).

In the case of the comparison between the two West Indian controls, the pattern of responses was not the same as the two English controls just described. Six out of 70 items showed significantly different levels (.05 or less) on the Attitude Test, using the Chi Squared test of significance. This 8.6 per cent of items showing significant difference on the test, though low, appeared to reflect a consistent trend.

There is, in this case unlike the previous comparison, a possibility of at least some of the difference between the two groups being due to a difference of opinion between them on some of the items of the Attitude Questionnaire. This warrants detailed examination of the items showing significant difference to attempt to discover any pattern of response amongst the items showing difference.

It is conjectured that Lot 8 as a group are slightly more concerned about having the host community learn about aspects of West Indian culture. Variables 10, 50, 58 and 66 refer to teachers, white children and English people learning or knowing more about the West Indies, West Indian songs or West Indian food. If this difference between groups is attributable to such a wish for an increased understanding on the part of the 'host' figures, then the difference between groups may be a function of the differences between the regimes in the two types of schools used in the study. Lot 8 were drawn exclusively from schools that employed no multicultural programmes. Lot 6 were drawn from the experimental schools.

(It should be pointed out that this set of views is not shared by Lot 7 - the original experimental group - drawn from the same schools. However, as will be discussed later, there are very strong sets of opinions emanating from this atypical sample, so it is not very helpful to use it for comparative purposes without taking those other differences into account).

New English Control compared with New West Indian Control  
(Lot 5 v. Lot 6)

These results are useful in that all the pupils in the two groups above come from the same schools as each other so there cannot be said to be a school effect difference reflected in measured differences between groups. Appendix (xxviii) gives the statistically significant results.

These pupils are also important as a sample drawn from the experimental group schools. In other words, they represent a group similar to that from which the original experimental group was withdrawn for the special service lessons.

An examination of results shows that the unhappiness items are no longer present, but that highly significant differences are shown

between the groups reflective of differences in cultural attitudes:

I like English stories better than West Indian stories,

and also reflective of differences concerning language:

Most people who speak posh English aren't nice.

A majority of the West Indian group agreed with the latter comment compared with a minority of the English group, despite the fact that the white English children coming from predominantly working class homes, reflected a considerable level of agreement (34 per cent) with the above statement.

Results from these two groups bear out the underlying hypotheses of the research in that attitudes were clearly polarized and different for the two groups in areas that were not simply a matter concerning knowledge exclusively pertaining to one group (e.g. parental liking for patois).

#### Comparison of West Indian Controls and English Controls

(Lots 6 + 8 v. Lots 5 + 9)

Appendix xxix lists items that show statistically significant differences on a Chi Squared Test where that difference is also meaningful. Items that are not relevant are excluded. These are items where a difference in response between white English pupils and pupils of West Indian descent must be expected - for instance statements referring to parental use of Patois, parental liking for the West Indies or own use of Patois. However, attitudes towards Patois would not be included in this category, since both groups may equally like or dislike the language.

Thirty-three items showed significantly different responses after removal of the non-relevant items. This represents 33 items out of



65 ( i.e. less than 70, given the removal of non-relevant items from the total ).

Results are discussed in the next chapter with reference to their implications about the attitudes of the two groups. The comparison of the two combined control groups is proposed as a basis for a further set of comparisons that is to be done as a sifting out process to get the atypical sets of attitudes of Lot 7 (the original experimental group) separated from other attitudes which Lot 7 may hold in common with other groups of pupils of West Indian descent.

Comparison between Original Experimental Group and Combined West Indian Control Groups

(Lot 7 v. Lots 6 + 8)

This comparison was made to find differences between the atypical original experimental group (Lot 7) and the two West Indian controls (Lot 6 and 8) which were found to be similar to each other on all but 6 out of 70 variables.

There were 17 items that showed differences at levels of .05 and less using the Chi Squared test of significance. (See Appendix xxx).

Of the 17 items of statistical differences between Lot 7 and Lots 6 + 8, ten of them could be directly connected with personal levels of unhappiness or levels of school and teacher liking.

Lot 7 offered consistently more 'unhappy' or 'discontented' responses than the combined controls. These centred on clear-cut unhappiness items.

Variable 70 'I'm unhappy most of the time' (sig.  $\leq$  .01)

and on teacher-related items:

Variable 34 'My teachers don't like me' (sig.  $\leq$  .01)

Variable 53 'My teachers are always angry' (sig.  $\leq$  .01)

Lot 7 showed consistently more responses of pro-black attitudes:

Variable 77 'If all English people were black, things  
would be better' (sig.  $\leq$  .05)

Variable 43 'I would like to be taught by black teachers (sig.  $\leq$  .01)

and these showed a similar pattern to attitudes of racial persecution:

Variable 20 'Most teachers don't like black children' (sig.  $\leq$  .01).

Using lots 5 + 9 v. 6 + 8 (the two English controls by the two West Indian controls) as a base, it was then possible to look at the other  $\chi^2$  comparisons to see whether differences occurred other than those to be expected from the effects of Lot 7 (original experimental group). This would also indicate where Lot 7 bias did not affect overall results of a comparison between all English and all West Indian pupils. (See Appendix xxxi).

#### Isolation of Unhappiness Factor

The results of factor analysis described earlier were used for the construction of a composite variable drawn from the third factor of a five factor rotated matrix, (characterized as an "Unhappiness" Factor). The items making up this factor were given weighted scores according to their loading on the factor and a high score (based on the total population upper fifth level) was used as a criterion for measuring scores of the component groups in the sample. Results were as follows:

TABLE 19.5Pupils of West Indian Descent and English Indigenous Pupils showing "Unhappiness" scores as measured by Composite Variable from Factor Analysis

37/62	= 60%	of Experimental Group (Lot 7)	expressed unhappiness
6/41	= 15%	of West Indian pupils from Control group schools <u>outside</u> experimental area (Lot 8)	expressed unhappiness
5/38	= 13%	of English pupils from experimental schools (Lot 5)	expressed unhappiness
2/30	= 7%	of West Indian pupils from experimental schools (Lot 6)	expressed unhappiness
1/41	= 2%	of English pupils from original control schools (Lot 9)	expressed unhappiness

Considering the small numbers of pupils in each group and the relative proportions expressed, it seemed appropriate to compare scores for English and West Indian pupils other than the original experimental group. Results were as follows:

TABLE 19.6Comparison of Pupils of West Indian Descent and English Indigenous Pupils excluding Experimental Group

8/71	= 11%	West Indian Group	expressed unhappiness
6/79	= 8%	English Group	expressed unhappiness.

Unhappiness levels are highest in the withdrawn group of pupils of West Indian descent in the experimental group schools. This cannot be attributed to school area effect as the following table, based on pupils inside and outside of the experimental area, shows:

TABLE 19.7Proportions of "Unhappy" Pupils within/without Experimental area

7/68 = 10% both ethnic groups from within  
 7/65\* = 11% both ethnic groups from without.

\*figure based on pupils other than experimental groups' schools

Other than the experimental group, pupils of different ethnic origins had comparable scores on the 'Unhappiness Factor':

8% of English Indigenous pupils obtained high scores  
 11% of pupils of West Indian descent (control group only) obtained high scores  
 14% of 'Other' pupils obtained high scores.

These figures compare with 60 per cent of the original experimental group obtaining high scores. The unhappiness level derived from scores above that of the upper fifth level for the entire sample corresponds closely with that of the mean score for the experimental group.

Scores based on sex of child showed little difference, although a slightly higher score was recorded amongst girls.

TABLE 19.8Pupils according to sex, showing 'Unhappiness' scores as measured by Composite Variable from Factor Analysis

25/15 = 22% boys of all ethnic origins expressed unhappiness  
 35/126 = 28% girls of all ethnic origins expressed unhappiness

It is felt that the difference between the sexes was offset by the balance of numbers of each sex from within and without the experimental area.

Scores for individual schools are appended (Appendix xxxii).

Attitude Test items unaffected by Differences within Experimental Group

From the overlap which remained after the Chi Squared comparison of different groups had been undertaken, it was possible to eliminate the effect of the Unhappiness bias affecting results. Appendix (xxxiii) shows the results with the excluded items and the reasons given which were summarized by the tables in Appendix (xxxii).

A 'pure' list of attitudes expressing statistically significant differences between pupils of West Indian descent and English Indigenous pupils may be constructed from these comparisons. It will probably exclude some items that may have statistically significant differences as a whole but were not included because there was no overlap when the sub-sets were compared (groups ranging in size from 30 to 41 pupils). It is therefore a conservative estimate of difference.

A predominantly West Indian view:

Most people who speak posh English aren't nice;

Teachers should learn about the West Indies;

I like English stories better than West Indian stories;

I'd like to live in the West Indies;

Most teachers don't like black children;

I like playing with black children more than white children;

I prefer the West Indians to the English;

I would like to be taught by black teachers;

West Indian parents are more strict than English parents;

I like eating West Indian food;

I prefer having black friends to white friends;

English people should eat more West Indian food;

Schools should help black children more.

A predominantly English view:

I like living in Britain;

English is better than patois;

I like English food better than West Indian food;

England is better than the West Indies.

These attitude statements are based solely on those items where differences between groups were so great as to give a majority/minority split. They exclude items such as:

I don't like Britain

although 43 per cent of West Indians concurred. There was overlap between all groups compared and the difference between West Indian and English group responses was statistically significant at  $p < 0.1$  in all comparisons.

These attitudes may therefore be considered as the two extreme poles of opinion as registered on the attitude test. The only items artificially excluded refer to differences between groups that are statistically significant but not meaningful, e.g.:

My parents don't like speaking patois.

It will be noted that the unhappiness items are not amongst the groups, although they have been excluded by the process of analysis and not arbitrarily, as in the above case.

This process of using the Chi Squared Test on comparisons between the sets of groups was used as a method of cross checking results obtained by factor analysis, given the problems discussed earlier concerning the use of this technique with dichotomous data.

### Interrelationship between Variables

Results so far have shown unexpected characteristics amongst the experimental group and clear sets of opinions held by groups of different ethnic origin. Clear poles of opinions were also obtained from pupils of West Indian descent and English indigenous pupils. The links between attitudes and performance (on tests of English, Anxiety and other tests) were examined next.

Factor analysis was used to look at results according to scores on tests and variables were constructed from the original Factor Analysis scores, described earlier as composite variables on the Five Factor matrix (for reference Comp. 1 to 5). Gender was included as a variable as it had appeared to be significant on some factors. Two new variables were constructed according to whether pupils belonged to the original experimental group or not and according to whether they were of West Indian or English ethnic origin (Race).

Four factors bore an Eigenvalue > 1, accounting for 63 per cent of the variance. (Eigenvalues & communalities appended - xxxix - p.367).

TABLE 19.9      Interrelationship of Variables : Four Factor rotated Matrix (n = 241)

	FI'	FII'	FIII'	FIV'
<u>Per cent of variance : 63</u>				
<u>Variables</u>				
Cognitive Test		.91		
English Test	(-.21)	.63	(-.26)	(.33)
Gender				.54
Dialect Error	(.24)			-.36
Comp. 1	.64	(-.32)		
Comp. 2	-.87			
Comp. 3	(.37)	(-.26)	.74	
Comp. 4			.46	
Comp. 5	.36			
Anxiety			.30	
*Experimental Group/Not	.53	(-.23)	(.27)	
**Race	.76			

\* Pos. = from experimental group, Neg. = non-experimental group  
 \*\* Pos. = West Indian origin, Neg. = English origin.

The positive loadings of the "Race" and the "Experimental Group" variables on the first factor indicate the responses of children of West Indian descent. (The Experimental Group variable also loads elsewhere). Factor One would appear to be a "race" factor in so far as it sharply distinguishes between responses according to ethnic origin.

"Comp. 2" has the highest loading on the first factor, with a negative loading of .87. This composite variable was composed of the following items:

I like English stories better than West Indian stories

England is better than the West Indies.

English music is better than West Indian music.

I like English food better than West Indian food.

White people like black people most of the time.

\*Teachers should (not) learn about the West Indies.

\*I would (not) like to live in the West Indies.

\*I do (not) like eating West Indian food.

\*Reconstructed negatively in accordance with original negative loading.

Factor analysis has indicated that the children of West Indian descent register disagreement with the above statements overwhelmingly. Whereas other composite variables (1, 3 and 4) load partially or wholly on other factors, disagreement with "Comp. 2" attitudes would seem to be the representative viewpoint of children of West Indian descent. Furthermore, these attitudes are loading exclusively on this factor whereas others load elsewhere, just as the "Experimental Group" variable loads elsewhere. In other words, "Comp. 2" represents those views which are held, in an opposite form, both by the experimental group and by the great majority of other children of West Indian descent, but does not form part of the attitudes held by experimental group children exclusively which are included with other views on other factors.



It is noteworthy that the "Comp. 2" items are mainly connected with English and West Indian culture, often posed in a comparative stance. These children (none of whom was born in the West Indies) are saying that they prefer West Indian stories, music and the country to English equivalents. It is not primarily a statement about colour or race, nor indicative of the "likes" and "dislikes" expressed elsewhere.

The positive loading of .64 of "Comp. 1" represents items expressing a dislike for British institutions. It contains two race-related items and the language item concerning "posh" English. "Comp. 1" is composed of the following items:

White children don't like playing with black children.

I like English people but not the police.

West Indian parents are more strict than English parents.

My parents don't like Britain

I don't like Britain.

I like playing with black children more than white children.

Most people who speak posh English aren't nice.

With regard to the linguistic hypotheses of this research, the negative loading of  $-.21$  of the English Test variable and the positive loading of  $.24$  of the Dialect Error variable, are consistent with findings reported earlier whereby children of West Indian descent obtained slightly lower scores on the English Test than indigenous English children.

The Cognitive Test has no bearing on the variables making up this factor, offering further evidence that the characteristic differences between the groups concern language skills and attitudes rather than ability as measured by the Non-Verbal DH Test. Factor One, the "race" factor, also contains the language-related Comp. 5 which was primarily composed of items about patois, as follows:

\*You should speak patois (West Indian Dialect).

\*My parents like speaking patois (West Indian Dialect).

My West Indian friends like patois.

I like speaking patois at home.

I like to spend week-ends with my parents.

\*statements constructed positively according to original negative loading.

Factor One shows the response of pupils of West Indian descent, including pupils from the experimental group, who reject the attitudes which express preference for the culture of the host community. A slight weakness on the English Test and a tendency to make Dialect errors are also reflected in the loadings of  $-.21$  and  $.24$  respectively.

Factor Two offers the cases of high scores on the Cognitive and English tests loading at negative ends with Comp. 1 attitudes which are:

White children don't like playing with black children.

I like English people but not the police.

West Indian parents are more strict than English parents.

My parents don't like Britain.

I don't like Britain.

I like playing with black children more than white children.

Most people who speak posh English aren't nice.

There would appear to be a negative correlation between functioning successfully in the school context as measured by the Cognitive and English tests, and holding the Comp. 1 attitudes.

It is open to interpretation as to whether the school failure leads to attitudes rejecting a culture that the school is part of, or whether rejection of the host culture means rejection also of striving towards school attainment, or indeed whether the two phenomena are causally linked to something else not measured or identified by this research. It may be assumed, however, that the attitude groupings expressed by

Factor Two are related in some way to school achievement and that consequently school achievement cannot be considered in isolation from the total outlook and views of a child regarding his or her cultural affiliations.

Factor Three includes the Comp. 3 items which bear a loading of .74 on this factor. This variable and the more generalised Comp. 4 variable which has a loading of .46 give the factor its unhappy characteristics. Comp. 3 is made up of several school-related unhappiness items as follows:

My teachers are always angry.

I'm always bored.

Most teachers don't like black children.

I'm unhappy most of the time.

Other children don't like me very much.

My teachers are always correcting my English.

I like to get outside as much as possible.

My parents are much more strict than my teachers.

Comp. 4 is composed of items marking school and home unhappiness, a sense of persecution and disassociation from the parental culture. The items that constructed Comp. 4 are as follows:

I don't like the West Indies.

I don't get on at home.

School is boring.

I don't like being asked questions in class.

My brothers and sisters are always picking on me.

\*I (do not) like to spend week-ends with family and friends.

\*Negative statement constructed according to original negative loading.

It should be noted that Factor Three reflects the views of the Experimental group to a certain extent as that variable has a loading of .27 on this factor. It is interesting to compare variables loading on Factor Three but not on Factor One which also included the responses of the experimental group children. For instance, the Factor Three group do not include either the Comp. 1 attitudes or the negative response on the Comp. 2 attitudes. This would seem to indicate that Factor Three was isolating that portion of the experimental group which is distinctive in its expression of unhappiness, an unhappiness related to school in part and also to home.

The difference in score on the Cognitive and English tests between the experimental group and all other groups tested, the bimodal distribution of Cognitive Test scores and the difference in attitudes reported previously had led to the conclusion that the experimental group was atypical and that it was selected out from the main class by some unstated criteria. One possible interpretation of this was that teachers were somehow placing children from the lower ability range and children who were less happy in the special experimental group. It was possible that two separate "types" of child were therefore being added in to the special multicultural withdrawal group, namely the less able child and the unhappy child. It is possible that Factor Three is distinguishing between types of child from the experimental group in that the attitudinal difference is clearly expressed by the difference in composite variable loadings. In one sense Factor Two may be said to represent the group characterised by high cognitive test scores and non-membership of the experimental group, and in that respect is the opposite of Factor Three.

The Cognitive Test shows no loading on Factor Three and the English Test a slight negative loading of  $-.26$ . Factor Three further reinforces the view that whatever is holding back the English performance of these

children, it does not seem to be their "ability" as measured by the Non-verbal D.H. Test. In so far as the Cognitive Test is a measure of ability and the English Test a measure of achievement, it is to be expected that this type of difference would be registered by pupils with similar cognitive abilities but different language skills. This particular result is similar to the Factor One structure which also includes experimental group responses. Unlike Factor One, however, Factor Three shows Anxiety loading moderately and positively at .30. It is the only factor on which this variable loads positively or negatively above .10.

Anxiety, as measured by the combined test (based on the Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale and the Test Anxiety Scale for Children) did not have a significant influence on any of the groups overall, although it showed a marked presence amongst the experimental group. Factor analysis had shown a positive correlation between Anxiety as measured by the above tests and the composite variables made up of items drawn from a previous factor analysis of the West Indian groups first tested. These "unhappiness" factors were related to attitudes about people and experiences within school. They included several items connected with race and feelings of racial persecution. Unhappiness related to the home setting was also recorded.

Although the fourth factor clearly indicates a positive loading on gender, there are no other unique substantial loadings on this factor. A loading of .33 on the English Test and  $-.36$  on Dialect-based mistakes (derived from the English Test) correlate with gender.

The positive loading on gender represents the responses of girls, giving some indication of a language result difference between the sexes - girls showing slightly better English Test results and making fewer Dialect errors than boys. This result confirms many other studies which have compared results of boys and girls of the age group tested and found

a marked difference between them, girls showing better results on tests that measure either verbal abilities or written English.

The interrelationship of variables was also examined in further detail by the following method. Mean scores for pupils of West Indian descent were obtained for test scores on the English Test and other tests and a comparison made by means of the Chi Squared Test of Significance. The difference between boys and girls, for example, was compared by this division above and below their combined mean score as follows:

TABLE 19.10 Comparison of Boys' and Girls' English Test Results for Pupils of West Indian Descent (N = 133) using Chi Squared Test of Significance

	<u>Low English Score</u>	<u>High English Score</u>	<u>Low English Score</u>	<u>High English Score</u>	<u>Sig. Level</u>
	(Numbers)		(Per cent)		
Boys	31	33	48	52	N.S.
Girls	29	40	42	58	

$$\chi_1^2 = .322$$

N.S. =  $p > 0.05$

High Score =  $\geq \bar{x}$

Low Score =  $< \bar{x}$

It would appear that the Factor Four result showing a positive loading in the case of girls upon the English Test variable and a negative loading upon the Dialect Error variable, does not reflect a statistically significant difference between the sexes for their English Test scores although a slight difference between test scores is recorded.

Factor Two, indicating a negative correlation between high English and Cognitive Test Scores and attitude groupings made up of the Comp. 1 items (expressing dislike for English institutions), was examined next,

using the same technique:

TABLE 19.11 Comparison of Comp. 1 Items and Cognitive Test Scores for Pupils of West Indian Descent (N = 133) using Chi Squared Test of Significance

	<u>Low Comp.1</u> <u>Score</u>	<u>High Comp.1</u> <u>Score</u>	<u>Low Comp.1</u> <u>Score</u>	<u>High Comp.1</u> <u>Score</u>	<u>Sig.</u> <u>Level</u>
	(Numbers)		(Per cent)		
Low Cog. Test Score	24	43	36	64	S
High Cog. Test Score	37	29	56	44	

$$\chi^2 = 4.70$$

$$S = p \leq 0.05$$

$$\text{High Score} = \geq \bar{x}$$

$$\text{Low Score} = < \bar{x}$$

A closely similar pattern of results was obtained from the comparison of Comp. 1 items and the English Test Scores, showing a significance level of  $< 0.05$  on the Chi Squared Test (results appended xxxv). The sharpest difference was recorded between the pupils who obtained low Cognitive and English Scores and high scores on the attitude groupings of Comp. 1.

A comparison was then made of Cognitive Test scores for all attitude groupings Comp. 1 to Comp. 5 (see appendix xxxiv) and English Test scores and Comp. 1 to Comp. 5 attitudes (see appendix xxxv). Results obtained from the comparison of Comp. 3 scores with Cognitive and English Test scores, showed a similar pattern to that of the comparison just described for Comp. 1 scores.

TABLE 19.12 Comparison of Comp. 3 Items with Cognitive Test Scores and English Test Scores for Pupils of West Indian Descent (N = 103) using Chi Squared Test of Significance

	<u>Comp.3</u> <u>Low</u>	<u>%*</u>	<u>Comp.3</u> <u>High</u>		<u>Comp.3</u> <u>Low</u>	<u>%*</u>	<u>Comp.3</u> <u>High</u>
Low Cog. Test Scores	37		63	Low English Test Scores	32		68
High Cog. Test Scores	67		33	High English Test Scores	69		31

$$\chi_1^2 = 10.33$$

Sig.: HS

$$\chi_1^2 = 16.45$$

Sig. : HS

\*Reporting percentages only. Scores appended xxxiv, xxxv.

$$HS = p \leq 0.01$$

(N.B. Comp.3 items make up the "unhappiness" factor described in Chapter 18 p.208 Table 18.3).

With the exception of the Comp.1 and Comp.3 comparisons, Cognitive Test scores did not show significant differences from the composite variable scores for any other comparison made. English Test scores, however, did not follow this pattern in all cases. The comparison between Comp.4 scores and English test results showed significant differences:

TABLE 19.13 Comparison of Comp.4 Items with Cognitive Test Scores and English Test Scores for Pupils of West Indian Descent (N = 103) using Chi Squared Test of Significance

	<u>Comp.4</u> <u>Low</u>	<u>%*</u>	<u>Comp.4</u> <u>High</u>		<u>Comp.4</u> <u>Low</u>	<u>%*</u>	<u>Comp.4</u> <u>High</u>
Low Cog. Test Score	45		55	Low English Test Score	38		62
High Cog. Test Score	53		47	High English Test Score	58		43

$$\chi_1^2 = .61$$

Sig.: NS

$$\chi_1^2 = 4.12$$

Sig. : S

\*Reporting percentages only. Scores appended xxxiv, xxxv.

$$S = p \leq 0.05$$

$$NS = p \leq 0.05$$

(N.B. Comp.4 items make up the anti-school, anti-family factor described in Chapter 18, p.209 Table 18.3)



Factor Three of the matrix (Table 19.9, p.247) shows the Comp.4 and Comp.3 variables loading positively with Anxiety Test scores, but not bearing a relationship to membership of the experimental group.

The comparisons described show relationships between low scores on the Cognitive and English tests and attitudes expressing unhappiness and rejection of host country institutions. There is also a relationship between low scores on the English Test (though not the Cognitive Test) and the following Comp.4 items:

I don't like the West Indies.

I don't get on at home.

School is boring.

I don't like being asked questions in class.

My brothers and sisters are always picking on me.

\*I (don't) like to spend week-ends with family and friends.

\*Reconstructed negatively in accordance with original negative loading.

#### Relationship between Teachers' Assessment and Test Scores

Further analysis was undertaken with an examination of the inter-relationship of variables using teachers' assessments. This analysis was limited to the original sample of pupils, however, as the Teachers' Questionnaire could not be included in the second lot of testing. A factor analysis was run including as variables the Cognitive, English and Anxiety tests and the five composite variables constructed from factor analysis of the Attitude Test, as well as items from the Teachers' Questionnaire. (See Appendix xxxvi).

Results indicated a high positive correlation between teachers' estimates of pupils' language mastery and the performance of those pupils on the English Test. High scores on the Cognitive Test also correlated positively with these results and with teachers' assessments of pupils'

abilities in Mathematics (although the loading was considerably lower for this item).

There was an intercorrelation on another factor of those items of teachers' assessments that dealt with pupils' levels of shyness, aggression, concentration, neatness, and disruptiveness. The highest loading fell on the 'seldom disruptive' score, followed by 'seldom aggressive'. These were unique loadings. The variables indicating 'high concentration' and 'neat and tidy classwork' were also loading on the previous factor which was concerned with high scores on the English and Cognitive Tests, negative scores on the unhappiness items and high scores on the teachers' estimate of pupils' ability in English and Intelligence.

It would appear that the judgement by teachers of children's ability corresponded closely to the recorded performance by those children on the various tests administered by the research.

CHAPTER TWENTYCONCLUSIONS

Some comments are offered on the results of analysis with respect to the main hypotheses and other findings. Findings of previous studies are compared with results of the present research.

Chapter Twenty concludes the study with a fresh assessment of the problem in the light of these findings.

Suggestions for action are proposed and several possibilities for further study are outlined.

Assessment of Efficacy of Test Instruments

The sample tested was made up of 241 twelve-year-old pupils in secondary schools in three boroughs. Since the sample was not randomly selected, but was chosen according to practices within particular schools, results should be interpreted accordingly.

While every effort was made to find culture-free tests and more particularly a non-verbal 'acnhor' test for comparison with a ready standardised English grammar test, this was not found to be possible. The standardised non-verbal test of the NFER, the Non-verbal DH Test which was used for reasons outlined previously, requires verbal or written instructions for its administration which must necessarily put non-English pupils and poor readers at a disadvantage. Although great care was taken to offset this disadvantage by giving pupils ample time for a step by step practice session before the real test, and by reading instructions aloud, it is unlikely that these measures can compensate for the off-putting experience of doing a test that contains written words on the pages before that test.

The NFER test was probably the best available, given that certain intelligence tests had been used in the schools already and were well known to some pupils. It had a clear advantage over other tests being composed of pattern recognition problems, which are less frightening to children who perform poorly on traditional academic assessment tests, and indeed many of the pupils who reported their reaction to the testing said that they enjoyed the "puzzles" part. As a test it was unbiased internally once the instructions for it had been given. Therefore those pupils who understood the instructions were probably on an equal footing. It should be noted that this test cannot lay claim to being an intelligence test. It measures a child's ability to recognise patterns and select the 'missing' section from a choice of several options. Significance testing of sections that contained numbers to see whether these

penalised the less numerate child, did not bring out significant differences from the purely non-symbolic pattern sections. However, it cannot be known how much the inclusion of numbers might shake the confidence of a less numerate child, thereby affecting overall test performance for that child. The NFER and other bodies involved in test construction might well consider making word-free, number-free tests in future when they wish to measure non-verbal abilities that are not influenced by any learned skill. In our view any test that is group administered should have no writing or numbers on it at all, and a printed set of instructions should be used by the test administrator. This would at least ensure that all children receive the same verbal instructions and although there are obvious limitations regarding aural comprehension and the complexity of the instructions themselves, this could at least be assessed.

Results of the Non-verbal DH Test showed, with the exception of the sharply differing experimental group (Lot 7), all other groups shared mean scores close enough to warrant comparison on other tests. The marked bimodal distribution of scores of the experimental group results, combined with their significantly lower overall mean score, indicated that the group had somehow been selected out from main stream classes. It is conjectured that the academically less able were pulling down the mean level of the group as a whole. It must be noted, however, that a slightly bimodal result was found with the first West Indian control and the 'other' pupils (Lots 8 and 4), possibly due to language understanding problems of some pupils.

Previous research found that intelligence tests administered to black pupils by a white tester showed approximately a 15 point drop in score in comparison with tests administered by a black tester. There was a lower (though not statistically significant) score for all black pupils compared with all white pupils on the DH Test, which was administered by a white tester. Since the use of the non-verbal test was for

comparison purposes, with the English tests and Attitude Test being of prime concern, it is not considered that this difference is of great importance for the present research.

Given the sensitivity of the issues under investigation and the possibility of stress affecting results of black pupils under test conditions, anxiety tests were used in an attempt to measure this factor which can affect academic achievement. While individual pupils may have been affected, test results did not show an overall correlation between high anxiety scores and low scores on either of the 'academic' tests used. This was true, moreover for both components of the anxiety test. The Test Anxiety questions and Manifest Anxiety questions had been administered together, but individual scores were separated (as for the numerical items of the NFER Non-verbal DH test) in order to examine these two possibly separate aspects of anxiety.

It was tentatively assumed that as the non-verbal scores were comparable for all groups other than the original experimental group, and as the anxiety scores, on a group by group comparison, were showing similar results, it was possible to go on to examine the English Test results and Attitude Test results in order to assess the performance and opinions of the pupils tested, knowing that other than the experimental group (Lot 7) they were similar up to that point of testing.

The English Test was constructed from items that were based on differences between Standard English and Dialect. These were derived from information gathered during preparatory work in schools and from the evidence of the literature. Sections of standardised tests were used as models. However, no single prepared test, nor even any single section of a prepared test was found to be adequate for the testing of Standard English usage of pupils of West Indian descent. As described in the section on test construction, it was necessary to alter items considerably because of a culturally loaded bias in some tests and a serious

deficiency of grammar items appropriate for the needs of this research.

The final version of the English Test was therefore an amalgam of phrases taken directly from pupils' usage as recorded in schools, and sections based on standardised tests. While the piloting of the Test had not shown problems with time limitations, it was found that when administered to larger groups, more time would probably have helped the slow readers in the groups tested, as a number of pupils did not finish the last part of the final section. For this reason the whole of the last section (a comparison of comprehension levels of a passage based on a Northern English dialect and a passage based on a West Indian dialect) was not included in a comparison with other sections.

When the structural sub-sections of the English test were examined, differences between groups showed clearly for some grammar items. In comparisons between West Indian and English groups, the English groups' scores were higher in every case for every group tested bar one. Seventeen out of 18 comparisons showed higher scores for the English indigenous pupils. The exception was the section concerning abstract nouns in which the second West Indian control group obtained a higher score than the second English control group, although the difference was not statistically significant.

Within the test, significance levels of  $< 0.05$  were reached on the Quiz Section, Plural Formation, Standard English Construction and Verb Construction sections. As noted in the previous chapter, there was a difference of response from different groups. It is conjectured that this is most likely due to variation in the competence of teaching different language points in school, and perhaps also to the timing of teaching different language points.

It was noted that great attention was paid to work with verb tense formation in the experimental schools, since this was considered to be one of the problem areas for West Indian pupils. Special 'Snakes and

Ladders' games based on verb endings and irregular verbs, were used by Experimental Group Teachers to make pupils sensitive to Standard English verb constructions. This type of specialised grammar work may account for the difference of score between the two sets of control groups, whereby the experimental schools' controls showed similar scores, but the control schools' controls showed significantly different scores in comparisons between pupils of West Indian descent and indigenous English pupils. (The West Indian control group from the experimental schools obtained comparatively better scores than the West Indian control group from the control area schools in a comparison with their indigenous English counterparts).

A similar result was obtained from the section of the test which required correct Standard English constructions. It is remarkable, however, that the Quiz section, which was not based on formal instructional techniques, did not obtain this result. This section of the test was constructed with questions that contained a piece of information as a 'clue' formed with Standard English grammar which would handicap the pupil who did not operate comfortably in Standard English. In this case significantly different scores were obtained from the experimental schools' controls, but not from the original controls.

As reported in the last chapter, the differences between the West Indian and English controls held good overall for certain sections despite the above mentioned differences within groups. These were the Standard English Construction section and the Verb Section. This result bears out the findings of other research, such as that of V.K. Edwards (1976) although in our case it must be noted that certain grammar sections were not showing statistically significant differences between groups (for example the section based on pronoun usage). Since the present research is based exclusively on pupils of West Indian descent and not on pupils from the West Indies, it is assumed that the difference in results may



be explained by the adaptation to some Standard forms that are perhaps more easily assimilated than others. Nevertheless, despite the length of schooling in English schools and despite the fact that they were born and raised in England, the pupils of West Indian descent maintained a certain disadvantage in several sections of the English Test when compared with other pupils in their schools.

The final section of testing covered responses to 70 items constructed from children's statements. On this section there were sharply differentiated opinions on a series of sets of attitudes. The differences between the West Indian and English controls will be discussed first as there are other compounding issues to be dealt with in an examination of the differences between the original experimental group and both lots of control groups.

### Discussion of Results

As noted previously, it has been concluded from evidence showing an overall similarity of response on the Attitude Test between English controls, that these groups may be taken together (67 out of 70 items showed statistically similar results). In the case of the two West Indian controls, the groups showed similar responses except on a few items involving opinions about wishing for the host community (teachers, other children and English people) to learn more about West Indian culture, a view expressed by the control group from schools outside the experimental area (in other words, children in schools where no multi-cultural programme existed).

From the similar and characteristic responses a profile can be built up of groups of typical attitudes. Based on the West Indian controls and English controls and excluding the original experimental group, the following picture is obtained.

A majority of the pupils of West Indian descent believed that

teachers should learn about the West Indies (72%), that they would like to live in the West Indies (63%), that they preferred the West Indians to the English (54%), that white children should learn West Indian songs (63%), that English people should know about the West Indies (80%) and that English people should eat more West Indian food (58%). In direct contrast to this clear indication of pro-West Indian attitudes, the majority of the white indigenous English children disagreed with every single one of these statements.

Attitudes concerning racial preferences obtained similar results, with items such as "I like playing with black children more than white children" showing highly significant differences - 51 per cent of black children agreed and 9 per cent of white children agreed. Items which perhaps reflected fact more than opinion showed no significant difference of response. Thus a comparable majority of both black and white children agreed that white children don't like playing with black children.

Corresponding attitudes to Britain and to things labeled English (music, food, stories) received similar responses when compared with their West Indian counterparts. Thus there were reverse majority/minority scores on variables that compared English stories with West Indian stories or English food with West Indian food.

When a choice was not forced upon the respondents, however, a different picture emerged. Although there was a highly significant difference of response between groups, a minority of both groups disliked the West Indies (9% of West Indians and 33% of the English pupils). A majority of both groups liked living in Britain (69% and 90% respectively).

Attitudes towards school showed a sharp difference of opinion. More West Indians agreed that they liked being at school (80% compared with 60% of English pupils). However, despite this positive liking for school, the West Indian group expressed a significantly greater number of criticisms of their teachers. More of them considered that most

teachers dislike black children (41% compared with 14% of English pupils). More of them would like to be taught by black teachers (43% compared with 11% of English pupils). More of them believed that most teachers don't care about the West Indies (46% compared with 29% of English pupils). Furthermore there was a majority/minority split on the issue of whether schools should help black children more (75% of West Indians agreed compared with 44% of English pupils).

Regarding attitudes towards language, a comparison between indigenous English children and those of West Indian descent requires certain reservations. Given the gap between them on other aspects of culture, it would not be surprising if the former group knew very little about patois. Even so, prejudice did seem to affect results. Results indicated that similar sets of items that forced a choice, corresponded to the previously mentioned cultural responses. A statement of preference for English over Patois was recorded by a majority of the indigenous English pupils and a minority of the pupils of West Indian descent (71% and 34% respectively).

Certain items are remarkable for the level of feeling expressed. Only 43 per cent of pupils of West Indian descent stated that they would like to be taught by black teachers, a surprising response given their attitudes towards their own teachers (and all of the teachers encountered during testing were white).

Attitudes towards family life were also interesting. Although most children from all groups tested stated that they were happy at home, there was a marked difference of response when these attitudes were forced into a comparative stance. Thus the statement "I like to be with my friends more than with my family" was agreed with by 22 per cent of West Indians but only 8 per cent of English pupils.

It would appear that a certain element of unhappiness affected all West Indian groups but in the case of the two West Indian control groups this was expressed in a qualified manner. A significant number of these

pupils, while liking school, were not as content with their teachers as the white English children. They were happy at home but preferred being with friends than with family. They liked living in Britain, but preferred the West Indies and all aspects of its culture. Factor analysis reflected this trait. The "unhappiness factor" appeared in third place with clear unique loadings on a variety of "unhappiness" items that spanned attitudes to school, teachers, peers, language and white children.

### Conclusions drawn from Findings

Results of the English Test indicated that some kind of language barrier was affecting the so-called second generation children, pupils of West Indian descent born and educated in Britain. However, the present study did not find that Dialect-based interference hampered pupils of West Indian descent to the degree that they could not function on a linguistic level comparable with that of the indigenous English children in their schools. Some structural features showed up sharply in testing, and the fact that they were strongest amongst the control group from the non-experimental schools would seem to indicate that teaching strategies that address themselves to Dialect/Standard differences have a positive effect. There was no drop in standards amongst the indigenous English children, whose English Test marks were identical to those of the control group from schools that did not offer any special teaching. Therefore, without contra-indications involving other pupils, and with some evidence of improvement amongst pupils taught in schools where teachers operated the supplementary service, it would be worthwhile for teachers to use specialised teaching methods and to pay special attention to teaching structural items where a difference between Standard and Dialect affects the language usage of pupils of West Indian descent (for example verb construction).

However, the most overwhelming finding of this research rests with

the original experimental group, pupils whose mean scores on the non-verbal tests were significantly lower than those of other groups and who registered a high unhappiness score on the Attitude Test. Why was this so, and what are the implications for teaching strategies? It was not a school effect, since other pupils from the same schools were of a higher score level on the non-verbal test and did not show the same marked unhappiness factor. The pupils were supposed to be withdrawn for special lessons based on English and the culturally orientated programme administered by the supplementary service. They were supposed to be withdrawn at random.

Results of this research, however, indicate that this was not the case. In other words, the withdrawal was based on criteria other than the manifest ones. It is possible that those selected to attend the special classes were more difficult to teach either because of their ability or their classroom behaviour, and that the intended 'cultural' class was being used as a 'special unit' known at schools as a 'sin bin'. Evidence of this latter supposition has been offered (K. Toms, unpublished M.Phil. thesis, Brunel University 1979).

The disadvantages of withdrawal as a system are that the pupils themselves feel singled out and at fault; that main class teachers are tempted to send difficult children to the withdrawal teacher (it is well known that a child who is unhappy is often considered a behavioural problem to teachers); that pupils in the main classes are left out of the multicultural part of the education that takes place in the withdrawn class; and that withdrawn pupils miss important parts of the school's curriculum because lessons carry on in parallel. They do not receive a 'supplement' extra education, but only 'different' education from others. Finally, there may be a hardening of attitudes between racial groups when this process takes place. It is felt that these disadvantages far outweigh the benefits claimed for the system, namely that a small group

of pupils can receive special attention from a specially trained 'multi-cultural' teacher.

It is our view from the evidence of this research that multi-cultural education cannot be approached as special studies for minority children only who may then be seen as a school's 'problem group'. The strong group views expressed by the Attitude Test results showed that there has been no real assimilation of black children into mainstream English life. The pupils tested were black Britons who maintained a very strong identification with West Indian culture. The monocultural views of the white indigenous English children would seem to indicate that they should be withdrawn as well! One can only conclude that multicultural education must be for all pupils. White pupils need to learn about the culture of the other groups in a society that is itself multiracial and multicultural.

The withdrawal process necessarily precludes any overall teaching in other lessons that might spill over across disciplines. The physical separation of the special teacher from other teachers' work and from examination syllabi gravitates against other teachers learning and adopting some of the techniques and teaching materials. It was hoped that other teachers would ask questions and acquaint themselves with appropriate methods where possible, but the mechanics of the system did not appear to lend themselves to this process.

Some beneficial cultural effects of the withdrawal special programme may have 'rubbed off' in part upon pupils making up the West Indian control group in the experimental schools, as evidenced by the slight difference of attitude expressed by the West Indians from the experimental schools and those from the control schools. The latter group were slightly more keen to have English people learn about West Indian culture. It did not affect the attitudes of the indigenous English pupils in the experimental schools, however, whose views were almost identical, as a group,

to those of indigenous English pupils in the control schools. This is hardly surprising when the withdrawal system means of necessity a 'dose' of multiculturalism for one or two hours a week for a small group of minority pupils. (Because of the limitations of the special programme, this may not fairly be called 'multicultural studies' because it involves only the minority group, It is also not an integrated but a segregated approach). It is our view that while the teaching staff of the experimental schools' special service were excellent and the main stream teachers were not hostile or antagonistic towards the service, the system had somehow become something of a 'dumping ground' for some pupils and that this in itself outweighed its advantages.

As yet, no school has been prepared to take the step of extending the programme to all classes, to all teachers and to pupils of all ethnic origins. This in itself is quite disappointing given that there is a huge fund of teaching materials, language points based on Dialect/Standard differences, books and duplicated information available to the supplementary service teachers. Again, it would seem that the same process occurs at this level as at the national level outlined in the literature survey section on teachers. It is a matter of the trained group improving its own training but not attracting main school teachers who remain ignorant and cushioned by the withdrawal system from exposure to the programme.

This is no criticism of the supplementary service, whose teachers advocated a generalisation of their methods across the board. While some teachers involved in withdrawal work defended the system as necessary for particularly shy children and pupils who consistently run away from school, this was not evident amongst the pupils tested in the present research where the West Indian group (including the withdrawn group) expressed an attitude of liking for school.

The DES and bodies such as ILEA that are in a position to implement

changes on a large enough scale, should concern themselves with the generalisation of information. It is as unreasonable in the 'pluralist' 1980's to expect multicultural information to spread by word of mouth, as it was during the 'assimilationist' fifties and sixties to expect immigrant children to learn English in the playground. It was shown then that the process simply did not take place, much to the detriment of the immigrant children's language development. The evidence of the literature indicates that there has been little change in recent years. Too many piecemeal ventures, too many isolated teachers and too little leadership at a national level have prevented the translation of policy into practice.

Perhaps part of the problem lies in the conceptual approach of the educational strategists. Many of the efforts to combat the under-achievement of ethnic minorities have regarded these children within the framework of a 'disease' model. Treatment has consisted of remedial education administered twice weekly after normal lessons. When the remedy fails, the problem is tackled by either increasing the dose or switching to a slightly different medicine.

This study has shown that underachievement, as measured by the lower levels of attainment of pupils of West Indian descent, is not separable from the total outlook of the minority child. There were strong correlations between success levels on the English and Cognitive Tests and groupings of attitudes connected with culture and language.

An attempt to separate a group of children from their peers and 'remedy' their language, had not achieved the desired effect and may, in fact, be linked to their unhappiness as a group. It would therefore appear to be necessary to approach language work in the classroom within the context of the cultural outlook of the child. A teaching strategy would need to be part of all lessons in all schools to successfully counteract the isolation of the minority group pupils and the insularity of



the majority group pupils.

There are several indications that educational strategists are now greatly concerned about the needs of pupils of West Indian descent, and some steps have been taken to identify problem areas of educational under-achievement, by means of a large national survey.

The Assessment of Performance Unit (APU) established in 1975 by the Department of Education and Science, was charged with the task of investigating the feasibility of measuring attainment differences between social groups and between racial groups. In response to the 1978 White Paper, "The West Indian Community" (Cmd 7186), and also with consideration to the special focus of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups (the Rampton Committee) upon West Indian pupils, APU has expressed concern over the lack of information available on the performance of West Indian pupils. It therefore established a Study Group in 1980 to consider how a survey might be conducted of the performance of pupils of West Indian origin. It has proposed that a survey be mounted in Autumn 1981 and Spring 1982 of the attainment of this group of pupils in parallel to the national APU surveys in mathematics, English language and science.

This type of survey would be very welcome and might be expected to pinpoint exact areas of achievement differentials between groups. It is hoped that such an approach of dealing with problems on a national scale might also be extended to the establishment and monitoring of the multicultural initiatives recommended by Parliament.

#### Some Indications of Future Research

The introduction of a multicultural approach to education at a national level would require an 'enacting' policy putting a duty upon the local education authority to make appropriate provision, rather than using the voluntaristic approach of previous legislation. This would

involve educationists in a number of rather large steps.

Firstly, it would be necessary to consider multicultural education across the board - for all pupils within all disciplines. Such an approach, for example, would require science teachers to consider how their subjects might be taught in a way that would promote racial harmony and inter-cultural tolerance. It would require basic changes in the examination syllabuses to reflect the curricular changes.

Secondly, it would be necessary to provide special educational resources for language-teaching and training for teachers to adapt the effective English as a Second Language (ESL) techniques for use in the main classes for pupils of West Indian descent. The needs of this group of pupils differ qualitatively and quantitatively from those of other groups.

Unlike pupils whose first language is not English and whose use of English must be acquired from a comprehensive language-teaching programme, pupils of West Indian descent are English speakers born and educated wholly in this country. What is needed is a mainstream English class with a teacher who is sensitive to the few distinct differences between Standard English and Dialect forms and who can explain the differences clearly and impartially. This requires some language-teaching training as few English Teachers are equipped to teach English by ESL methods. It also requires considerable sensitivity training so that teachers do not express themselves in a monocultural manner using terms such as "good" English or "correct" English.

Unlike indigenous English pupils, pupils of West Indian descent maintain distinct cultural views that differ to a considerable degree from those of the majority of the population. It is difficult to put a label on a cultural form that is neither West Indian nor English and which is expressed through changing fashions (reggae music being one example of this). Separating this group of pupils from the others in their schools

has not offered a positive approach to building their self-esteem and encouraging them to develop their cultural self-confidence. Furthermore, the somewhat idiosyncractic approach of studying exotic Caribbean fruit and vegetables for one week in a disjointed syllabus in the main class is meaningless to all pupils concerned, does not correspond to the life experience of the minority group and may even increase the differentiation between pupils.

Perhaps the next step in any future research would be to develop and test an integrated curriculum that addressed itself to the specific language needs of pupils of West Indian descent within the context of the main class lessons. The use of contemporary, urban English-based Dialect literature might offer one way of approaching both the language and cultural issues together. The context of the culture of pupils of West Indian descent is a very modern predominantly urban life-style and as such should not be approached as a Caribbean study. The lack of self-esteem which teachers have attempted to "correct" by special supplementary programmes cannot be made good in this way. It requires a long hard look at the historical origins of this very special group whose language and culture are rooted in slavery and then an even longer look forward to the future these pupils face when they leave school. For their percentage of the national population, young black school-leavers make up the largest group on the unemployment lines.

Not all solutions of course can be found within the schools. Opportunities for careers, values and attitudes expressed through the mass media, insecurity caused by a clash of cultures and overt or concealed racial attitudes may all profoundly affect the motivation and outlook of young people. The school, however, can play a considerable part in making sure that each child has the best possible preparation for adulthood. A thoroughly multicultural school would be a tremendous step in the right direction.

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Changes Made To Anxiety Test Items

ITEM NO.	Nature of Change:	Expected Response of Anxious Subject:	Corresponding Item on Original Test CMAS (M) TASC (T)
1.	No change.	Agree	M 25
2.	Question to statement. Shortened.	Disagree	T 1
3.	Inclusion of 'sometimes'	Agree	M 22
4.	Question to statement. 'afraid' to 'don't mind'	Disagree	T 19
5.	Question to statement. Shortened.	Agree	T 3
6.	Positive to negative.	Disagree	M 43
7.	No change.	Agree	M 46
8.	Question to statement. Shortened.	Agree	T 28
9.	Positive to negative.	Disagree	M 31
10.	Question to statement. Shortened.	Agree	T 24
11.	'It is hard for me to keep my mind on'...to 'I can make up my mind quickly'....	Disagree	M 1
12.	Shortened.	Agree	T 27
13.	'get nervous' to 'don't like it'	Agree	M 2
14.	Positive to negative. Anglicised. Question to statement.	Disagree	T 8
15.	No change.	Agree	T 37
16.	Question to statement. Shortened. Dreaming to general. Fail to pass.	Disagree	T 25
17.	Combined stomach and head pains.	Disagree	M 42 & 45
18.	Question to statement.	Agree	T 14
19.	Positive to negative.	Disagree	M 20
20.	Question to statement. Shortened.	Agree	T 6

<u>ITEM NO.</u>	<u>NATURE OF CHANGE:</u>	<u>EXPECTED RESPONSE OF ANXIOUS SUBJECT:</u>	<u>CORRESPONDING ITEM ON ORIGINAL TEST CMAS (M) TASC (</u>
21.	Positive to negative.	Disagree	M 39
22.	Question to statement. Shortened.	Agree	T 13
23.	Inclusion of 'often'	Agree	M 50
24.	Question to statement. Positive to negative.	Disagree	T 19
25.	Positive to negative. Anglicised.	Disagree	M 28
26.	Question to statement. Shortened. Anglicised.	Agree	T 23
27.	'hard' to 'easy'	Disagree	M 40
28.	Question to statement.	Agree	T 5
29.	No change.	Agree	M 16
30.	Question to statement. More general. 'other children better' to 'better than other children'	Disagree	T 10

English Test Construction - Quiz Item (Pilot) Results

		<u>West Indian</u>	<u>English</u>
Question 1 (plural endings on nouns)	<u>Right</u>	3	4
	<u>Wrong</u>	3	2
Question 2	<u>Right</u>	4	6
	<u>Wrong</u>	2	0
Question 3	<u>Right</u>	3	2
	<u>Wrong</u>	3	4
Question 4	<u>Right</u>	0	2
	<u>Wrong</u>	6	4
Question 5	<u>Right</u>	3	4
	<u>Wrong</u>	3	2
<u>Total Right</u>		13	18
<u>Total Wrong</u>		17	12

Per question, Correct answers were scored as follows:-

	<u>W. Indian</u>	<u>English</u>
Q.1	50%	66.6%
Q.2	66.6	100.
Q.3	50	33.3
Q.4	0	33.3
Q.5	50	66.6

On entire test, Correct answers were scored by:

42.9% of W. Indian sample

59.4% of English sample



English Test Construction - (Multiple Choice Items - Pilot)

1. A. You like ice-cream?  
B. Do you like ice-cream?  
C. \_\_\_\_\_
2. A. Your teacher shouts?  
B. Is your teacher shouts?  
C. \_\_\_\_\_
3. A. I did sitting here yesterday.  
B. I been sat here yesterday.  
C. \_\_\_\_\_
4. A. I ~~don~~'t got any cake.  
B. I didn't got any cake.  
C. \_\_\_\_\_
5. A. Johns shoe is here.  
B. John shoe is here  
C. \_\_\_\_\_
6. A. Hes gointy home.  
B. He going home.  
C. \_\_\_\_\_
7. A. She saw him brother.  
B. She saw he brother.  
C. \_\_\_\_\_
8. A. Them go to school together.  
B. He go to school together.  
C. \_\_\_\_\_
9. A. The boy's picked up their books.  
B. The boy picked up their books.  
C. \_\_\_\_\_

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## PILQT TEST GRAMMAR STRUCTURE RESULTS (Multiple Choice &amp; Construction)

<u>QUESTION NO.</u>	<u>CHOICE</u>	<u>W.I.</u>	<u>G.B.</u>	<u>GRAMMAR POINT TESTED</u>
1 A	Dialect	1	0	Question form inversion with auxiliary.
1 B	Standard	5	6	
1 C	Standard constr.	0	0	
	Mistake constr.	0	0	
	Dial. error constr.	0	0	
<hr/>				
2 A	Dialect	4	6	Question form inversion with auxiliary.
2 B	Mistake	2	0	
2 C	Standard constr.	0	0	
	Mistake constr.	0	0	
	Dial. error constr.	0	0	
<hr/>				
3 A	Mistake	0	0	Past tense construction
3 B	Dialect	4	2	
3 C	Standard constr.	1	0	
	Mistake constr.	1	4	
	Dial. error constr.	0	0	
<hr/>				
4 A	Dialect	2	0	Negative construction with 'get'
4 B	Mistake	2	2	
4 C	Standard constr.	2	4	
	Mistake constr.	0	0	
	Dial. error. Constr	0	0	
<hr/>				
5 A	Mistake	3	2	apostrophe's used in possessive form
5 B	Dialect	0	2	
5 C	Standard constr.	0	2	
	Mistake constr.	1	0	
	Dial. error constr.	2	0	

<u>QUESTION NO.</u>	<u>CHOICE</u>	<u>W.I.</u>	<u>G.B.</u>	<u>GRAMMAR POINT TESTED</u>
6 A	Mistake	3	4	
6 B	Dialect	1	0	copula 's' verb to be
6 C	Standard constr.	2	2	
	Mistake constr.	0	0	
	Dial. error constr	0	0	
<hr/>				
7 A	Mistake	0	2	
7 B	Dialect	1	0	sex and case -
7 C	Standard constr.	5	4	pronouns
	Mistake constr.	0	0	
	Dial error constr.	0	0	
<hr/>				
8 A	Dialect	1	2	
8 B	Mistake	0	2	plurals and case -
8 C	Standard constr.	5	2	pronouns
	Mistake constr.	0	0	
	Dial error constr.	0	0	
<hr/>				
9 A	Mistake	0	1	
9 B	Dialect	0	0	
9 C	Standard constr.	5	5	Plural 's' ending
	Mistake constr.	1	0	
	Dial error constr.	0	0	

Test Sections Based On Extant Models With Summary

Points requiring the construction of correct answers are underlined.

Changes were made to simplify vocabulary and all structures other than those to be tested.

FIRST SECTION (PRONOUNS)

In each instance, words were put in brackets for which only one word was to be substituted (seeking to test pronoun usage). The example given was:

(John) He closed the window.

1. They thought they were late.
2. Anne asked Janet to feed them
3. They don't like us.
4. We want to go to the cinema.
5. John asked Mary to give him some food.

THIRD SECTION (PLURALS)

The singular forms were given and underlined. (In Question 4. the indefinite article was underlined). The example given was:

This factory is old.

These factories are old.

1. Those cities are very big.
2. Our lives were very happy.
3. The thieves left their countries by plane.
4. We have big feet.
5. They picked the daisies for themselves.

FIFTH SECTION (ABSTRACT NOUNS)

1. Suggestion
2. Thought (thinking)
3. Beauty
4. Belief
5. Length

In each instance a verb, noun or adjective was offered as a model, and three examples were given (because of the difficulty of finding a simple way to explain the notion 'abstract noun'). The examples offered were: poor - poverty, speak - speech, speaking, perfect - perfection.

SIXTH SECTION (VERBS)

In each instance, the verb in its infinitive form was put in brackets and an underlined space left for the insertion of the correct person/tense/aspect/voice. The example given was:

Mary (to begin)           *began*           school yesterday.

1. Can you play basket ball?
2. He knew he would be late if he didn't hurry.
3. Do you enjoy swimming, John?
4. The baby was saved from falling by his mother.
5. We believed in withches when we were young.

S U M M A R Y  
G R A M M A R   B R E A K D O W N   O F  
E N G L I S H   T E S T

## FIRST SECTION

## REPLACING NOUNS ETC. WITH SINGLE PRONOUN

- Q. 1. Plural subject 3rd person.  
 2. Plural object 3rd person.  
 3. Plural object 2nd person.  
 4. Plural subject 1st person.  
 5. Singular indirect object 3rd person.

## SECOND SECTION

## ANSWERING QUIZ QUESTIONS EXCLUSIVE SET ITEMS

- Q. 1. Plural nouns  
 2. Verb tense  
 3. Pronoun sex.  
 4. Anglo-saxon genitive.  
 5. Adjectival ending.

## THIRD SECTION

## CHANGING PRONOUNS, NOUNS, VERBS FOR PLURAL FORMATION

- Q. 1. Demonstrative adjective/noun/verb  
 2. Possessive adjective/noun/verb  
 3. Noun/possessive adjective/noun  
 4. Pronoun/indefinite article/noun  
 5. Pronoun/noun/reflexive pronoun

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## FOURTH SECTION

CONSTRUCTING STANDARD FORMS WITHOUT MODEL  
( ERROR AND DIALECT ITEMS OFFERED )

- Q. 1. Standard question form using 'does' auxillary.  
 2. Past tense (continuous or simple acceptable)  
 3. Anglo-saxon genitive 's'.  
 4. Possessive adjective - sex and case.  
 5. Pronoun : number and case.

## FIFTH SECTION

ABSTRACT NOUN CONSTRUCTION (STIMULUS WORD  
GIVEN AND ANSWER OPEN)

- |              |           |
|--------------|-----------|
| Q. 1. Verb   | Suggest   |
| 2. Verb      | Think     |
| 3. Adjective | Beautiful |
| 4. Verb      | Believe   |
| 5. Adjective | Long      |

## SIXTH SECTION

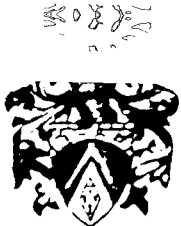
VERB TENSE/ASPECT/VOICE CORRECT PART TO  
BE CONSTRUCTED, GIVEN INFINITIVE

- |                                |              |
|--------------------------------|--------------|
| Q. 1. 2nd person present tense | (to be able) |
| 2. 2nd conditional             | (to be)      |
| 3. gerund                      | (to swim)    |
| 4. passive past tense          | (to save)    |
| 5. plural past simple          | (to be)      |

## SEVENTH SECTION

TWO COMPREHENSION PASSAGES, ONE IN STANDARD  
ONE IN DIALECT.

5 Questions each passage, for comparative use.

**Department of Education**

Kingston Lane, Uxbridge, Middx. UB8 3PH  
Telephone: Uxbridge 37188 Extension

Professor W.D. Furneaux, BSc, F B P s S  
Head of Department

Our reference      Your reference

I am undertaking a research project involving children of West Indian descent as part of an M. Phil. thesis at Brunel University. This includes a study of the linguistic and cultural components of a multi-cultural programme taught in secondary schools in Uxbridge. I shall be administering an attitude test which is presently being constructed.

Since you would be an appropriate person to offer me advice on this particular test, I would like to ask you to act as a judge for the enclosed draft test.

The test seeks to ascertain attitudes towards: Standard English, Dialect, England, The West Indies, English culture, West Indian culture, white people, black people, school, teachers, home, family, parents, peer-group, self and the external environment. I would greatly appreciate receiving your comments and suggestions regarding the items included.

Would you please indicate against each item whether you think the item consists of a statement to which West Indian pupils of twelve years of age could be expected to hold strong views which would be reflected in a response of "agree", "disagree" or "uncertain". If so, please mark with a tick. If not, please mark with a cross.

Secondly, would you please indicate against each item whether you think the item is in language that pupils of this age would understand. If so, please mark with a tick. If not, please mark with a cross.

Thanking you in advance for giving this matter your earliest possible attention, I hope it will not take up too much of your time. A self addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Yours truly,

*Gwyneth Vorhaus*

Gwyneth Vorhaus.



DRAFT ITEMS - ATTITUDE TEST

Tick or cross



- 1   My teachers don't like the way I speak English
- 2   I like West Indian music more than English music
- 3   Most people who speak posh English are unfriendly
- 4   My parents like the West Indies better than Britain
- 5   I like being at school
- 6   I don't get on at home
- 7   You shouldn't speak patois (West Indian Dialect) in school
- 8   My parents are much more strict than my teachers
- 9   School is boring
- 10   My school friends are different from my friends at home
- 11   English people only like West Indians who eat English food
- 12   Teachers should learn about the West Indies
- 13   If all English people were black, there wouldn't be any problems
- 14   I like staying indoors
- 15   Some lessons make me want to run away from school
- 16   I like English stories better than West Indian stories
- 17   I'd like to speak like my teachers speak
- 18   The best thing about Black Culture is reggae music
- 19   I don't like Britain
- 20   My white friends like black music
- 21   I'd like to live in the West Indies
- 22   Most teachers don't like black children
- 23   I like speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) at home
- 24   White people like black people most of the time
- 25   I don't like being asked questions in class
- 26   I prefer playing with black children to white children
- 27   I do lots of nice things on the week-ends
- 28   I don't like the West Indies
- 29   My teachers are always correcting my English
- 30   I like English people, but not the police
- 31   I like living in Britain
- 32   My parents don't care about school
- 33   West Indians should behave like the English
- 34   I like to spend week-ends with lots of family and friends
- 35   I like to be with my friends more than with my family
- 36   I'm always being picked on at school
- 37   My teachers don't like me

- 38 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ English is better than patois (West Indian Dialect)
- 39 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ I prefer having black friends to white friends
- 40 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ White children don't like playing with black children
- 41 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ Other children don't like me very much
- 42 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ I don't like school
- 43 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ Speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) is part of Black Culture
- 44 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ White children don't like black children
- 45 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ My parents are always making me do homework
- 46 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ I would like to be taught by black teachers more often
- 47 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ I like to spend week-ends with my parents
- 48 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ My brothers and sisters are always picking on me
- 49 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ My teachers wouldn't mind being black
- 50 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ I like English food better than West Indian food
- 51 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ English music is better than West Indian music
- 52 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ White children think patois (West Indian Dialect) is stupid
- 53 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ White children would sing better if they sang West Indian songs
- 54 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ West Indian parents beat children more often than English parents
- 55 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ My parents don't like speaking patois (West Indian Dialect)
- 56 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ My teachers are very angry people
- 57 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ There are lots of happy things to do
- 58 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ They should teach black studies in schools
- 59 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ I want to learn about the West Indies in school
- 60 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ Most people in school like me
- 61 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ I'd like to speak patois (West Indian Dialect) to be different
- 62 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ English people should know about the West Indies
- 63 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ I like to get outside as much as possible
- 64 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ I'm always bored
- 65 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ I like eating West Indian food
- 66 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ England is better than the West Indies
- 67 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ I prefer black friends to white friends
- 68 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ My friends all like West Indian things
- 69 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ My parents like Britain
- 70 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ Schools are bad places for children to go to
- 71 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ English people should eat more West Indian food
- 72 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ Schools should help black children more
- 73 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ My West Indian friends think patois (West Indian Dialect) is good
- 74 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ Playing with friends is a waste of time
- 75 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ My teachers are friendly people
- 76 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ I'm unhappy most of the time
- 77 \_\_\_ \_\_\_ There are lots of things I like to do after school

List Of Pilot Attitude Test Items

(Original numbering, but with items removed)

- 1 My teachers don't like the way I speak English
- 3 People who speak poor English aren't nice most of the time
- 4 My parents like the West Indies better than Britain
- 6 I don't get on at home
- 7 You shouldn't speak patois (West Indian Dialect) in school
- 8 My parents are much more strict than my teachers
- 9 School is boring
- 10 My school-friends are different from my friends at home
- 12 Teachers should learn about the West Indies
- 13 If all English people were black, there wouldn't be any problems
- 14 I like staying indoors
- 15 Some lessons make me want to run away from school
- 16 I like English stories better than West Indian stories
- 17 I'd like to speak like my teachers speak
- 18 The best thing about Black Culture is reggae music
- 19 I don't like Britain
- 20 My white friends like black music
- 21 I'd like to live in the West Indies
- 22 Most teachers don't like black children
- 23 I like speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) at home
- 24 White people like black people most of the time
- 25 I don't like being asked questions in class
- 26 I like playing with black children more than white children
- 28 I don't like the West Indies
- 29 My teachers are always correcting my English
- 30 I like English people, but not the Police
- 31 I like living in Britain
- 33 West Indians should behave like the English
- 34 I like to spend week-ends with lots of family and friends
- 35 I like to be with my friends more than with my family
- 36 I'm always being picked on at school
- 38 English is better than patois (West Indian Dialect)
- 39 I prefer having black friends to white friends
- 40 White children don't like playing with black children

- 41 Other children don't like me very much
- 42 I don't like school
- 43 Speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) is part of Black Culture
- 44 White children are nice, but they don't like us
- 45 My parents are always making me do homework
- 46 I would like to be taught by black teachers
- 47 I like to spend weekends with my parents
- 48 My brothers and sisters are always picking on me
- 49 My teachers wouldn't mind being black
- 50 I like English food better than West Indian food
- 52 White children think patois (West Indian Dialect) is stupid
- 53 White children would sing better if they sang West Indian songs
- 54 West Indian parents beat children more often than English parents
- 55 My parents don't like speaking patois (West Indian Dialect)
- 56 My teachers are very angry people
- 57 There are lots of happy things to do
- 59 I want to learn about the West Indies in school
- 60 Most people in school like me
- 61 I'd like to speak patois (West Indian Dialect) to be different
- 62 English people should know about the West Indians
- 63 I like to get outside as much as possible
- 64 I'm always bored
- 65 I like eating West Indian food
- 66 England is better than the West Indies
- 67 West Indians are better than the English
- 68 My friends all like West Indian things
- 69 My parents like Britain
- 71 English people should eat more West Indian food
- 72 Schools should help black children more
- 73 My West Indian friends think patois (West Indian Dialect) is good
- 75 My teachers are friendly people
- 76 I'm unhappy most of the time

Attitude Test - Items Changed After Pilot

<u>Item</u>	<u>Action</u>	<u>Reason</u>
2	Removed	Over-endorsed view
3	Changed to: People who speak posh English aren't nice most of the time.	Expression of age-group.
13	Changed to: If all English people were black, things would be better.	Depolarisation
11	Removed	Underendorsed view
27	Removed	Over-endorsed view
34	Changed: Omit "lots of"	Superfluous material
44	Changed to: White children are nice but they don't like black children	Expression of age-group.
53	Changed to: White children should learn West Indian songs.	Double meaning.
54	Changed to: West Indian parents are more strict than English parents	Depolarisation
56	Changed to: My teachers are always angry	Superfluous material
58/59	Changed to: Most teachers don't care about the West Indies	Over-endorsed view (More relevant)
61	Changed: I'd to I	More relevant
67	Changed to: I prefer the West Indians to the English	To avoid duplication
68	Changed to: All my friends like West Indian things	Smoother
70	Removed	Underendorsed view
73	Changed to: My West Indian friends like	Smoother
74	Removed	Underendorsed view
75	Changed: Omit "people"	Superfluous Overendorsed view

ATTITUDE TEST

Pilot (N=16) Rotated Factor Structure. (Includes Hybrids  $\pm$  .4)

Restricted Run:- N. Factors = 5 (n.b. numbering of variables is for original 77 items)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Loading</u>		<u>Hybrid With Other Factor</u>
<u>Factor One</u>			
15	+91	Some lessons make me want to run away from school.	
66	+37	England is better than the West Indies.	
64	+81	I'm always bored.	
50	+62	I like English food better than West Indian food.	Hybrid x FIII+
38	+56	English is better than patois (West Indian Dialect)	
17	+55	I'd like to speak like my teachers speak.	
55	+54	My parents don't like speaking patois (West Indian Dialect)	Hybrid x FIV-
16	+51	I like English stories better than West Indian stories.	
07	+47	You shouldn't speak patois (West Indian Dialect) in school.	
21	-72	I'd like to live in the West Indies.	
46	-73	I would like to be taught by black teachers.	Hybrid x FIV-
13	-75	If all English people were black there wouldn't be any problems.	
26	-77	I like playing with black children more than with white children.	
65	-91	I like eating West Indian food.	
22	-94	Most teachers don't like black children.	
<u>Factor Two</u>			
35	+74	I like to be with my friends more than with my family.	
41	+70	Other children don't like me very much.	
28	+73	I don't like the West Indies	Hybrid x FI+
63	+6	I like to get outside as much as possible	Hybrid x FIII+
61	+61	I'd like to speak patois to be different	Hybrid x FIII+
03	-54	People who speak posh English aren't nice most of the time.	Hybrid x FIV-
75	-71	My teachers are friendly people.	

to spend weekends with my parents

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Loading</u>		<u>Hybrid With Other Factor</u>
<u>Factor Three</u>			
59	+78	School is boring.	
39	+75	I'm always being picked on at school.	
09	+73	I prefer having black friends to white friends.	
36	+72	My teachers are very angry people.	
61	+69	I'd like to speak patois to be different	Hybrid x FII+
68	+67	My friends all like West Indian Things	
23	+63	I like speaking patois at home.	Hybrid x FIII-
63	+53	I like to get outside as much as possible	Hybrid x FII+
43	-42	Speaking patois is part of black culture	
31	-48	I like living in Britain	Hybrid x FI+
<u>Factor Four</u>			
57	+73	There are lots of happy things to do	
04	+70	My parents like the West Indies better than Britain.	
60	+71	Most people in school like me.	Hybrid x FI-
71	+53	English people should eat more West Indian food.	Hybrid x FV+
23	-43	I like speaking patois at home.	Hybrid x FIII+
55	-64	My parents don't like speaking patois.	Hybrid x FI+
19	-78	I don't like Britain.	
<u>Factor Five</u>			
69	+57	My parents like Britain	Hybrid x FI+
71	+50	English people should eat more West Indian food.	Hybrid x FIV+
29	-55	My teachers are always correcting my English.	
08	-55	My parents are much more strict than my teachers.	Hybrid x FI-

VARIBLE COMMUNALITY

VAR01	.36954	VAR41	.60006
VAR03	.47771	VAR42	.57522
VAR04	.61708	VAR43	.25782
VAR06	.64925	VAR44	.74469
VAR07	.73322	VAR45	.87614
VAR08	.74149	VAR46	.73067
VAR09	.59403	VAR47	.77036
VAR10	.54467	VAR48	.51283
VAR12	1.01583	VAR49	.34379
VAR13	.63234	VAR50	.54988
VAR14	.66451	VAR52	.63897
VAR15	.84531	VAR53	.50539
VAR16	.67557	VAR54	.59798
VAR17	.67526	VAR55	.78897
VAR18	.54842	VAR56	.77548
VAR19	.76307	VAR50	.68168
VAR20	.79310	VAR61	.89418
VAR21	.63750	VAR62	1.01583
VAR22	.98336	VAR63	.84444
VAR23	.63340	VAR64	.73465
VAR24	.89878	VAR65	.84531
VAR25	.33389	VAR66	.91444
VAR26	.85353	VAR67	.93493
VAR28	.91094	VAR68	.55897
VAR29	.42506	VAR69	.66946
VAR30	.62330	VAR71	.53505
VAR31	.34878	VAR72	.17944
VAR33	.54699	VAR73	.57213
VAR34	.42180	VAR75	.68781
VAR35	.67520	VAR76	.25839
VAR36	.60514		
VAR38	.66858		
VAR39	.70303		
VAR40	1.11434		

EIGENVALUES FOR ORIGINAL MATRIX

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
1	13.92006	21.4	21.4
2	12.56591	19.3	40.7
3	6.71704	10.3	51.1
4	6.44710	9.9	61.0
5	4.65799	7.2	68.2
6	4.22209	6.5	74.7
7	3.90121	6.0	80.7
8	3.65501	5.6	86.3
9	3.02864	4.7	90.9
10	2.59087	4.0	94.9
11	2.41791	3.7	98.7

EIGENVALUES FOR 5 FACTOR UNROTATED SOLUTION

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
1	13.74740	31.8	31.8
2	12.38552	28.7	60.5
3	6.46143	15.0	75.5
4	6.17356	14.3	89.8
5	4.40771	10.2	100.0



PILOTFactor I (Unique Loadings Only)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Loading</u>	
15	+.91	Some Lessons make me want to run away from school.
66	.87	England is better than the West Indies.
64	.81	I'm always bored.
38	.56	English is better than patois (West Indian Dialect)
16	.51	I like English stories better than West Indian stories.
7	.47	You shouldn't speak patois (West Indian Dialect) in school.

Negative  
Loadings

21	-.72	I'd like to live in the West Indies.
13	-.75	If all English people were black, there wouldn't be any problems.
26	-.77	I like playing with black children more than with white children.
65	-.91	I like eating West Indian food.
22	-.94	Most teachers don't like black children.

## TEACHERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

BRUNEL UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

DIALANG '78

Dear Colleague,

As part of my work for a research thesis at Brunel University, I am looking into cultural determinants of language learning among children of West Indian descent. I would be most grateful if you could complete these forms regarding the following pupils who are in my sample.

All information given by you will be treated in the strictest confidence and will be used for statistical purposes only. No name of any teacher, pupil or school will appear in any report.

To fill in this form, simply put a circle around the number opposite the answer which most accurately describes the pupil. When pupils work in different classes or groups for different subjects, questions relating to pupil's class refer to class or group in which pupil spends most learning time. Classifications are inevitably approximations. I have therefore left space for your comments which will be most helpful to my research.

Thank you very much for your help.

PUPIL'S NAME: \_\_\_\_\_ PUPIL'S CODE NUMBER \_\_\_\_\_

SCHOOL: \_\_\_\_\_ SCHOOL CODE NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS		For office use
1.	How many pupils are on the roll of this class? _____ pupils.	
2.	This pupil usually works in a class which is of: higher ability ----- 4 average ability ----- 2 lower ability ----- 1 mixed ability ----- 3	
3.	This pupil's ability in Maths (compared to his/her own class) is: above average ----- 3 average ----- 2 below average ----- 1	
4.	This pupil's ability in English (compared to his/her own class) is: above average ----- 3 average ----- 2 below average ----- 1	

COMMENTS

For  
office  
use

5. Does this pupil receive some form of remedial or special teaching?
- yes ----- 2
- no ----- 1
6. If pupil is attending any special class, state main reason (e.g. remedial English, behavioural problems, lower ability, multicultural studies)
- (  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_) )
7. Pupil's intelligence appears to be:
- above average ----- 3
- average ----- 2
- below average ----- 1
8. Compared to other children in this school, is this pupil's mastery of language:
- above average ----- 3
- average ----- 2
- below average ----- 1
9. Does this pupil's use of language normally include:
- Standard English only ----- 3
- West Indian Dialect and Standard English ----- 2
- West Indian Dialect only ----- 1
10. Has this pupil shown through incidents at school any of the following (circle as many as appropriate):
- interest in mixing with other races and cultures ---- 4
- support for Black Culture ----- 3
- antagonism to pupils of another race ----- 2
- a wish to be part of mainstream English culture ---- 1
11. In your opinion, does this pupil consider self:
- British only ----- 5
- Black British ----- 4
- West Indian ----- 3
- a mixture ----- 2
- don't know ----- 1

COMMENTS

			for office use
12.	Do the differences between this pupil's own culture and that of the rest of the school affect his/her school life?		
	yes -----	1	
	no -----	2	
	no differences exist -----	3	
13.	Compared to other pupils, this pupil's involvement in school life is:		
	above average -----	3	
	average -----	2	
	below average -----	1	
14.	This pupil's popularity with other pupils is:		
	above average -----	3	
	average -----	2	
	below average -----	1	
15.	This pupil's level of shyness/withdrawal is:		
	above average -----	1	
	average -----	2	
	below average -----	3	
16.	This pupil's level of aggression is:		
	above average -----	1	
	average -----	2	
	below average -----	3	
17.	At school, this pupil usually goes around with:		
	a group of pupils -----	3	
	one or two friends -----	2	
	usually alone -----	1	
18.	Pupil's absences from school are mostly due to:		
	own ill-health -----	4	
	home circumstances -----	3	
	both -----	2	
	truancy -----	1	
	pupil is very rarely absent -----	5	

COMMENTS

19. Please ring one statement in each of the following groups.  
This pupil's usual classroom behaviour can be described as:
- (A) hard working ----- 3  
average ----- 2  
below average ----- 1
- (B) high concentration ----- 3  
average ----- 2  
below average ----- 1
- (C) neat and tidy classwork ----- 3  
average ----- 2  
below average ----- 1
- (D) seldom disruptive/disobedient ----- 3  
sometimes ----- 2  
often ----- 1
20. Parents' interest in this pupil has the following effect  
on pupil:
- helpful ----- 5  
neutral ----- 4  
obstructive ----- 3  
no interest shown ----- 2  
don't know ----- 1
21. Pupil's home environment appears to be;
- very good ----- 5  
good ----- 4  
fair ----- 3  
bad ----- 2  
very bad ----- 1  
don't know ----- 1
22. To your knowledge, do the parents mind this pupil using  
Patois?
- no ----- 3  
yes ----- 2  
don't know ----- 1

For c  
off:  
use

COMMENTS  
COMMENTS

For  
office  
use

23. Father's job is:

professional -----	5
clerical or semi-professional (e.g. nurse, technician etc.) -----	4
manual skilled, semi or unskilled -----	3
not working now -----	2
other (please specify) -----	1

( \_\_\_\_\_ )  
\_\_\_\_\_ )

24. Mother's job is:

professional -----	5
clerical or semi-professional (e.g. nurse, technician etc.) -----	4
manual skilled, semi or unskilled -----	3
not working now -----	2
other (please specify) -----	1

( \_\_\_\_\_ )  
\_\_\_\_\_ )

25. COMMENTS.

Please write any additional comments you consider important as an assessment of this pupil. Thank you for your help.

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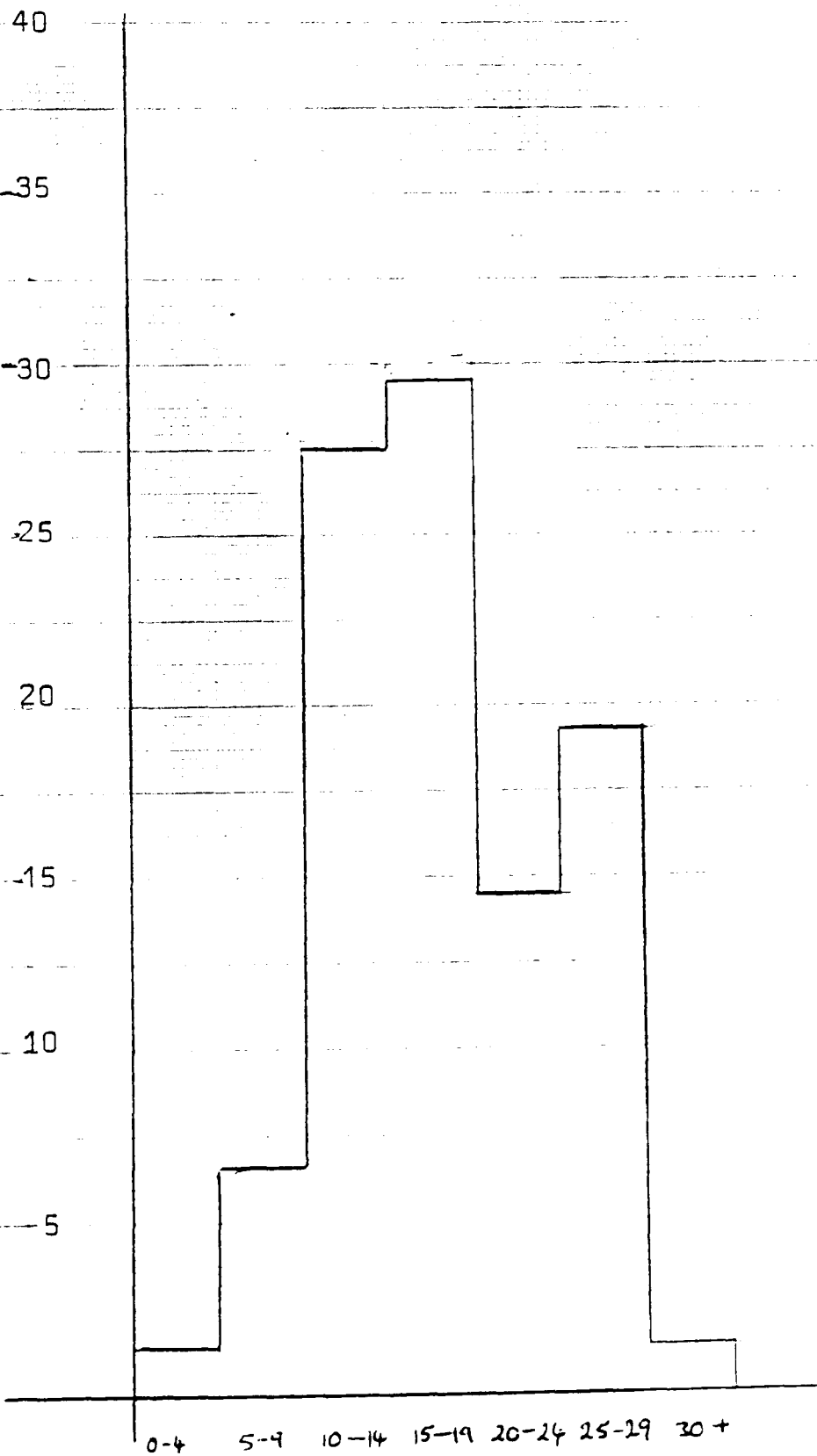
Results Of Non-Verbal DH Test (Reporting Adjusted Frequency %)

West Indian Experimental Group

Mean Score = 17.4

N = 62

% of pupils in  
each score  
category



D.H. Score  
min = 0  
max = 32

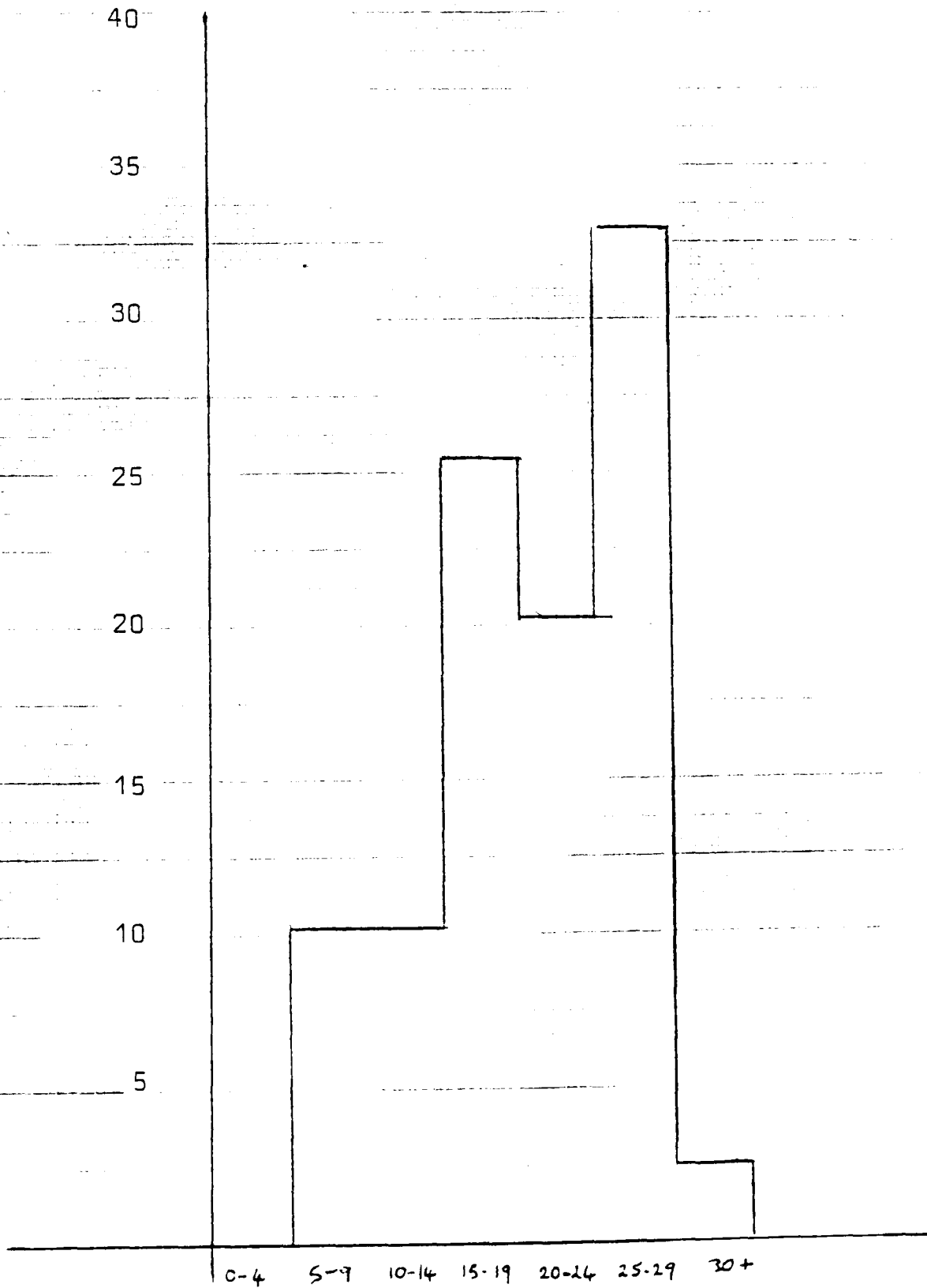
Results of Non-Verbal DH Test (Reporting Adjusted Frequency %)

West Indian Control Group

Mean Score = 20.0

N = 40

% of pupils in  
each score  
category



D.H. Score  
min = 0  
max = 32



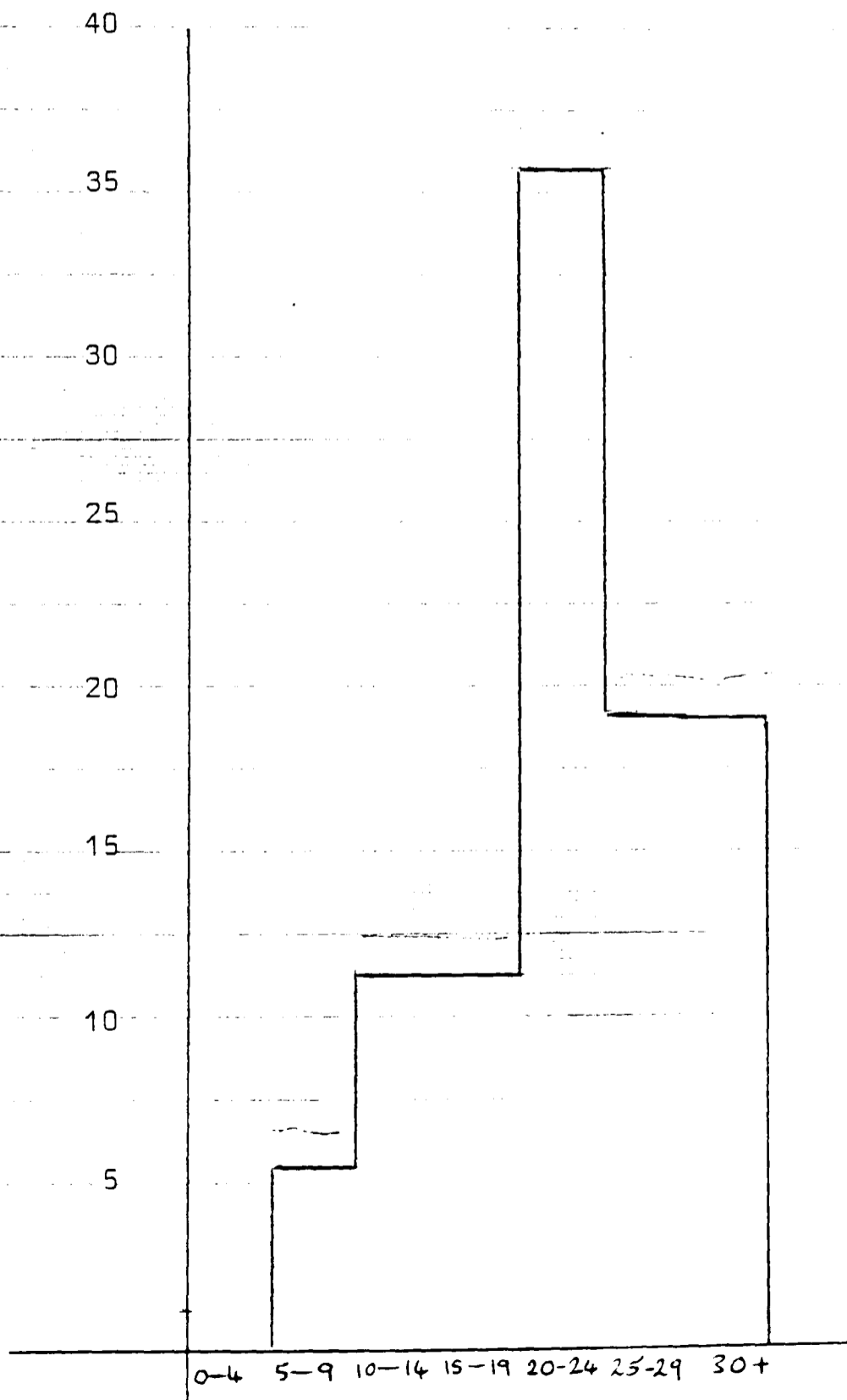
Results Of Non-Verbal DH Test (Reporting Adjusted Frequency %)

English Control Group

Mean Score = 22.0

N = 37

% of pupils in  
each score  
category



D.H. Score  
min = 0  
max = 32

English Test Results (Correct Answer Scores)

<u>Group</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Experimental (Pupils of W. Indian descent)	62	19.7
W. Indian Control (Pupils of W. Indian descent)	41	23.9
English Control (White indigenous English Pupils)	41	26.0

English Test Results (Aggregate Scores)

<u>Group</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Experimental (Pupils of W. Indian descent)	62	91
West Indian Control (Pupils of W. Indian descent)	41	109
English Control (White indigenous English Pupils)	41	117

The distribution of these scores for the three groups follows.

SCORES ON ENGLISH TEST (CORRECT ANSWERS)

SCORES ON ENGLISH TEST (CORRECT ANSWERS)								
1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	
							WEST INDIAN CONTROL (8)	
							N=41 $\bar{x}$ =23.9	
							WEST INDIAN EXPERIMENTAL (7)	
							N=62 $\bar{x}$ =19.0	
							WEST INDIAN COMBINED	
							N=103 $\bar{x}$ =21.3	
							ENGLISH CONTROL	
							N=41 $\bar{x}$ =26.0	
1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	
1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	
1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	

(Reporting RAW SCORES not adjusted for size of group)

SCORES ON ENGLISH TEST (AGGREGATE SCORE)

WEST INDIAN  
CONTROL

N=41

$\bar{x}$ =109

0-20

21-40

41-60

61-80

81-100

101-120

121-140

141-160

161-

WEST INDIAN  
EXPERIMENTAL

N=62

$\bar{x}$ =81

0-20

21-40

41-60

61-80

81-100

101-120

121-140

141-160

161-

WEST INDIAN  
COMBINED

N=103

$\bar{x}$ =98

0-20

21-40

41-60

61-80

81-100

101-120

121-140

141-160

161-

ENGLISH  
CONTROL

N=41

$\bar{x}$ =117

0-20

21-40

41-60

61-80

81-100

101-120

121-140

141-160

161-

(Reporting RAW SCORES not adjusted for size of group)

Results of West Indian Experimental Group, West Indian Control and English Control on Cognitive, English and Anxiety Tests Using T-Test of Significance.

Test	Group	No.	Mean	Standard Deviation	Significance of Difference
Cognitive	Experimental	62	17.4	6.4	NS(.06)
	W. Indian Control	40	20.0	7.3	
English	Experimental	62	19.7	8.0	HS
	W. Indian Control	41	23.9	7.3	
Anxiety	Experimental	62	12.8	5.7	NS
	W. Indian Control	41	10.9	6.2	
Cognitive	Experimental	62	17.4	6.4	HS
	English Control	37	22.0	7.1	
English	Experimental	62	19.7	8.0	HS
	English Control	41	26.0	7.1	
Anxiety	Experimental	62	12.8	5.7	NS
	English Control	41	11.3	5.7	
Cognitive	W. Indian Control	40	20.0	7.3	NS
	English Control	37	22.0	7.1	
English	W. Indian Control	41	23.9	7.3	NS
	English Control	41	26.0	7.1	
Anxiety	W. Indian Control	41	10.9	6.2	NS
	English Control	41	11.3	5.7	

HS :  $p \leq 0.01$

S :  $p \leq 0.05$

NS :  $p > 0.05$

Cognitive Test Scores with groups divided at Grand Mean (DH=19)Comparison of Groups Using T-Test of SignificanceDivision By Grand Mean, (DH < 19)

<u>Group</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Significance of Difference</u>
Experimental Group (Lot 7)	37	12.9	3.3	N.S.
W. Indian Control (Lot 8)	18	13.1	4.3	
W. Indian Control (Lot 8)	18	13.1	4.3	N.S.
English Control (Lot 9)	10	12.4	3.7	
W. Indian Exptal. (Lot 7)	37	12.9	3.3	N.S.
English Control (Lot 9)	10	12.4	3.7	

Division By Grand Mean, (DH > 19)

Experimental Group (Lot 7)	25	24.1	3.3	N.S.
W. Indian Control (Lot 8)	22	25.6	3.3	
W. Indian Control (Lot 8)	22	25.6	3.3	N.S.
English Control (Lot 9)	27	25.6	4.0	
W. Indian Exptal. (Lot 7)	25	24.1	3.3	N.S.
English Control (Lot 9)	27	25.6	4.0	

H.S. :  $p \leq 0.01$   
 S. :  $p \leq 0.05$   
 N.S. :  $p > 0.05$

310.

English Test Scores (T-Test of Significance)Division By Grand Mean (DH < 19)

<u>Group</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Significance of Difference</u>
Experimental Group (Lot 7)	37	17.1	8.0	N.S.
W. Indian Control (Lot 8)	19	19.5	7.0	
W. Indian Control (Lot 8)	19	19.5	7.0	N.S.
English Control (Lot 9)	14	22.8	8.5	
Experimental Group (Lot 7)	37	17.1	8.0	S.
English Control (Lot 9)	14	22.8	8.5	

Grand Mean (DH > 19)

Experimental Group (Lot 7)	25	23.4	6.4	S.
W. Indian Control (Lot 8)	22	27.1	5.1	
W. Indian Control (Lot 8)	22	27.7	5.1	N.S.
English Control (Lot 9)	27	27.7	5.8	
Experimental Group (Lot 7)	25	23.4	6.4	S.
English Control (Lot 9)	27	27.7	5.8	

H.S. :  $p \leq 0.01$   
 S. :  $p \leq 0.05$   
 N.S. :  $p > 0.05$

Anxiety Test Scores with groups divided at Grand Mean (DH=19)Comparison of Groups Using T-Test of SignificanceDivision By Grand Mean, (DH < 19)

<u>Group</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Significance of Difference</u>
Experimental Group (Lot 7)	37	11.6	6.0	N.S.
W. Indian Control (Lot 8)	19	8.8	6.1	
W. Indian Control (Lot 8)	19	8.8	6.1	N.S.
English Control (Lot 9)	14	12.5	6.5	
W. Indian Exptal. (Lot 7)	37	11.6	6.0	N.S.
English Control (Lot 9)	14	12.5	6.5	

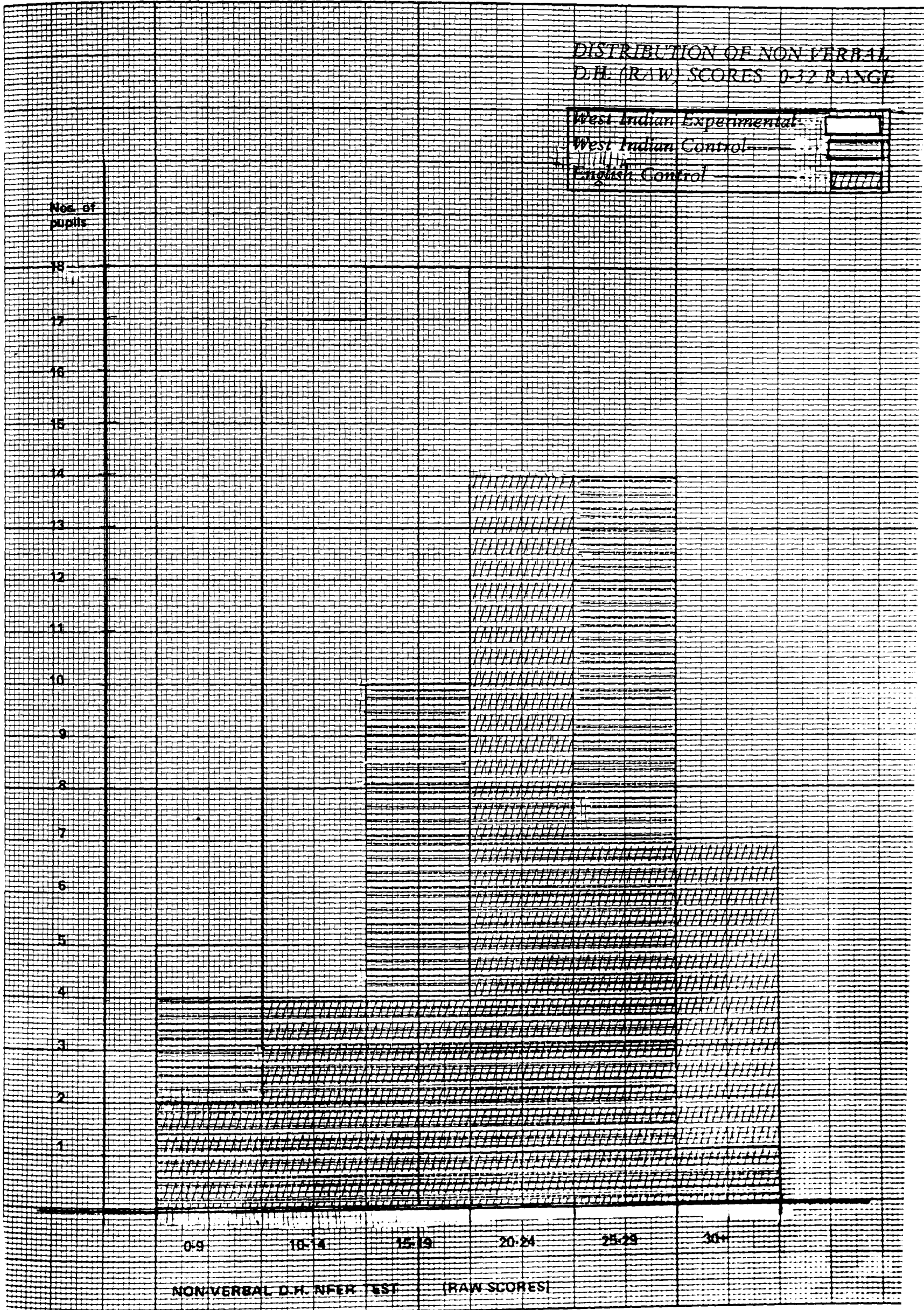
Division By Grand Mean, (DH > 19)

Experimental Group (Lot 7)	25	14.6	4.9	N.S.
W. Indian Control (Lot 8)	22	12.6	5.8	
W. Indian Control (Lot 8)	22	12.6	5.8	N.S.
English Control (Lot 9)	27	10.7	5.3	
W. Indian Exptal. (Lot 7)	25	14.6	4.9	H.S.
English Control (Lot 9)	27	10.7	5.3	

H.S. :  $p \leq 0.01$   
S. :  $p \leq 0.05$   
N.S. :  $p > 0.05$



Graph Of Overlap Between Cognitive Test Scores



313.

		TRUE FOR ME	FALSE FOR ME
1	My teachers don't like the way I speak English _____		
2	Most people who speak posh English aren't nice _____		
3	My parents like the West Indies better than Britain _____		
4	I like being at school _____		
5	I don't get on at home _____		
6	You shouldn't speak patois (West Indian Dialect) in school _____		
7	My parents are much more strict than my teachers _____		
8	School is boring _____		
9	My school-friends are different from my friends at home _____		
10	Teachers should learn about the West Indies _____		
11	If all English people were black, things would be better _____		
12	I like staying indoors _____		
13	Some lessons make me want to run away from school _____		
14	I like English stories better than West Indian stories _____		
15	I'd like to speak like my teachers speak _____		
16	The best thing about Black Culture is reggae music _____		
17	I don't like Britain _____		
18	My white friends like black music _____		
19	I'd like to live in the West Indies _____		
20	Most teachers don't like black children _____		
21	I like speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) at home _____		
22	White people like black people most of the time _____		
23	I don't like being asked questions in class _____		
24	I like playing with black children more than white children _____		
25	I don't like the West Indies _____		
26	My teachers are always correcting my English _____		
27	I like English people, but not the police _____		
28	I like living in Britain _____		
29	My parents don't care about school _____		
30	West Indians should behave like the English _____		
31	I like to spend week-ends with family and friends _____		
32	I like to be with my friends more than with my family _____		
33	I'm always being picked on at school _____		
34	My teachers don't like me _____		
35	English is better than patois (West Indian Dialect) _____		

	TRUE FOR ME	FALSE FOR ME
36 I prefer the West Indians to the English _____		
37 White children don't like playing with black children _____		
38 Other children don't like me very much _____		
39 I don't like school _____		
40 Speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) is part of Black Culture _____		
41 White children are nice but they don't like black children _____		
42 My parents are always making me do homework _____		
43 I would like to be taught by black teachers _____		
44 I like to spend week-ends with my parents _____		
45 My brothers and sisters are always picking on me _____		
46 My teachers wouldn't mind being black _____		
47 I like English food better than West Indian food _____		
48 English music is better than West Indian music _____		
49 White children think patois (West Indian Dialect) is stupid _____		
50 White children should learn West Indian songs _____		
51 West Indian parents are more strict than English parents _____		
52 My parents don't like speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) _____		
53 My teachers are always angry _____		
54 There are lots of happy things to do _____		
55 Most teachers don't care about the West Indies _____		
56 Most people in school like me _____		
57 I like to speak patois (West Indian Dialect) to be different _____		
58 English people should know about the West Indies _____		
59 I like to get outside as much as possible _____		
60 I'm always bored _____		
61 I like eating West Indian food _____		
62 England is better than the West Indies _____		
63 I prefer having black friends to white friends _____		
64 All my friends like West Indian things _____		
65 My parents like Britain _____		
66 English people should eat more West Indian food _____		
67 Schools should help black children more _____		
68 My West Indian friends like patois (West Indian Dialect) _____		
69 My teachers are friendly _____		
70 I'm unhappy most of the time _____		

ATTITUDE TESTFACTOR ANALYSIS: COMBINED WEST INDIAN GROUPS, N=103

Unrestricted rotated factor matrix allowing factors of Eigenvalue 1 and above, yielding 25 factors. (The first 9 factors are reported)

<u>Vari- able</u>	<u>Loading</u>	<u>Interpretation Of Factor</u> <u>(Racially Persecuted, Teacher-Persecuted)</u>	<u>60% of variance</u> <u>Unique/Hybrid</u>
<u>Factor One</u>			
38	+ .608	Other children don't like me very much.	Unique
53	+ .574	My teachers are always angry.	Unique
34	+ .549	My teachers don't like me.	Unique
20	+ .533	Most teachers don't like black children	Unique
41	+ .485	White children are nice but don't like black children.	Hybrid
70	+ .477	I'm unhappy most of the time.	Unique
63	+ .380	I prefer having black friends to white friends.	Hybrid
43	+ .374	I would like to be taught by black teachers.	Hybrid
33	+ .304	I'm always being picked on at school.	Hybrid
<u>Factor Two</u>		<u>(Pro-English Culture)</u>	
48	+ .699	English music is better than West Indian music.	Unique
14	+ .612	I like English stories better than West Indian stories.	Unique
61	- .589	I like eating West Indian food.	Unique
47	+ .529	I like English food better than West Indian food.	Unique
19	+ .393	I'd like to live in the West Indies.	
62	+ .310	England is better than the West Indies.	Hybrid
12	+ .315	I like staying indoors.	Hybrid
<u>Factor Three</u>		<u>(Contented, Pro-Family)</u>	
44	+ .649	I like to spend weekends with my parents.	Unique
45	+ .513	My brothers and sisters are always picking on me.	Unique
07	+ .320	My parents are much more strict than my teachers.	Unique
67	+ .359	Schools should help black children more.	Hybrid

316.

<u>Vari-</u> <u>able</u>	<u>Loading</u>	<u>Interpretation of Factor</u>	
<u>Factor Four</u>			<u>(Anti British/Pro-W. Indian)</u>
			<u>Unique/Hybrid</u>
65	- .651	My parents like Britain.	Unique
17	+ .643	I don't like Britain.	Unique
28	- .500	I like living in Britain.	Hybrid
03	+ .492	My parents like the W. Indies better than Britain	Unique
24	+ .449	I like playing with black children more than white children.	Hybrid
36	+ .439	I prefer the West Indians to the English.	Hybrid
27	+ .372	I like English people but not the police.	Hybrid
11	+ .331	If all English people were black, things would be better.	Hybrid
57	+ .271	I like to speak patois to be different.	Hybrid
<u>Factor Five</u>			<u>(Pro-W. Indian/Pro-Patois)</u>
68	+ .742	My West Indian friends like patois.	Unique
64	+ .512	All my friends like West Indian things.	Unique
24	+ .409	I like playing with black children more than white children.	Hybrid
06	- .321	I shouldn't speak patois in school.	Hybrid
<u>Factor Six</u>			<u>(Linguistic Self-Deprecation)</u>
15	+ .815	I'd like to speak like my teachers speak.	Unique
33	+ .393	I'm always being picked on at school.	Hybrid
01	+ .390	My teachers don't like the way I speak English.	Unique
36	.269	I prefer the West Indians to the English.	Unique
<u>Factor Seven</u>			<u>(Unclear)</u>
16	+ .756	The best thing about Black Culture is reggae music.	Unique
24	+ .339	I like playing with black children more than white children.	Hybrid
26	+ .314	My teachers are always correcting my English.	Hybrid
36	+ .288	I prefer the West Indians to the English.	Hybrid

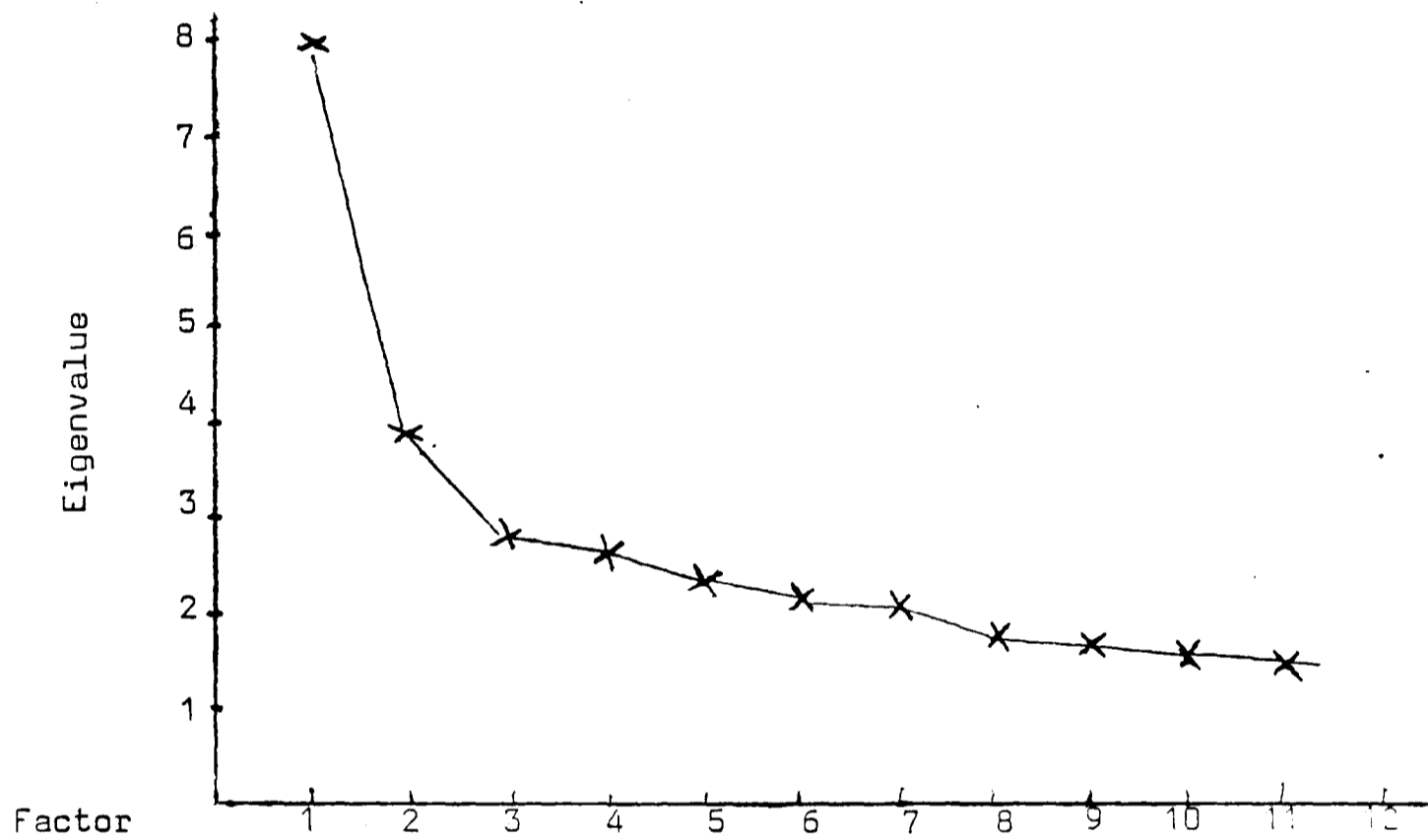
## 317.a.

<u>Vari-</u> <u>able</u>	<u>Loading</u>	<u>Interpretation Of Factor</u>	
<u>Factor Eight</u>		<u>(Anti-School)</u>	<u>Unique/Hybrid</u>
04	- .726	I like being at school.	Unique
08	+ .672	School is boring.	Unique
39	+ .632	I don't like school.	Unique
01	+ .324	My teachers don't like the way I speak English.	Hybrid
<u>Factor Nine</u>		<u>(Pro-School Anglophile)</u>	
30	+ .794	West Indians should behave like the English.	Unique
01	- .380	My teachers don't like the way I speak English.	Hybrid
55	- .368	Most teachers don't care about the West Indies.	Hybrid
26	+ .328	My teachers are always correcting my English.	Hybrid
67	- .309	Schools should help black children more.	Hybrid

VARIABLE	COMMUNALITY
Gender	.55835
ATT01	.67872
ATT02	.72551
ATT03	.54509
ATT04	.70743
ATT05	.60737
ATT06	.66830
ATT07	.63230
ATT08	.75067
ATT09	.70321
ATT10	.66782
ATT11	.66545
ATT12	.66870
ATT13	.70795
ATT14	.76779
ATT15	.77084
ATT16	.66947
ATT17	.63985
ATT18	.62198
ATT19	.70076
ATT20	.58428
ATT21	.60896
ATT22	.54232
ATT23	.50146
ATT24	.73974
ATT25	.66778
ATT26	.64276
ATT27	.66265
ATT28	.62940
ATT29	.71651
ATT30	.74011
ATT31	.66591
ATT32	.85874
ATT33	.62979
ATT34	.73745
ATT35	.62761
ATT36	.71932
ATT37	.58726
ATT38	.54505
ATT39	.64966
ATT40	.54982
ATT41	.60626
ATT42	.44039
ATT43	.45315
ATT44	.62529
ATT45	.43826
ATT46	.71632
ATT47	.66042
ATT48	.64994
ATT49	.68168
ATT50	.55648

VARIABLE	COMMUNALITY
ATT51	.62608
ATT52	.77962
ATT53	.64697
ATT54	.43871
ATT55	.63049
ATT56	.56049
ATT57	.61273
ATT58	.58421
ATT59	.51680
ATT60	.63218
ATT61	.51083
ATT62	.76673
ATT63	.69279
ATT64	.57932
ATT65	.59402
ATT66	.72953
ATT67	.70024
ATT68	.66869
ATT69	.50728
ATT70	.60040

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
1	7.63385	16.9	16.9
2	3.81167	8.4	25.3
3	2.83169	6.3	31.5
4	2.72032	6.0	37.5
5	2.40036	5.3	42.8
6	2.28211	5.0	47.9
7	2.08517	4.6	52.5
8	1.75063	3.9	56.3
9	1.72986	3.8	60.2
10	1.60283	3.5	63.7
11	1.56836	3.5	67.2
12	1.43039	3.2	70.3
13	1.39982	3.1	73.4
14	1.30078	2.9	76.3
15	1.26135	2.8	79.1
16	1.20665	2.7	81.8
17	1.13519	2.5	84.3
18	1.05574	2.3	86.6
19	1.00283	2.2	88.8
20	.98603	2.2	91.0
21	.96602	2.1	93.1
22	.84933	1.9	95.0
23	.83621	1.8	96.8
24	.74527	1.6	98.5

ATTITUDE TESTScree TestConstructed From Unrestricted Factor Run On Results Of Attitude TestFor Combined West Indian Groups



ATTITUDE TEST      Experimental Group and West Indian Control CombinedSeven Factor Rotated Matrix (Reporting Unique Loadings Only)Variable    LoadingFactor One

17	.590	I don't like Britain.
36	.561	I prefer the West Indians to the English.
27	.498	I like English people, but not the police.
01	.450	My teachers don't like the way I speak English.
65	.504	My parents like Britain.

Factor Two

14	.616	I like English stories better than W.I. stories.
62	.556	England is better than the W. Indies.
48	.533	English music is better than W. Indian music.
47	.434	I like English food better than W. Indian food.
10	-.334	Teachers should learn about the W. Indies.
19	-.465	I'd like to live in the W. Indies.
61	-.613	I like eating W. Indian food.

Factor Three

21	.516	I like speaking patois at home.
44	.491	I like to spend weekends with my parents.
30	.441	West Indians should behave like the English.
52	-.626	My parents don't like speaking patois.
Gender	.364	(Girls)

Factor Four

16	.496	The best thing about Black Culture is reggae music.
49	.418	White children think patois is stupid.
07	.404	My parents are much more strict than my teachers.

## 320.a.

Variable    LoadingFactor Five

05	.559	I don't get on at home.
25	.497	I don't like the W. Indies.
32	.395	I like to be with friends more than family.
45	.330	My brothers & sisters are always picking on me.
31	.343	I like to spend weekends with family & friends.

Factor Six

53	.541	My teachers are always angry.
70	.519	I'm unhappy most of the time.
60	.497	I'm always bored.
38	.451	Other children don't like me very much.
20	.400	Most teachers don't like black children.
54	-.363	There are lots of happy things to do.
56	-.464	Most people in school like me.
46	-.486	My teachers wouldn't mind being black.

Factor Seven

66	.516	English people should eat more W.I. food.
50	.410	White children should learn W.I. songs.
59	-.352	I like to get outside as much as possible.

EIGENVALUES FOR ORIGINAL MATRIX

VARIABLE COMMUNALITY

Gender	.24070
ATT01	.41855
ATT02	.25635
ATT03	.21728
ATT04	.12521
ATT05	.38482
ATT06	.44133
ATT07	.20842
ATT08	.43050
ATT09	.25051
ATT10	.15300
ATT11	.35994
ATT12	.35593
ATT13	.30373
ATT14	.47296
ATT15	.27970
ATT16	.30413
ATT17	.43226
ATT18	.10558
ATT19	.28665
ATT20	.31532
ATT21	.34431
ATT22	.23864
ATT23	.14277
ATT24	.46667
ATT25	.46453
ATT26	.22056
ATT27	.28848
ATT28	.42324
ATT29	.20128
ATT30	.27934
ATT31	.15637
ATT32	.20782
ATT33	.29074
ATT34	.35660
ATT35	.38649
ATT36	.47617
ATT37	.27487
ATT38	.29358

*continued*

VAR.	COM.
ATT39	.25872
ATT40	.30012
ATT41	.35757
ATT42	.08370
ATT43	.20330
ATT44	.26482
ATT45	.15978
ATT46	.27578
ATT47	.29170
ATT48	.36135
ATT49	.19507
ATT50	.22319
ATT51	.33559
ATT52	.43387
ATT53	.46764
ATT54	.21990
ATT55	.35172
ATT56	.30375
ATT57	.35429
ATT58	.19528
ATT59	.18133
ATT60	.33259
ATT61	.42617
ATT62	.40277
ATT63	.37019
ATT64	.40293
ATT65	.33649
ATT66	.33428
ATT67	.27025
ATT68	.27003
ATT69	.30057
ATT70	.36936

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
1	7,99575	11,3	11,3
2	4,14272	5,8	17,1
3	3,17785	4,5	21,6
4	3,06226	4,3	25,9
5	2,75324	3,9	29,8
6	2,62354	3,7	33,5
7	2,45551	3,5	36,9
8	2,10999	3,0	39,9
9	2,07649	2,9	42,8
10	1,97375	2,8	45,6
11	1,92207	2,7	48,3
12	1,79056	2,5	50,8
13	1,75217	2,5	53,3
14	1,66814	2,3	55,6
15	1,59531	2,2	57,9
16	1,55945	2,2	60,1
17	1,49523	2,1	62,2
18	1,40904	2,0	64,2
19	1,35126	1,9	66,1
20	1,33250	1,9	68,0
21	1,31989	1,9	69,8
22	1,21060	1,7	71,5
23	1,18536	1,7	73,2
24	1,10610	1,6	74,7
25	1,03740	1,5	76,2
26	.95239	1,3	77,5

EIGENVALUES FOR UNROTATED 7 FACTOR SOLUTION

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
1	7,33519	34,1	34,1
2	3,48489	16,2	50,4
3	2,50852	11,7	62,0
4	2,37331	11,0	73,1
5	2,07871	9,7	82,7
6	1,94588	9,1	91,8
7	1,76264	8,2	100,0

ATTITUDE TESTSTATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT RESULTS SHOWING DIFFERENCE OF RESPONSE BETWEEN WEST INDIAN AND ENGLISH PUPILS USING CHI SQUARE TEST ( % to nearest whole number )

Variable		Disagree/Agree		Disagree/Agree		Significance Level (HS=p: ≤ 0.01 S=p: ≤ 0.05 NS=p: > 0.05)
		(numbers)		(percent)		
01 My teachers don't like the way I speak English	Eng	36	4	90	10	NS (.06) $\chi^2_1 = 3.56$
	W I	76	27	74	27	
02 Most people who speak posh English aren't nice.	Eng	28	13	68	32	HS $\chi^2_1 = 15.22$
	W I	32	71	31	69	
03 My parents like the West Indies better than Britain.	Eng	34	6	85	15	HS $\chi^2_1 = 59.75$
	W I	15	87	15	85	
04 I like being at school	Eng	19	22	46	54	NS (.06) $\chi^2_1 = 3.58$
	W I	29	74	28	72	
05 I don't get on at home.	Eng	37	2	95	5	S $\chi^2_1 = 4.12$
	W I	78	21	79	21	
10 Teachers should learn about the West Indies.	Eng	28	13	68	32	HS $\chi^2_1 = 33.72$
	W I	16	82	16	84	
11 If all English people were black, things would be better.	Eng	33	8	81	20	HS $\chi^2_1 = 6.78$
	W I	56	45	55	45	
14 I like English stories better than West Indian stories.	Eng	14	26	35	65	HS $\chi^2_1 = 25.65$
	W I	81	19	81	19	
16 The best thing about Black Culture is reggae music.	Eng	24	17	59	42	HS $\chi^2_1 = 15.29$
	W I	23	78	23	77	
17 I don't like Britain.	Eng	35	6	85	15	HS $\chi^2_1 = 9.59$
	W I	58	45	56	44	
18 My white friends like black music.	Eng	25	16	61	39	HS $\chi^2_1 = 3.96$
	W I	31	70	31	69	
19 I'd like to live in the West Indies.	Eng	33	7	83	18	HS $\chi^2_1 = 23.33$
	W I	36	65	36	64	

Variable		<u>Diagree/Agree</u>		<u>Disagree/Agree</u>		<u>Significance level</u>
		<u>(numbers)</u>		<u>(percent)</u>		
20 Most teachers don't like black children.	Eng	36	5	88	12	HS $\chi^2 = 25.33$
	W.I	40	61	40	60	
21 I like speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) at home.	Eng	38	3	93	7	HS $\chi^2 = 20.52$
	W.I	52	51	51	50	
24 I like playing with black children more than white children.	Eng	35	6	85	15	HS $\chi^2 = 17.70$
	W.I	46	56	45	55	
25 I don't like the West Indies.	Eng	29	12	71	29	S $\chi^2 = 5.22$
	W.I	90	12	88	13	
27 I like English people, but not the police.	Eng	27	14	66	34	HS $\chi^2 = 9.46$
	W.I	37	66	36	64	
28 I like living in Britain.	Eng	4	36	10	90	HS $\chi^2 = 10.36$
	W.I	40	61	40	60	
32 I like to be with my friends more than with my family.	Eng	37	4	90	10	S $\chi^2 = 5.11$
	W.I	70	29	71	29	
33 I'm always being picked on at school.	Eng	36	5	88	12	S $\chi^2 = 5.10$
	W.I	69	33	68	32	
34 My teachers don't like me.	Eng	39	2	95	5	HS $\chi^2 = 9.91$
	W.I	70	32	69	31	
35 English is better than patois (west Indian Dialect).	Eng	13	28	32	68	HS $\chi^2 = 12.04$
	W.I	66	35	65	35	
36 I prefer the West Indians to the English.	Eng	37	4	90	10	HS $\chi^2 = 23.58$
	W.I	43	55	44	55	
38 Other children don't like me very much.	Eng	35	5	88	13	S $\chi^2 = 4.08$
	W.I	70	31	69	31	
40 Speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) is part of Black Culture.	Eng	14	27	34	66	S $\chi^2 = 3.30$
	W.I	18	85	18	83	
43 I would like to be taught by black teachers.	Eng	35	6	85	15	HS $\chi^2 = 25.20$
	W.I	38	64	37	63	

Variable		Disagree/Agree		Disagree/Agree		Significance Level
		(numbers)		(percent)		
45 My brothers and sisters are always picking on me.	Eng	31	10	76	24	S $\chi^2 = 5.59$
	W.I.	54	49	52	48	
47 I like English food better than West Indian food.	Eng	5	35	13	88	HS $\chi^2 = 60.66$
	W I	85	16	84	16	
48 English music is better than West Indian music.	Eng	12	29	29	71	HS $\chi^2 = 51.70$
	W I	92	10	90	10	
49 White children think patois (West Indian Dialect) is stupid.	Eng	28	13	68	32	HS $\chi^2 = 6.72$
	W I	43	58	43	57	
80 White children should learn West Indian songs.	Eng	24	17	59	42	HS $\chi^2 = 9.61$
	W I	30	70	29	71	
51 West Indian parents are more strict than English parents.	Eng	19	22	46	54	HS $\chi^2 = 9.02$
	W I	20	81	20	80	
52 My parents don't like speaking patois (West Indian Dialect).	ENG	16	25	39	61	S $\chi^2 = 4.08$
	W I	60	41	59	41	
53 My teachers are always angry.	Eng	35	6	85	15	HS $\chi^2 = 8.74$
	W I	57	42	58	42	
55 Most teachers don't care about the West Indies.	Eng	32	8	80	20	HS $\chi^2 = 19.73$
	W I	38	65	37	63	
57 I like to speak patois (West Indian Dialect) to be different.	Eng	38	3	93	7	HS $\chi^2 = 17.66$
	W I	55	47	54	46	
58 English people should know about the West Indies.	Eng	22	19	54	46	HS $\chi^2 = 26.61$
	W I	12	91	12	88	
60 I'm always bored.	Eng	38	3	93	7	HS $\chi^2 = 12.45$
	W I	63	40	61	39	
61 I like eating West Indian food.	Eng	29	12	71	29	HS $\chi^2 = 34.98$
	W I	18	84	18	82	

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Variable	Disagree/Agree		Disagree/Agree		Significance Level
	(numbers)		(percent)		
62 England is better than the West Indies.	Eng	17   24	42   53	HS $\chi^2 = 23.48$	
	W I	83   16	84   16		
63 I prefer having black friends to white friends.	Eng	37   3	93   7	HS $\chi^2 = 40.27$	
	W I	31   68	31   69		
64 All my friends like West Indian things.	Eng	31   9	78   23	HS $\chi^2 = 7.51$	
	W I	51   50	51   50		
65 My parents like Britain.	Eng	7   34	17   83	HS $\chi^2 = 18.83$	
	W I	60   42	59   41		
66 English people should eat more West Indian food.	Eng	30   11	73   27	HS $\chi^2 = 18.15$	
	W I	33   69	32   68		
67 Schools should help black children more.	Eng	26   15	63   37	HS $\chi^2 = 21.49$	
	W I	22   81	21   79		
68 My West Indian friends like patois (West Indian Dialect).	Eng	22   19	54   46	HS $\chi^2 = 7.50$	
	W I	28   73	28   72		
69 My teachers are friendly.	Eng	7   33	18   83	S. $\chi^2 = 4.31$	
	W I	38   64	37   63		
70 I'm unhappy most of the time.	Eng	38   3	93   7	NS (.06) $\chi^2 = 3.51$	
	W I	80   23	78   22		

ATTITUDE TESTSTATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT RESULTS SHOWING DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WEST INDIANEXPERIMENTAL AND WEST INDIAN CONTROL GROUPS USING CHI SQUARE TEST

Variable		<u>Disagree/Agree</u> <u>Numbers</u>		<u>Disagree/Agree</u> <u>Percent</u>		<u>Significance</u> <u>Level</u>
						(HS=p ≤ 0.01 S=p ≤ 0.05 NS=p > 0.05)
02 Most people who speak posh English aren't nice.	Exp	14	48	23	77	S $\chi^2_1 = 11.68$
	Con	18	21	45	55	
11 If all English people were black, things would be better.	Exp	29	32	48	53	S $\chi^2_1 = 3.71$
	Con	27	12	69	31	
17 I don't like Britain	Exp	30	32	48	52	NS(.09) $\chi^2_1 = 2.87$
	Con	27	13	68	33	
20 Most teachers don't like black children	Exp	17	45	27	73	HS $\chi^2_1 = 3.69$
	Con	23	16	59	41	
24 I like playing with black children more than white children.	Exp	23	38	38	62	NS $\chi^2_1 = 2.27$
	Con	22	18	55	45	
28 I like living in Britain	Exp	30	32	48	52	S $\chi^2_1 = 5.05$
	Con	9	29	24	76	
33 I'm always being picked on at school	Exp	37	25	60	40	NS(.07) $\chi^2_1 = 3.42$
	Con	31	8	80	21	
34 My teachers don't like me.	Exp	34	28	55	45	HS $\chi^2_1 = 11.91$
	Con	35	4	90	10	



Variable		Disagree/Agree		Disagree/Agree		Significance Level
		Numbers		Percent		
38 Other children don't like me very much.	Exp	37	23	62	38	S $\chi^2_1 = 4.02$
	Con	33	7	83	18	
43 I would like to be taught by black teachers.	Exp	15	46	25	75	HS $\chi^2_1 = 8.36$
	Con	22	18	55	45	
46 My teachers wouldn't mind being black.	Exp	55	6	90	10	HS $\chi^2_1 = 7.47$
	Con	25	13	66	34	
50 White children should learn West Indian songs.	Exp	23	39	37	63	NS (.06) $\chi^2_1 = 3.60$
	Con	7	33	18	83	
53 My teachers are always angry.	Exp	26	32	45	55	HS $\chi^2_1 = 7.61$
	Con	30	10	75	25	
54 There are lots of happy things to do.	Exp	14	48	23	77	S $\chi^2_1 = 4.05$
	Con	2	36	5	95	
55 Most teachers don't care about the West Indies.	Exp	17	45	27	73	S $\chi^2_1 = 5.51$
	Con	21	19	53	48	
56 Most people in school like me.	Exp	15	47	24	76	NS (.08) $\chi^2_1 = 3.02$
	Con	3	34	8	92	
60 I'm always bored.	Exp	32	30	52	48	S $\chi^2_1 = 4.64$
	Con	30	10	75	25	

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<u>Variable</u>		<u>Disagree/Agree</u> <u>Numbers</u>	<u>Disagree/Agree</u> <u>Percent</u>	<u>Significance</u> <u>Level</u>
65 My parents like Britain.	Exp	43   18	71   30	HS $\chi^2_1 = 8.03$
	Con	16   24	40   60	
68 My West Indian friends like patois.	Exp	22   38	37   63	S $\chi^2_1 = 4.57$
	Con	6   34	15   85	
69 My teachers are friendly.	Exp	28   34	45   55	NS(.08) $\chi^2_1 = 3.10$
	Con	10   29	26   74	
70 I'm unhappy most of the time.	Exp	42   20	68   32	HS $\chi^2_1 = 7.18$
	Con	37   3	92   8	

ATTITUDE TEST

Statistically Significant Results showing difference of response between West Indian & English pupils and excluding items affected by differences between Experimental Group and West Indian Control\*.  
(Using Chi Squared Test with % to nearest whole number)

Variable		<u>Disagree/Agree</u>		<u>Disagree/Agree</u>		<u>Significance</u> <u>Level</u> (HS=p < 0.01 S=p < 0.05 NS=p > 0.05)
		<u>Number</u>		<u>Percent</u>		
04 I like being at school	Eng	19	22	46	54	NS (.06) $\chi^2_1 = 3.59$
	WI	29	74	28	72	
05 I don't get on at home.	Eng	37	2	95	5	S $\chi^2_1 = 4.12$
	WI	78	21	79	21	
10 Teachers should learn about the West Indies.	Eng	28	13	68	32	HS $\chi^2_1 = 33.72$
	WI	16	82	16	84	
14 I like English stories better than West Indian stories.	Eng	14	26	35	65	HS $\chi^2_1 = 25.65$
	WI	81	19	81	19	
16 The best thing about Black Culture is reggae music.	Eng	24	17	59	42	HS $\chi^2_1 = 15.29$
	WI	23	78	23	77	
18 My white friends like black music.	Eng	25	16	61	39	HS $\chi^2_1 = 9.96$
	WI	31	70	31	69	
25 I don't like the West Indies.	Eng	29	12	71	29	S $\chi^2_1 = 5.22$
	WI	90	12	88	13	
27 I like English people, but not the police.	Eng	27	14	66	34	HS $\chi^2_1 = 9.46$
	WI	37	66	36	64	
32 I like to be with my friends more than with my family.	Eng	37	4	90	10	S $\chi^2_1 = 5.11$
	WI	70	29	71	29	

Variable		Disagree/Agree		Disagree/Agree		Significance Level
		Numbers		Percent		
35 English is better than patois (West Indian Dialect).	Eng	13	28	32	68	HS $\chi^2 = 12.04$
	WI	66	35	65	35	
36 I prefer the West Indians to the English.	Eng	37	4	90	10	HS $\chi^2 = 23.58$
	WI	43	55	44	56	
45 My brothers and sisters are always picking on me.	Eng	31	10	76	24	S $\chi^2 = 5.59$
	WI	54	49	52	48	
47 I like English food better than West Indian food.	Eng	5	35	13	88	HS $\chi^2 = 60.66$
	WI	85	16	84	16	
49 White children think patois (West Indian Dialect) is stupid.	Eng	28	13	68	32	HS $\chi^2 = 6.72$
	WI	43	58	43	57	
51 West Indian parents are more strict than English parents.	Eng	19	22	46	54	HS $\chi^2 = 9.02$
	WI	20	81	20	80	
62 England is better than the West Indies.	Eng	17	24	42	53	HS $\chi^2 = 23.48$
	WI	83	16	84	16	
64 All my friends like West Indian things.	Eng	31	9	78	23	HS $\chi^2 = 7.51$
	WI	51	50	51	50	
66 English people should eat more West Indian food.	Eng	30	11	73	27	HS $\chi^2 = 18.15$
	WI	33	69	32	68	
67 Schools should help black children more.	Eng	26	15	63	37	HS $\chi^2 = 21.49$
	WI	22	81	21	79	

\* Items which show statistically significant differences and which are unaffected by the Experimental Group effect, but which are to be expected from differences between West Indian and English groups, are also excluded. An example of this type of item was:

I like speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) at home.

### The Error Checking Process

On all tests, frequencies were run on the computer and responses were checked to ensure that they were within the correct range. On the Attitude Test a "List Cases" was run and each response checked by the original scripts for the total (147) cases. One error was encountered. When adjustments were made to results, such as the creation of composite variables on the Attitude Test (described later), a "frequencies" run was made and the frequencies on five variables out of the newly constructed composites were examined and checked by the originals, to ensure that no error had been made in recoding. No error was encountered.

For the Non-verbal DH NFER test, which comprised 32 items used in the present research, individual totals were obtained by the "Count" procedure for all 147 cases and these were checked by original totals on the scripts. No errors were encountered. Since the totals from the scripts had not been used in punching the computer cards, because the individual test items were required as raw data, this meant that the totals on the scripts and the totals obtained by processing the data cards had been reached independently of each other, making it unnecessary to examine individual subject's responses on a selection of variables, since no errors showed on totals.

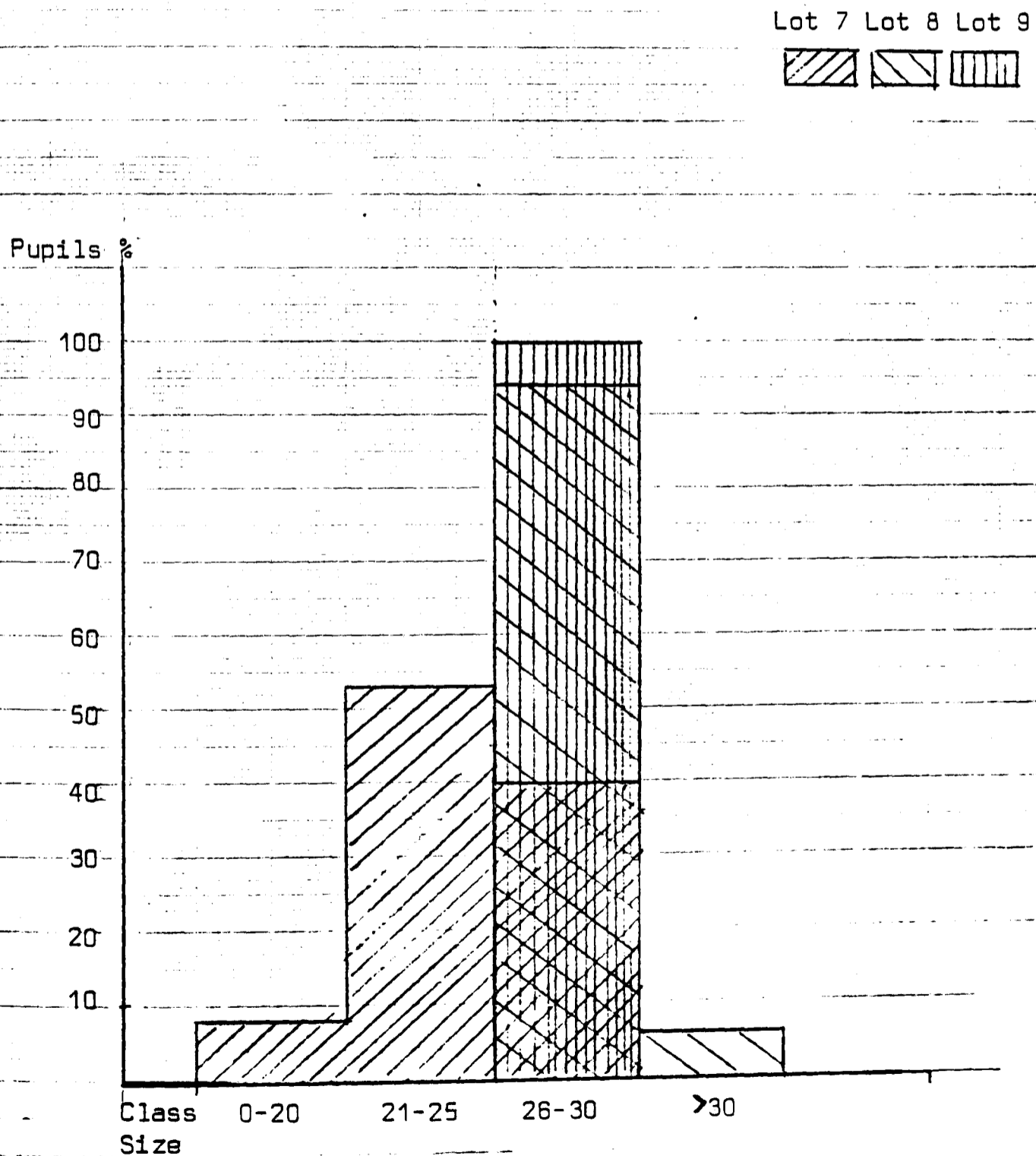
For the English Test a "List Cases" was run and eight items (taken from each section of the Test) were checked for 147 cases, comparing them to the original scripts. One error was encountered. An error assessment of this test would therefore be:

$$\% \text{ error} = \frac{1 \times 100}{147 \times 8} \% = .085\%$$

$$\% \text{ checked} = \frac{8 \times 100}{40} \% = 20.\%$$

$$\text{Error estimate over test} = .085\% \times 5 = .425\%$$

Class Size Distribution For Experimental Group And West Indian  
And English Controls (Lot 7, Lot 8, Lot 9).



Teachers' QuestionnaireParental Occupations For Experimental Group, West Indian Control  
And English Control Groups (Lots 7, 8, 9)Pupil's Father's Job

<u>Teacher Response</u>	<u>Lot 7</u>		<u>Lot 8</u>		<u>Lot 9</u>	
	<u>Nos.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Nos.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Nos.</u>	<u>%</u>
Omit	15	28	26	65	20	56
Other than following:	11	21	3	8	3	8
Not Working Now	0	0	0	0	0	0
Manual skilled, semi- or unskilled	19	36	10	25	10	28
Clerical or semi- professional (e.g. nurse, technician etc.)	8	15	1	3	3	8
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0

N = 53

N = 40

N = 36

333.

Pupil's Mother's Job

<u>Teacher Response</u>	<u>Lot 7</u>		<u>Lot 8</u>		<u>Lot 9</u>	
	<u>Nos.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Nos.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Nos.</u>	<u>%</u>
Omit	17	32	26	65	18	50
Other than following:	4	8	2	5	1	3
Not Working Now	7	13	1	3	10	28
Manual skilled, semi- or unskilled	6	11	11	28	4	11
Clerical or semi- professional (e.g. nurse, technician etc.)	19	36	0	0	3	8
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0

N = 53

N = 40

N = 36



Cognitive Test Results For All Groups

	<u>Group &amp; Designation</u>	<u>No. in Group</u>	<u>Mean Score on NFER Non Verbal DH Test</u>
Second Sample	'Other' Lot 4	*29	21.7
	New English Control Lot 5	38	22.3
	New West Indian Control Lot 6	30	21.4

\*Lot 4 combines both sample groups. Results of new data only:  $N = 26$ ,  $\bar{X} = 22.4$

First Sample	Experimental Group Lot 7	62	**17.4
	First West Indian Control Lot 8	40	20.0
	First English Control Lot 9	37	22.0

\*\*Only group showing significantly different score in comparison with other groups of its sample.

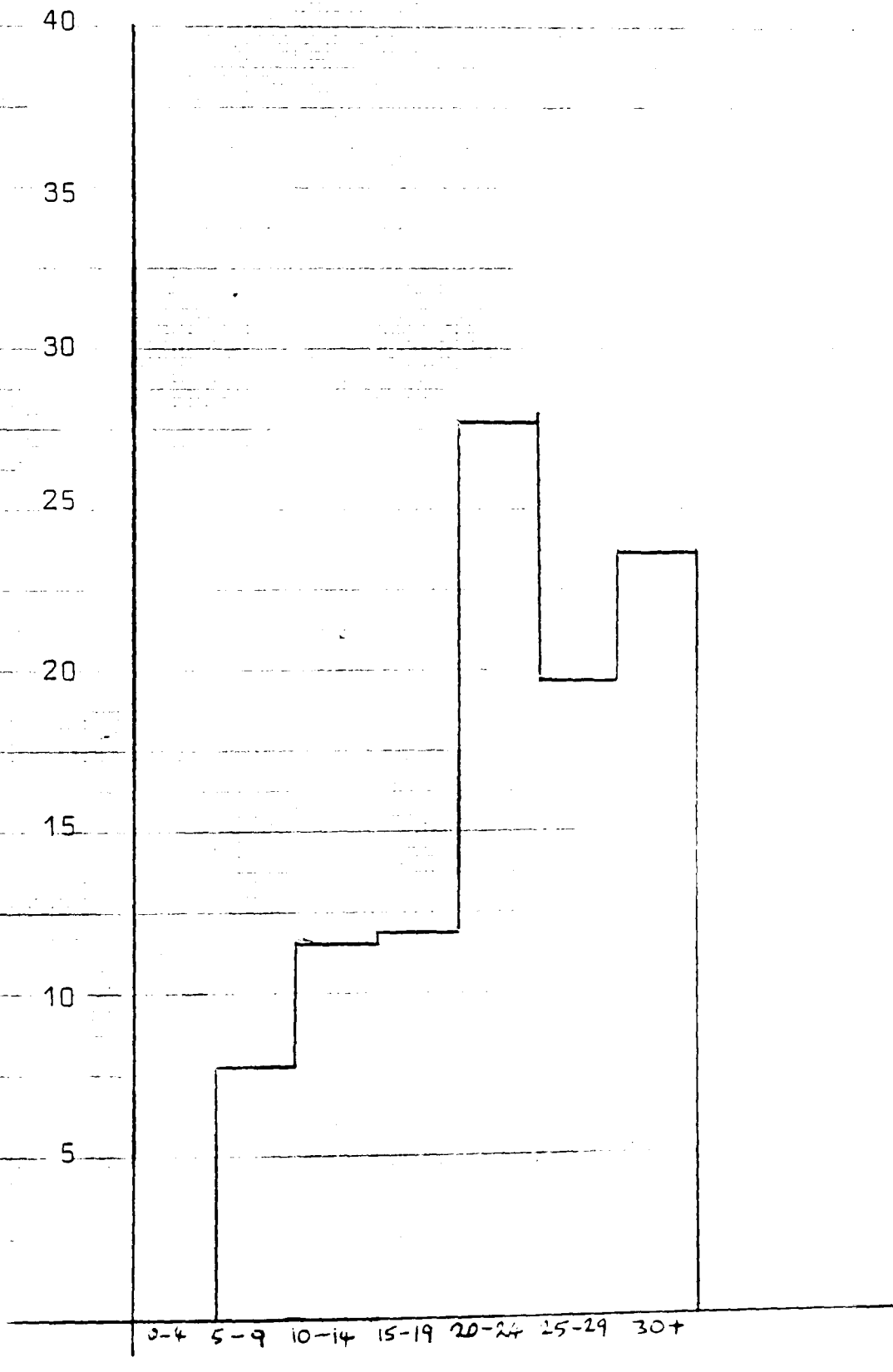
Non-Verbal D.H. Scores 'Other' Group (New Data) Reporting Adjusted Frequency %

LOT 4

\* Mean = 21.7

\* N = 29

% of pupils in each score category



D.H. Score  
min = 0  
max = 32

N.B. Lot 4 combines first and second sample. Results of new data only are N:26,  $\bar{x}$  22.4

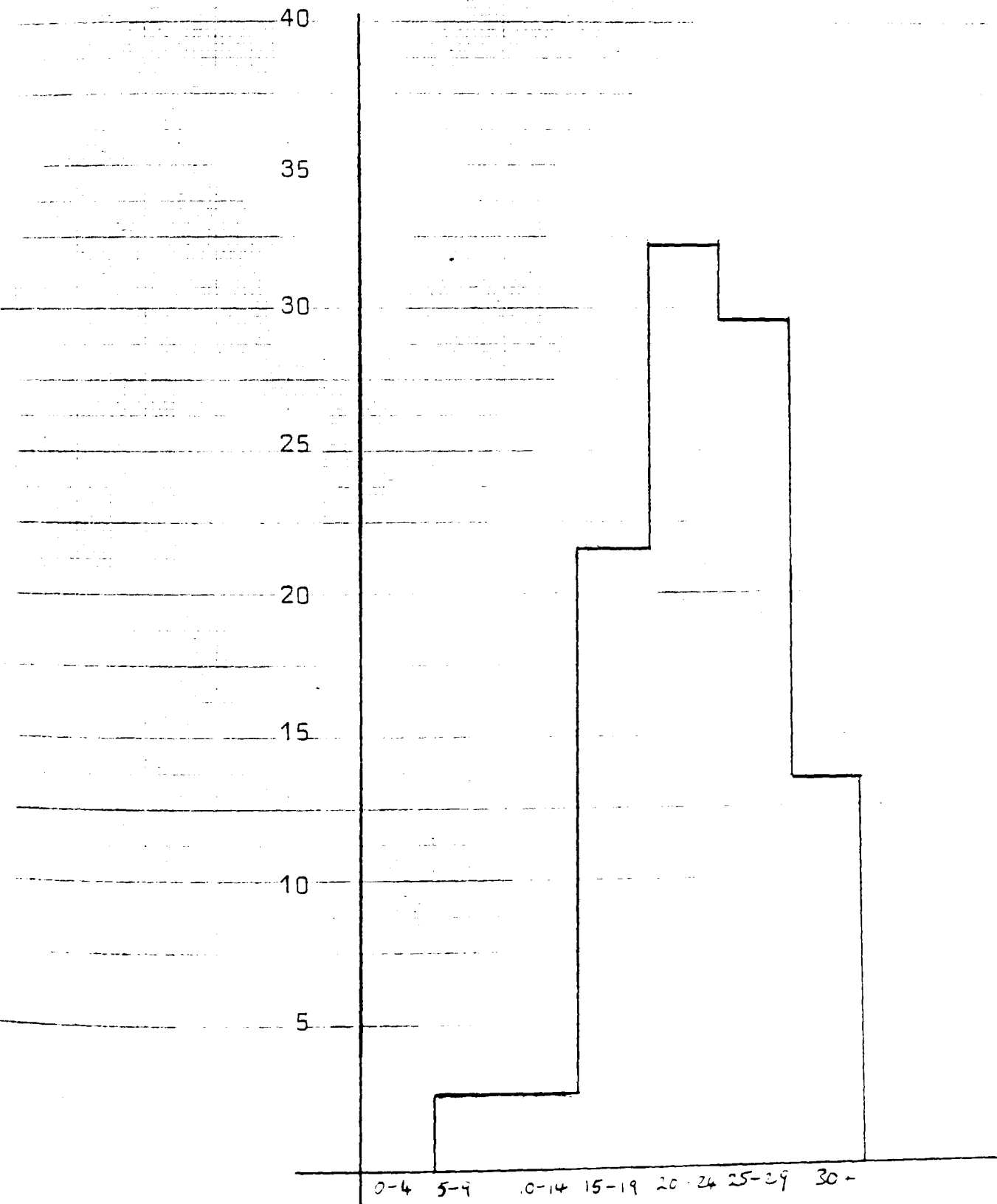
Non-Verbal D.H. Scores English Control (New Data)  
Reporting Adjusted Frequency %

LOT 5

Mean = 22.8

N = 38

% of pupils in  
each score  
category



D.H. Score  
min = 0  
max = 32

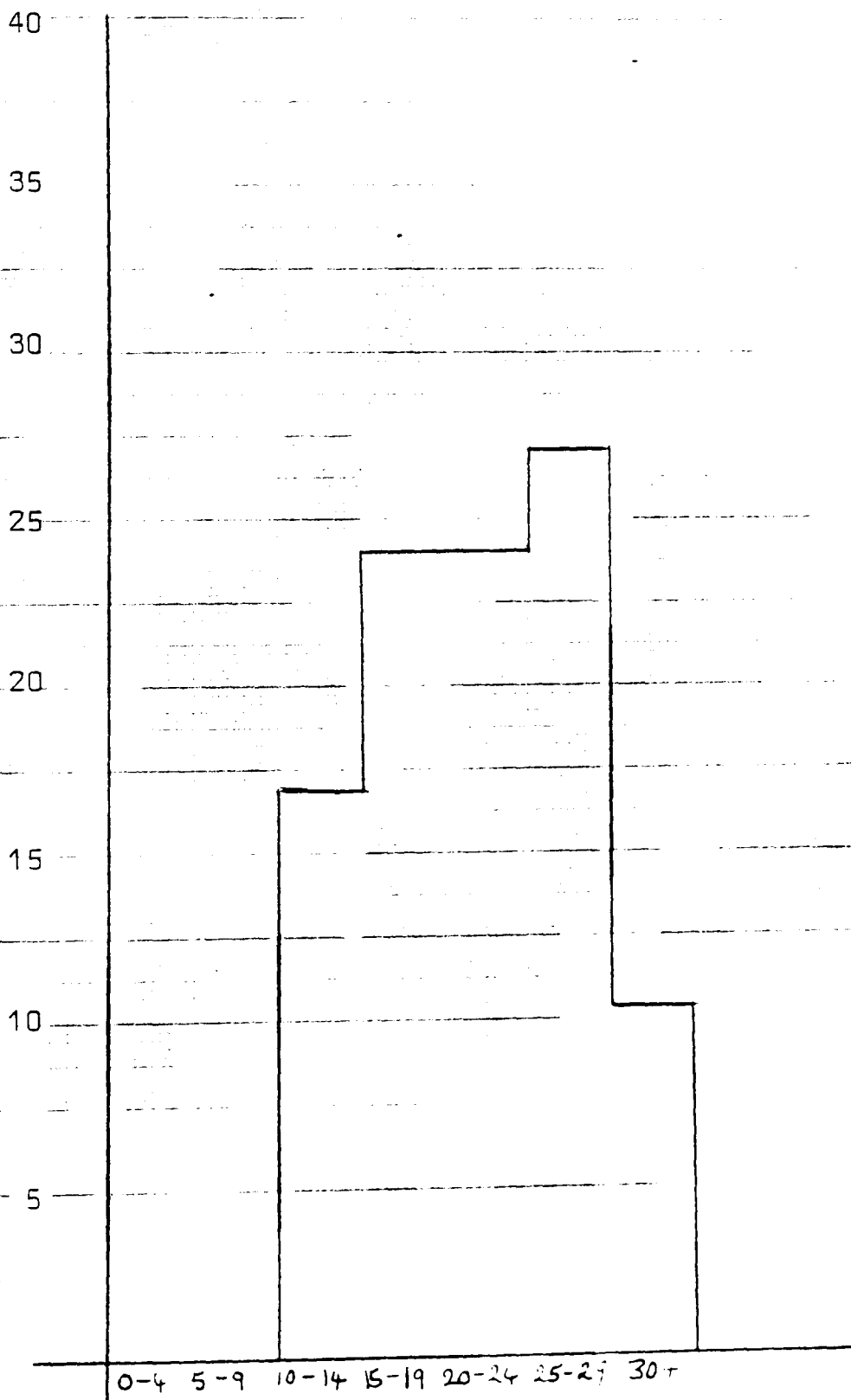
Non-Verbal D.H. Scores West Indian Control (New Data)  
Reporting Adjusted Frequency %

LOT 6

Mean = 21.4

N = 30

% of pupils in  
each score  
category



D.H. Score  
min = 0  
max = 32

SECTIONS OF ENGLISH TEST SHOWING SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT SCORES ON T-TEST

	PRONOUNS	QUIZ	PLURALS	STANDARD ENGLISH USAGE	ABSTRACT NOUNS	VERBS	
Experimental Group (Lot 7) First English Control (Lot 9)	.08		.01	<.005		<.005	Mean lower in each case
Experimental Group (Lot 7) First W. I. Control (Lot 8)			.07				Mean lower in each case
First W.I. Control (Lot 8) First English Control (Lot 9)				.01		.05	Mean lower in each case
New English Control (Lot 5) New W.I. Control (Lot 6)		<.005		.09	*		Mean higher except *
New English Control (Lot 5) First English Control (Lot 9)		.07					Mean higher in each case
New W.I. Control (Lot 6) First W.I. Control (Lot 8)		*				*	Mean higher except *

N.B. English Groups scored higher means than W.I. Groups.

ATTITUDE TEST

Statistically Significant Results Showing Difference Of Response  
Between New English Control And First English Control (Lots 5 & 9)  
Using Chi Square Test (% to nearest whole number)

<u>Variable</u>		<u>Disagree/Agree</u>		<u>Disagree/Agree</u>		<u>Significance</u> <u>Level</u> (HS=p < 0.01 S=p < 0.05 NS=p > 0.05)
		<u>Numbers</u>		<u>Percent</u>		
49 White children think patois is stupid.	Lot 5	16	22	42	58	S $\chi^2 = 4.47$
	Lot 9	28	13	68	32	
51 W. Indian parents are more strict than English parents.	Lot 5	27	9	75	25	S $\chi^2 = 5.41$
	Lot 9	19	22	46	54	
66 English people should eat more W. Indian food.	Lot 5	36	2	95	5	S $\chi^2 = 5.20$
	Lot 9	30	11	73	27	

ATTITUDE TEST

Statistically Significant Results Showing Difference Of Response  
Between New West Indian Control And First West Indian Control  
(Lots 6 & 8) Using Chi Square Test (% to nearest who number).

<u>Variable</u>		<u>Disagree/Agree</u>		<u>Disagree/Agree</u>		<u>Significance</u> <u>Level</u> (HS=p < 0.01 S=p < 0.05 NS=p > 0.05)
		<u>Numbers</u>		<u>Percent</u>		
09 My school friends are different from my friends at home.	Lot 6	7	22	24	76	S $\chi^2 = 5.37$
	Lot 8	22	18	55	45	
10 Teachers should learn about the West Indies.	Lot 6	12	18	40	60	NS (.09) $\chi^2 = 2.38$
	Lot 8	7	31	18	82	
16 The best thing about black culture is reggae music.	Lot 6	19	10	66	35	HS $\chi^2 = 11.18$
	Lot 8	9	31	23	78	
45 My brothers and sisters are always picking on me.	Lot 6	25	5	83	17	S $\chi^2 = 5.56$
	Lot 8	22	19	54	46	
50 White children should learn W. Indian songs.	Lot 6	19	11	63	37	HS $\chi^2 = 14.04$
	Lot 8	7	34	17	83	
58 English people should know about the W. Indies.	Lot 6	12	17	41	59	HS $\chi^2 = 11.95$
	Lot 8	2	39	5	95	
66 English people should eat more W. Indian food.	Lot 6	19	11	63	37	HS $\chi^2 = 8.02$
	Lot 8	11	30	27	73	
68 My West Indian friends like patois (W. Indian Dialect).	Lot 6	11	19	37	63	NS (.06) $\chi^2 = 3.49$
	Lot 8	6	35	15	85	

ATTITUDE TEST

Statistically Significant Results Showing Difference Of Response  
Between New English Control And New West Indian Control Using  
Chi Square Test (% to nearest whole number).

<u>Variable</u>		<u>Disagree/Agree Numbers</u>		<u>Disagree/Agree Percent</u>		<u>Significance Level</u> (HS=p 0.01 S=p 0.05 NS=p 0.05)
02	Most people who speak posh English aren't nice.	Eng	25   13	66   34	S $\chi^2_1 = 4.60$	
		WI	11   19	37   63		
03	My parents like the West Indies better than Britain.	Eng	36   1	97   3	HS $\chi^2_1 = 31.35$	
		WI	8   20	29   71		
09	My school-friends are different from my friends at home.	Eng	22   16	58   42	HS $\chi^2_1 = 6.32$	
		WI	7   22	24   76		
10	Teachers should learn about the West Indies.	Eng	25   12	68   32	S $\chi^2_1 = 4.04$	
		WI	12   18	40   60		
11	If all English people were black, things would be better.	Eng	36   2	95   5	HS $\chi^2_1 = 7.26$	
		WI	20   10	67   33		
14	I like English stories better than West Indian stories.	Eng	14   23	38   62	HS $\chi^2_1 = 13.79$	
		WI	25   4	86   14		
17	I don't like Britain.	Eng	35   3	92   8	HS $\chi^2_1 = 8.27$	
		WI	18   12	60   40		
19	I'd like to live in the West Indies.	Eng	36   2	95   5	HS $\chi^2_1 = 28.35$	
		WI	8   20	29   71		
20	Most teachers don't like black children.	Eng	32   6	84   16	S $\chi^2_1 = 3.88$	
		WI	18   12	60   40		
21	I like speaking patois at home.	Eng	37   0	100   0	HS $\chi^2_1 = 17.22$	
		WI	17   13	57   43		



Variable		Disagree/Agree		Disagree/Agree		Significance Level
		Numbers		Percent		
24 I like playing with black children more than white children.	Eng	36	1	97	3	HS $\chi^2 = 24.03$
	WI	12	18	40	60	
25 I don't like the West Indies.	Eng	23	14	62	38	HS $\chi^2 = 6.52$
	WI	26	2	93	7	
28 I like living in Britain.	Eng	4	33	11	89	HS $\chi^2 = 5.76$
	WI	11	17	39	61	
30 West Indians should behave like the English.	Eng	18	20	47	53	HS $\chi^2 = 9.17$
	WI	25	4	86	14	
31 I like to spend weekends with family and friends.	Eng	0	38	0	100	S $\chi^2 = 4.61$
	WI	5	25	17	83	
35 English is better than patois (West Indian Dialect).	Eng	10	27	27	73	HS $\chi^2 = 6.11$
	WI	18	12	60	40	
36 I prefer the West Indians to the English.	Eng	37	1	97	3	HS $\chi^2 = 24.63$
	WI	12	18	40	60	
43 I would like to be taught by black teachers.	Eng	35	3	92	8	HS $\chi^2 = 3.77$
	WI	17	12	59	41	
44 I like to spend weekends with my parents.	Eng	1	37	3	97	HS $\chi^2 = 6.47$
	WI	8	22	28	72	
47 I like English food better than West Indian food.	Eng	7	31	18	82	HS $\chi^2 = 23.21$
	WI	24	6	80	20	
48 English music is better than West Indian music.	Eng	10	27	27	73	HS $\chi^2 = 23.26$
	WI	26	3	90	10	
51 West Indian parents are more strict than English parents.	Eng	27	9	75	25	HS $\chi^2 = 12.22$
	WI	7	19	27	73	
52 My parents don't like speaking patois.	Eng	11	26	30	70	HS $\chi^2 = 8.53$
	WI	20	9	69	31	

343.

<u>Variable</u>		<u>Disagree/Agree</u> <u>Numbers</u>		<u>Disagree/Agree</u> <u>Percent</u>		<u>Significance</u> <u>Level</u>
57	I like to speak patois (West Indian Dialect) to be different.	Eng	34   4	90   10	S $\chi^2 = 5.23$	
		WI	19   11	63   34		
61	I like eating West Indian food.	Eng	34   4	90   10	HS $\chi^2 = 33.42$	
		WI	5   25	17   83		
62	England is better than the West Indies.	Eng	10   27	27   73	HS $\chi^2 = 20.55$	
		WI	25   4	86   14		
63	I prefer having black friends to white friends.	Eng	37   1	97   3	HS $\chi^2 = 23.47$	
		WI	12   17	41   59		
64	All my friends like West Indian things.	Eng	33   5	87   13	HS $\chi^2 = 7.76$	
		WI	16   14	53   47		
65	My parents like Britain.	Eng	5   32	14   87	S $\chi^2 = 6.06$	
		WI	13   17	43   57		
66	English people should eat more West Indian food.	Eng	36   2	95   5	HS $\chi^2 = 8.76$	
		WI	19   11	63   37		
67	Schools should help black children more.	Eng	18   20	47   63	NS(.07) $\chi^2 = 3.20$	
		WI	7   23	23   77		

ATTITUDE TEST

Statistically Significant Results Showing Difference of Response  
Between English Controls (Combined) & West Indian Controls (Combined)  
Using Chi Square Test (% To Nearest Whole Number)

<u>Variable</u>		<u>Disagree/Agree</u>		<u>Disagree/Agree</u>		<u>Significance</u> <u>Level</u> (HS=p: < 0.01 S=p: < 0.05 NS=p: > 0.05)
		<u>Numbers</u>		<u>Percent</u>		
02 Most people who speak posh English aren't nice.	Eng	53	26	67	33	HS $\chi^2_1 = 9.36$
	WI	26	42	41	59	
03 My parents like the West Indies better than Britain.	Eng	70	7	91	9	HS $\chi^2_1 = 62.64$
	WI	17	51	25	75	
04 I like being at school.	Eng	32	47	41	60	HS $\chi^2_1 = 6.65$
	WI	14	57	20	80	
05 I don't get on at home.	Eng	73	4	95	5	S $\chi^2_1 = 4.51$
	WI	56	12	82	18	
10 Teachers should learn about the West Indies.	Eng	53	25	68	32	HS $\chi^2_1 = 21.69$
	WI	19	49	28	72	
11 If all English people were black, things would be better.	Eng	69	10	87	13	HS $\chi^2_1 = 7.65$
	WI	47	23	67	33	
14 I like English stories better than West Indian stories.	Eng	28	49	36	64	HS $\chi^2_1 = 28.08$
	WI	56	13	81	19	
17 I don't like Britain.	Eng	70	9	89	11	HS $\chi^2_1 = 10.78$
	WI	46	25	65	35	
18 My white friends like black music.	Eng	41	37	53	47	S $\chi^2_1 = 5.58$
	WI	22	47	32	68	
19 I'd like to live in the West Indies.	Eng	69	9	89	12	HS $\chi^2_1 = 40.12$
	WI	25	43	37	63	

345.

Variable		Disagree/Agree		Disagree/Agree		Significance Level
		Numbers		Percent		
20 Most teachers don't like black children.	Eng	68	11	86	14	HS $\chi^2 = 12.15$
	WI	41	28	59	41	
21 I like speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) at home.	Eng	75	3	96	4	HS $\chi^2 = 34.58$
	WI	38	33	54	47	
24 I like playing with black children more than white children.	Eng	71	7	91	9	HS $\chi^2 = 29.53$
	WI	35	36	49	51	
25 I don't like the West Indies.	Eng	52	26	67	33	HS $\chi^2 = 11.36$
	WI	62	6	91	9	
28 I like living in Britain.	Eng	8	69	10	90	HS $\chi^2 = 8.52$
	WI	21	46	31	69	
30 West Indians should behave like the English.	Eng	45	34	57	43	HS $\chi^2 = 11.18$
	WI	57	11	84	16	
32 I like to be with my friends more than with my family.	Eng.	73	6	92	8	S $\chi^2 = 4.95$
	WI	54	15	78	22	
35 English is better than patois.	Eng	23	55	30	71	HS $\chi^2 = 18.66$
	WI	47	24	66	34	
36 I prefer the West Indians to the English.	Eng	74	5	94	6	HS $\chi^2 = 38.02$
	WI	31	36	46	54	
40 Speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) is part of Black Culture.	Eng	29	49	37	63	HS $\chi^2 = 5.68$
	WI	12	59	17	83	
43 I would like to be taught by black teachers.	Eng	70	9	89	11	HS $\chi^2 = 17.42$
	WI	40	30	57	43	
44 I like to spend weekends with my parents.	Eng	8	71	10	90	S $\chi^2 = 4.54$
	WI	17	52	25	75	
47 I like English food better than West Indian food.	Eng	12	66	15	85	HS $\chi^2 = 62.03$
	WI	57	13	81	19	

346.

Variable		Disagree/Agree		Disagree/Agree		Significance Level
		Numbers		Percent		
50 White children should learn West Indian songs.	Eng	50	29	63	37	HS $\chi^2 = 9.60$
	WI	26	45	37	63	
51 West Indian parents are more strict than English parents.	Eng	46	31	60	40	HS $\chi^2 = 15.3$
	WI	17	49	26	74	
52 My parents don't like speaking patois (West Indian Dialect).	Eng	27	51	35	65	HS $\chi^2 = 11.84$
	WI	45	25	64	36	
55 Most teachers don't care about the West Indies.	Eng	55	22	71	29	S $\chi^2 = 4.09$
	WI	36	31	54	46	
57 I like to speak patois (West Indian Dialect) to be different.	Eng	72	7	91	9	HS $\chi^2 = 17.37$
	WI	43	28	61	39	
58 English people should know about the West Indies.	Eng	39	36	52	46	HS $\chi^2 = 14.64$
	WI	14	56	20	80	
61 I like eating West Indian food.	Eng	63	16	80	20	HS $\chi^2 = 50.69$
	WI	14	56	20	80	
62 England is better than the West Indies.	Eng	27	51	35	65	HS $\chi^2 = 30.40$
	WI	56	13	81	19	
63 I prefer having black friends to white friends.	Eng	74	4	95	5	HS $\chi^2 = 47.30$
	WI	29	41	41	59	
64 All my friends like West Indian things.	Eng	64	14	82	18	HS $\chi^2 = 17.02$
	WI	34	36	49	51	
65 My parents like Britain.	Eng	12	66	15	85	HS $\chi^2 = 11.76$
	WI	30	41	42	58	
66 English people should eat more West Indian food.	Eng	66	13	84	17	HS $\chi^2 = 25.77$
	WI	30	41	42	58	
67 Schools should help black children more.	Eng	44	35	56	44	HS $\chi^2 = 12.78$
	WI	18	53	25	75	
68 My West Indian friends like patois (West Indian Dialect).	Eng	40	37	52	48	HS $\chi^2 = 11.08$
	WI	17	54	24	76	

347.

ATTITUDE TESTSIGNIFICANT RESULTS USING  $\chi^2$  OF WEST INDIAN CONTROLS X ENGLISH CONTROLS

	Signi- ficance Level	Percentage of W.Indians who agree	Percentage of English who agree
1 (NS)			
2 Most people who speak posh English aren't nice	HS	59	33
3 My parents like the West Indies better than Britain (NR)			
4 I like being at school	HS	80	60
5 I don't get on at home	S	18	5
6 (NS)			
7 (NS)			
8 (NS)			
9 (NS)			
10 Teachers should learn about the West Indies	HS	72	32
11 If all English people were black, things would be better.	HS	33	13
12 (NS)			
13 (NS)			
14 I like English stories better than West Indian stories	HS	19	64
15 (NS)			
16 (NS)			
17 I don't like Britain	HS	35	11
18 My white friends like black music	S	68	47
19 I'd like to live in the West Indies	HS	63	12
20 Most teachers don't like black children	HS	41	14
21 I like speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) at home (NR)			
22 (NS)			
23 (NS)			
24 I like playing with black children more than white children	HS	51	9
25 I don't like the West Indies	HS	9	33
26 (NS)			
27 (NS)			

	Signi- ficance Level	Percentage of W.Indians who agree	Percentage of English who agree
28 I like living in Britain	HS	69	90
29 (NS)			
30 West Indians should behave like the English	HS	16	43
31 (NS)			
32 I like to be with my friends more than with my family	S	22	8
33 (NS)			
34 (NS)			
35 English is better than patois (West Indian Dialect)	HS	34	71
36 I prefer the West Indians to the English	HS	54	6
37 (NS)			
38 (NS)			
39			
40 Speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) is part of Black Culture	HS	83	63
41 (NS)			
42 (NS)			
43 I would like to be taught by black teachers	HS	43	11
44 I like to spend week-ends with my parents	S	75	90
45 (NS)			
46 (NS)			
47 I like English food better than West Indian food	HS	19	35
48 (NS)			
49 (NS)			
50 White children should learn West Indian songs	HS	63	37
51 West Indian parents are more strict than English parents	HS	74	40
52 My parents don't like speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) (NR)			
53 (NS)			
54 (NS)			

	Signi- ficance Level	Percentage of W.Indians who agree	Percentage of English who agree
55 Most teachers don't care about the West Indies	S	46	29
56 (NS)			
57 I like to speak patois (West Indian Dialect) to be different (NR)			
58 English people should know about the West Indies	HS	80	48
59 (NS)			
60 (NS)			
61 I like eating West Indian food	HS	80	20
62 England is better than the West Indies	HS	19	65
63 I prefer having black friends to white friends	HS	59	5
64 All my friends like West Indian things	HS	51	18
65 My parents like Britain	HS	58	85
66 English people should eat more West Indian food	HS	58	17
67 Schools should help black children more	HS	75	44
68 My West Indian friends like patois (West Indian Dialect)	HS	76	48
69 (NS)			
70 (NS)			

HS =  $p \leq 0.01$

S =  $p \leq 0.05$

NS = Not Significant

NR = Not Relevant



ATTITUDE TESTStatistically Significant Results Showing Difference Of Response  
Between West Indian Experimental Group and Combined West Indian  
Controls (Lot 7 v. Lots 6+8).

Variable			<u>Disagree/Agree</u> <u>Numbers</u>		<u>Disagree/Agree</u> <u>Percent</u>		<u>Significance</u> <u>Level</u>
							(HS=p 0.01 S=p 0.05)
02 Most people who speak posh English aren't nice.	B	Exp	14	48	23	78	S $\chi^2 = 4.25$
	W	Con	29	42	41	59	
03 My parents like the West Indies better than Britain.	B	Exp	6	56	10	90	S $\chi^2 = 4.23$
	W	Con	7	51	25	75	
11 If all English people were black, things would be better.	B	Exp	29	32	48	52	S $\chi^2 = 4.37$
		Con	47	23	67	33	
16 The best thing about black culture is reggae music.		Exp	14	47	23	77	S $\chi^2 = 3.83$
		Con	28	41	41	59	
20 Most teachers don't like black children.		Exp	17	45	27	73	HS $\chi^2 = 12.21$
	W	Con	41	28	59	41	
33 I'm always being picked on at school.		Exp	37	25	60	40	HS $\chi^2 = 7.65$
		Con	58	12	83	17	
34 My teachers don't like me.		Exp	34	28	55	45	HS $\chi^2 = 17.20$
		Con	62	8	89	11	
38 Other children don't like me very much.		Exp	37	23	62	38	S $\chi^2 = 6.58$
		Con	58	13	82	18	
43 I would like to be taught by black teachers.	B	Exp	15	46	25	75	HS $\chi^2 = 12.88$
	W	Con	40	30	57	43	
46 My teachers wouldn't mind being black.		Exp	55	6	90	10	HS $\chi^2 = 7.89$
		Con	45	21	68	32	

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Variable		Disagree/Agree		Disagree/Agree		Significance Level
		Numbers		Percent		
53 My teachers are always angry.	Exp	26	32	45	55	HS $\chi^2 = 15.55$
	Con	56	14	80	20	
55 Most teachers don't care about the West Indies.	Exp	17	45	27	73	HS $\chi^2 = 8.16$
	Con	36	31	54	46	
56 Most people in school like me.	Exp	15	47	24	76	S $\chi^2 = 4.58$
	Con	6	62	9	91	
60 I'm always bored.	Exp	32	30	52	48	HS $\chi^2 = 12.36$
	Con	58	13	82	18	
65 My parents like Britain.	Exp	43	18	71	30	HS $\chi^2 = 9.47$
	Con	30	41	42	58	
69 My teachers are friendly.	Exp	28	34	45	55	S $\chi^2 = 4.65$
	Con	18	52	26	74	
70 I'm unhappy most of the time.	Exp	42	20	68	32	HS $\chi^2 = 7.56$
	Con	63	8	89	11	

Items showing significant differences here give an indication of atypicality of Experimental Group (Lot 7) and also reflect school differences to a minor extent in a few cases.

Attitude TestSignificant Differences between West Indian and English Groups  
Filtering Out Bias of Experimental Group and Other Between  
Group Differences

Lots 5+9 v. 6+8 (English Control x W.I. Controls) are typed. 5x6 (New English x New W.I. Controls) should concur (Smaller sample error excepted). E01 v. E03 contains bias of Lot 7 for some items, there where 1 v. 3 does not concur and Lot 7 shows difference from 6+8 (WI expt x WI controls) this indicates probable bias in E01 v. E03 results.

- 1 (E01 v. 3)
- 2 Most people who speak posh English aren't nice (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 3 My parents like the West Indies better than Britain (Lot 5 v. 6)
- 4 I like being at school (E01 v. 3)
- 5 I don't get on at home (E01 v. 3)
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9 (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 10 Teachers should learn about the West Indies (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 11 If all English people were black, things would be better (Lot 5 v. 6)  
(E01 v. 3)
- 12
- 13 (E01 v. 3)
- 14 I like English stories better than West Indian stories (Lot 5 v. 6)  
(E01 v. 3)
- 15
- 16 (E01 v. 3) (Lot 7 v. 6,8)
- 17 I don't like Britain (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 18 My white friends like black music (E01 v. 3)
- 19 I'd like to live in the West Indies (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 20 Most teachers don't like black children (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 21 I like speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) at home (Lot 5 v. 6)  
(E01 v. 3)
- 22
- 23
- 24 I like playing with black children more than white children (Lot 5 v. 6)  
(E01 v. 3)
- 25 I don't like the West Indies (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 26

- 27 (E01 v. 3)
- 28 I like living in Britain (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 29 (E01 v. 3)
- 30 West Indians should behave like the English (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 31 (E01 v. 3) (Lot 5 v. 6)
- 32 I like to be with my friends more than with my family (E01 v. 3)
- 33 (E01 v. 3) (Lot 7 v. 6,8)
- 34 (E01 v. 3) (Lot 7 v. 6,8)
- 35 English is better than patois (West Indian Dialect) (Lot 5 v. 6)  
(E01 v. 3)
- 36 I prefer the West Indians to the English (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 37
- 38 (E01 v. 3) (Lot 7 v. 6,8)
- 39
- 40 Speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) is part of Black Culture (E01 v. 3)
- 41
- 42
- 43 I would like to be taught by black teachers (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 44 I like to spend week-ends with my parents (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 45 (E01 v. 3)
- 46
- 47 I like English food better than West Indian food (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 48 (E01 v. 3) (Lot 5 v. 6)
- 49
- 50 White children should learn West Indian songs (E01 v. 3)
- 51 West Indian parents are more strict than English parents (Lot 5 v. 6)  
(E01 v. 3)
- 52 My parents don't like speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) (Lot 5 v. 6)  
(E01 v. 3)
- 53 (E01 v. 3) (Lot 7 v. 6,8)
- 54 (E01 v. 3)
- 55 Most teachers don't care about the West Indies (E01 v. 3)
- 56
- 57 I like to speak patois (West Indian Dialect) to be different (Lot 5 v. 6)  
(E01 v. 3)
- 58 English people should know about the West Indies (E01 v. 3)
- 59
- 60 (E01 v. 3) (Lot 7 v. 6,8)

- 61 I like eating West Indian food (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 62 England is better than the West Indies (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 63 I prefer having black friends to white friends (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 64 All my friends like West Indian things (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 65 My parents like Britain (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 66 English people should eat more West Indian food (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 67 Schools should help black children more (Lot 5 v. 6) (E01 v. 3)
- 68 My West Indian friends like patois (West Indian Dialect) (E01 v. 3)
- 69 (Lot 7 v. 6,8) (E01 v. 3)
- 70 (Lot 7 v. 6,8) (E01 v. 3)

Scores For Unhappiness By School

School Number	Numbers Unhappy	% of Group Unhappy	Sex of Group	Ethnic Origin	Lot	Description
1	10/12	83%	Girls	W.I.	7	Withdrawn group Experimental Schools
2	9/21	43%	Boys	W.I.	7	Withdrawn group Experimental Schools
3	5/9	55%	Boys, Girls	W.I.	7	Withdrawn group Experimental Schools
4	13/20	65%	Boys, Girls	W.I.	7	Withdrawn group Experimental Schools
11	4/20	20%	Boys, Girls	W.I., E.	8,9	Mixed control Non- Experimental School
12	0/12	0%	Boys	E.	9	English control, Experimental School.
13	6/24	25%	Boys, Girls	W.I.	8	W.I. control, Non- Experimental School
14	1/24	4%	Boys, Girls	W.I., E., Other	4,8, 9	Mixed control, Non- Experimental School
15	1/5	20%	Boys, Girls	W.I., E.	8,9	Mixed control, Non- Experimental School
21	4/51	8%	Boys, Girls	W.I., E., O	4,5, 6	New control, Experimental School
22	7/43	16%	Boys, Girls	W.I., E., Other	4,5, 6	New control, Experimental School

W.I. = Pupils of West Indian Descent

E. = Indigenous English Pupils

Other = Other than above categories

ATTITUDE TESTSignificant Differences Between Indigenous English Pupils And Pupils Of West Indian Descent Showing Items For Exclusion Because Of Experimental Group Bias Or Because Other Between Group Comparisons Differ.

<u>Variable</u>		<u>Disagree/ Agree Numbers</u>	<u>Disagree/ Agree Percent</u>	<u>Signi- ficance Level</u>	<u>Action</u>
01 My teachers don't like the way I speak English.	Eng	70   8	90   10	$\chi^2 = 6.30$	HS (Excluded because 5 v. 6 differs)
	WI	99   34	74   26		
02 Most people who speak posh English aren't nice.	Eng	53   26	67   33	$\chi^2 = 22.78$	HS (Included)
	WI	43   90	32   68		
04 I like being at school.	Eng	32   47	41   59	$\chi^2 = 5.03$	S (Excluded because 5 v. 6 differ)
	WI	33   100	25   75		
05 I don't get on at home.	Eng	23   4	95   5	$\chi^2 = 7.63$	HS (Excluded because
	WI	102   26	80   20		
10 Teachers should learn about the West Indies.	Eng	53   25	68   32	$\chi^2 = 41.21$	HS (Included)
	WI	28   100	22   78		
11 If all English people were black, things would be better.	Eng	69   10	87   13	$\chi^2 = 18.48$	HS (Included)
	WI	76   55	58   42		
14 I like English stories better than West Indian stories.	Eng	28   49	36   64	$\chi^2 = 42.51$	HS (Included)
	WI	106   23	82   18		
16 The best thing about Black Culture is reggae music.	Eng	44   35	56   44	$\chi^2 = 10.16$	HS (Excluded: Experimental Group bias)
	WI	42   83	32   68		
17 I don't like Britain.	Eng	70   9	89   11	$\chi^2 = 21.44$	HS (Included)
	WI	76   57	57   43		
18 My white friends like black music.	Eng	41   37	53   47	$\chi^2 = 9.56$	HS (Excluded Others differ)
	WI	39   91	30   70		

Variable		<u>Disagree/ Agree</u> <u>Numbers</u>		<u>Disagree/ Agree</u> <u>Percent</u>		<u>Signi- ficance</u> <u>Level</u>	<u>Action</u>
19 I'd like to live in the West Indies.	Eng	69	9	89	12	HS $\chi^2 = 55.76$	(Included)
	WI	44	85	34	66		
20 Most teachers don't like black children.	Eng	68	11	86	14	HS $\chi^2 = 34.16$	(Included)
	WI	58	73	44	56		
21 I like speaking patois (W. Indian Dialect) at home.	Eng	75	3	96	4	HS $\chi^2 = 42.45$	(Included)
	WI	69	64	52	48		
24 I like playing with black children more than white children.	Eng	71	7	91	9	HS $\chi^2 = 43.91$	(Included)
	WI	58	74	44	56		
25 I don't like the West Indies.	Eng	52	26	67	33	HS $\chi^2 = 14.56$	(Included)
	WI	116	14	89	11		
27 I like English people, but not the police.	Eng	50	29	63	34	HS $\chi^2 = 9.98$	(Excluded: Others differ)
	WI	53	80	40	60		
26 I like living in Britain.	Eng	8	69	10	90	HS $\chi^2 = 18.64$	(Included)
	WI	51	78	40	61		
30 West Indians should behave like the English.	Eng	45	34	57	43	HS $\chi^2 = 8.10$	(Included)
	WI	99	30	77	23		
32 I like to be with my friends more than with my family.	Eng	73	6	92	8	HS $\chi^2 = 10.61$	(Excluded: Others differ)
	WI	94	35	73	27		
33 I'm always being picked on at school.	Eng	68	11	86	14	S $\chi^2 = 4.82$	(Excluded: Experimental group bias)
	WI	95	37	72	28		
34 My teachers don't like me.	Eng	71	8	90	10	HS $\chi^2 = 7.30$	(Excluded: Experimental group bias)
	WI	96	36	73	27		
35 English is better than patois (West Indian Dialect)	Eng	23	55	30	71	HS $\chi^2 = 22.11$	(Included)
	WI	84	47	64	36		



Variable		<u>Disagree/ Agree</u>		<u>Disagree/ Agree</u>		<u>Signi- ficance</u> Level	<u>Action</u>
		Numbers		Percent			
36 I prefer the West Indians to the English.	Eng	74	5	94	6	HS $\chi^2 = 5.34$	(Included)
	WI	55	73	43	57		
38 Other children don't like me very much.	Eng	69	9	89	12	HS $\chi^2 = 6.44$	(Excluded: Experimental Group Bias)
	WI	95	36	73	27		
40 Speaking patois (West Indian Dialect) is part of Black Culture.	Eng	29	49	37	63	HS $\chi^2 = 8.58$	(Excluded: Other Differ)
	WI	24	109	18	82		
43 I would like to be taught by black teachers.	Eng	70	9	89	11	HS $\chi^2 = 42.55$	(Included)
	WI	55	76	42	58		
45 My brothers and sisters are always picking on me.	Eng	62	17	79	21	HS $\chi^2 = 7.27$	(Excluded: Other Differ)
	WI	79	54	59	41		
47 I like English food better than West Indian food.	Eng	12	66	15	85	HS $\chi^2 = 89.49$	(Included)
	WI	109	22	83	17		
48 English music is better than West Indian music.	Eng	22	56	28	72	HS $\chi^2 = 81.85$	(Excluded: Others Differ)
	WI	118	13	90	10		
50 White children should learn West Indian songs.	Eng	50	29	63	37	HS $\chi^2 = 12.89$	(Excluded: Others Differ)
	WI	49	84	37	63		
51 West Indian parents are more strict than English parents.	Eng	46	31	60	40	HS $\chi^2 = 29.24$	(Included)
	WI	27	100	21	79		
52 My parents don't like the speaking patois (West Indian Dialect).	Eng	27	51	35	65	HS $\chi^2 = 13.09$	(Included)
	WI	80	50	62	39		
53 My teachers are always angry.	Eng	68	11	86	14	HS $\chi^2 = 12.77$	(Excluded: Experimental Group bias)
	WI	82	46	64	36		

Variable		<u>Disagree/ Agree</u> <u>Numbers</u>		<u>Disagree/ Agree</u> <u>Percent</u>		<u>Signi- ficance</u> <u>Level</u>	<u>Action</u>
54 There are lots of happy things to do.	Eng	6	73	8	92	NS (.09) $\chi^2 = 2.86$	(Excluded: Others differ)
	WI	22	109	17	83		
55 Most teachers don't care about the West Indies.	Eng	55	22	71	29	HS $\chi^2 = 16.60$	(Excluded: Others differ)
	WI	53	76	41	59		
57 I like to speak patois (West Indian Dialect) to be different.	Eng	72	7	91	9	HS $\chi^2 = 26.91$	(Included)
	WI	74	58	56	44		
58 English people should know about the West Indies.	Eng	39	36	52	48	HS $\chi^2 = 24.26$	(Excluded: Others differ)
	WI	24	108	18	82		
60 I'm always bored.	Eng	67	12	85	15	HS $\chi^2 = 6.71$	(Excluded: Experimental Group Bias)
	WI	90	43	68	32		
61 I like eating West Indian food.	Eng	63	16	80	20	HS $\chi^2 = 76.94$	(Included)
	WI	23	109	17	83		
62 England is better than the West Indies.	Eng	27	51	35	65	HS $\chi^2 = 50.95$	(Included)
	WI	108	20	84	16		
63 I prefer having black friends to white friends.	Eng	74	4	95	5	HS $\chi^2 = 71.69$	(Included)
	WI	43	85	34	66		
64 All my friends like West Indian things.	Eng	64	14	82	18	HS $\chi^2 = 18.66$	(Included)
	WI	67	64	51	49		
65 My parents like Britain.	Eng	12	66	15	85	HS $\chi^2 = 30.79$	(Included)
	WI	73	59	55	45		
66 English people should eat more West Indian food.	Eng	66	13	84	17	HS $\chi^2 = 37.31$	(Included)
	WI	52	80	39	61		
67 Schools should help black children more.	Eng	44	35	56	44	HS $\chi^2 = 23.74$	(Included)
	WI	29	104	23	78		

360.

<u>Variable</u>		<u>Disagree/ Agree Numbers</u>	<u>Disagree/ Agree Percent</u>	<u>Signi- ficance Level</u>	<u>Action</u>
68 My West Indian friends like patois (West Indian Dialect)	Eng	40   37	52   48	HS $\chi^2 = 9.21$	(Excluded: Others Differ)
	WI	39   92	30   70		
69 My teachers are friendly.	Eng	13   65	17   83	HS $\chi^2 = 7.15$	(Excluded: Experimental Group Bias)
	WI	46   86	35   65		

Relationship Between Cognitive Test Scores Divided by Mean and  
F1 - F5 Scores Divided by Mean for all Pupils of West Indian Descent

	<u>(Numbers)</u>		<u>(Percent)</u>		<u>Signi- ficance Level</u>
	Low Comp.1	High Comp.1	Low Comp.1	High Comp.1	
Low Cog. Test Score	24	43	36	64	S
High Cog. Test Score	37	29	56	44	$\chi^2=4.70$
	Low Comp.2 High Comp.2		Low Comp.2 High Comp.2		
Low Cog. Test Score	40	27	60	40	NS
High Cog. Test Score	40	26	61	39	$\chi^2=0.01$
	Low Comp.3 High Comp.3		Low Comp.3 High Comp.3		
Low Cog. Test Score	25	42	37	63	HS
High Cog. Test Score	44	22	67	33	$\chi^2=10.33$
	Low Comp.4 High Comp.4		Low Comp.4 High Comp.4		
Low Cog. Test Score	30	37	45	55	NS
High Cog. Test Score	35	31	53	47	$\chi^2=0.61$
	Low Comp.5 High Comp.5		Low Comp.5 High Comp.5		
Low Cog. Test Score	32	35	48	52	NS
High Cog. Test Score	27	39	41	59	$\chi^2=0.39$

H.S. :  $p \leq 0.01$ S. :  $p \leq 0.05$ N.S. :  $p > 0.05$

Relationship Between English Test Scores Divided by Mean and F1 - F5  
Scores Divided by Mean for all Pupils of West Indian Descent

	<u>(Numbers)</u>		<u>(Percent)</u>		<u>Signi- fiance Level</u>
	Low Comp.1	High Comp.1	Low Comp.1	High Comp.1	
Low Eng. Test Score	21	39	35	65	S
High Eng. Test Score	40	33	55	45	$\chi^2=4.43$
	Low Comp.2	High Comp.2	Low Comp.2	High Comp.2	
Low Eng. Test Score	37	23	62	38	NS
High Eng. Test Score	43	30	59	41	$\chi^2=0.02$
	Low Comp.3	High Comp.3	Low Comp.3	High Comp.3	
Low Eng. Test Score	19	41	32	68	HS
High Eng. Test Score	50	23	69	31	$\chi^2=16.45$
	Low Comp.4	High Comp.4	Low Comp.4	High Comp.4	
Low Eng. Test Score	23	37	38	62	S
High Eng. Test Score	42	31	58	42	$\chi^2=4.12$
	Low Comp.5	High Comp.5	Low Comp.5	High Comp.5	
Low Eng. Test Score	29	31	48	52	NS
High Eng. Test Score	30	43	41	59	$\chi^2=0.44$

H.S. :  $p \leq 0.01$ S. :  $p \leq 0.05$ N.S. :  $p > 0.05$

Teachers' Questionnaire With Other Tests. Rotated Factor Matrix (unrestricted run). West Indian experimental group and West Indian control, N= 103

Variable	Factor	FI	FII	FIII	FIV	FV	FVI	FVII	FVIII	FIX	FX
1. Cognitive test score high		56									
2. English Test score high		88									
3. Dialect errors							(36)	(38)			
5. F1								(49)	(-37)		
6. F2								-68			
7. F3		(-43)									(45)
8. F4		-41									
9. F5										-48	
10. Anxiety Test score high											49
12. Pupil from high ability main class			81								
13. Teacher estimate: Maths ability		64			(34)						
14. " " English "		77									
15. Attends remedial group			-63								
16. Attends multicultural group							96				
Teacher estimate:											
17. intelligent		79			31						
18. " language skill		82									
19. " standard speaker								(33)	(44)	(41)	
20. " Integrated			48					(33)			
21. " British identity								47			
22. " no cultural difference			54								
24. " popular					72						
25. " not shy				(-44)	(39)						
26. " not aggressive				76							
27. " part of group					(54)						(-39)
28. " rarely absent					32						
29. " works hard		(36)		65							
30. " concentrates		(39)		(57)							
32. " not disruptive				79							
33. " parents helpful						(43)		(34)			
34. " homelife good						85					
35. " parents don't mind patois											-79
37. " mother: semi-prof job						(40)		(50)			

VARIABLE

CORRELATION

EIGENVALUES FOR THE ORIGINAL MATRIX

	D4	1	.42028
	F1	2	.27433
	D1	3	.45525
*	F10T	4	.32971
	F1	5	.42722
	F2	6	.42323
	F3	7	.56137
	F4	8	.42525
	F5	9	.47569
	A1	10	.27552
*	T108	11	.58752
	T109	12	.55109
	T110	13	.53755
	T111	14	.73524
	T112	15	.54226
	T113	16	.71244
	T114	17	.64547
	T115	18	.51794
	T116	19	.72570
	T117	20	.54575
	T118	21	.57055
	T121	22	.52772
*	T122	23	.57302
	T123	24	.52345
	T124	25	.42121
	T125	26	.55570
	T126	27	.52567
	T127	28	.22325
	T128	29	.74545
	T129	30	.57125
*	T130	31	.57715
	T131	32	.74515
	T132	33	.53935
	T133	34	.94241
	T134	35	.71124
*	T135	36	.77327
	T136	37	.42470

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
1	5.34143	22.5	22.5
2	3.57432	9.1	31.6
3	2.48741	6.7	38.4
4	2.53551	6.5	44.7
5	2.31243	5.4	50.1
6	1.59261	5.1	55.3
7	1.56537	4.2	59.5
8	1.44559	3.9	63.5
9	1.40452	3.8	67.1
10	1.27555	3.3	70.4
11	1.09375	3.3	73.4
12	.95241	2.5	75.9

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
1	3.05550	34.6	34.6
2	3.07333	15.2	49.7
3	2.13331	9.2	58.9
4	1.97533	8.5	67.4
5	1.51059	5.9	73.3
6	1.57280	6.7	80.0
7	1.21675	5.2	85.2
8	.92166	4.3	89.5
9	.56527	3.7	93.2
10	.71535	3.1	96.3

- not cited

EIGENVALUES FOR THE ORIGINAL FACTOR MATRIX

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
1	7.99575	11.3	11.3
2	4.14272	5.8	17.1
3	3.17785	4.5	21.6
4	3.06226	4.3	25.9
5	2.75324	3.9	29.8
6	2.62354	3.7	33.5
7	2.45551	3.5	36.9
8	2.10999	3.0	39.9
9	2.07649	2.9	42.8
10	1.97375	2.8	45.6
11	1.92207	2.7	48.3
12	1.79056	2.5	50.8
13	1.75217	2.5	53.3
14	1.66814	2.3	55.6
15	1.59531	2.2	57.9
16	1.55945	2.2	60.1
17	1.49523	2.1	62.2
18	1.40904	2.0	64.2
19	1.35126	1.9	66.1
20	1.33250	1.9	68.0
21	1.31989	1.9	69.8
22	1.21060	1.7	71.5
23	1.18536	1.7	73.2
24	1.10610	1.6	74.7
25	1.03740	1.5	76.2
26	.95239	1.3	77.5

EIGENVALUES FOR THE 3 FACTOR UNROTATED SOLUTION

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
1	7.23631	55.6	55.6
2	3.38667	26.0	81.6
3	2.39102	18.4	100.0

VARIABLE	COMMUNALITY	VARIABLE	COMMUNALITY
Gender	.22733	ATT36	.22722
ATT01	.18622	ATT37	.19437
ATT02	.19650	ATT38	.25352
ATT03	.15054	ATT39	.16942
ATT04	.09750	ATT40	.18768
ATT05	.22527	ATT41	.34947
ATT06	.21422	ATT42	.01528
ATT07	.05983	ATT43	.18190
ATT08	.31736	ATT44	.12448
ATT09	.02804	ATT45	.07864
ATT10	.14880	ATT46	.19528
ATT11	.24055	ATT47	.25370
ATT12	.06659	ATT48	.28918
ATT13	.10209	ATT49	.04465
ATT14	.34075	ATT50	.04605
ATT15	.13992	ATT51	.23993
ATT16	.05868	ATT52	.33673
ATT17	.23224	ATT53	.34355
ATT18	.00728	ATT54	.10776
ATT19	.21790	ATT55	.33518
ATT20	.25429	ATT56	.08886
ATT21	.24187	ATT57	.35013
ATT22	.21056	ATT58	.09732
ATT23	.10394	ATT59	.06143
ATT24	.22151	ATT60	.23581
ATT25	.30688	ATT61	.27219
ATT26	.05194	ATT62	.40218
ATT27	.16846	ATT63	.24857
ATT28	.38384	ATT64	.02620
ATT29	.15194	ATT65	.20306
ATT30	.10495	ATT66	.05110
ATT31	.02048	ATT67	.22316
ATT32	.06059	ATT68	.14426
ATT33	.21460	ATT69	.13445
ATT34	.32922	ATT70	.19658
ATT35	.22204		

COMMUNALITIES & EIGENVALUES FOR ROTATED 3 FACTOR SOLUTION: ATTITUDE TEST



VARIABLE	COMMUNALITY	VARIABLE	COMMUNALITY
Gender	.24959	ATT36	.47455
ATT01	.29861	ATT37	.23512
ATT02	.21548	ATT38	.28599
ATT03	.19611	ATT39	.25056
ATT04	.11212	ATT40	.22411
ATT05	.37157	ATT41	.35644
ATT06	.34277	ATT42	.05898
ATT07	.40189	ATT43	.18026
ATT08	.39956	ATT44	.14284
ATT09	.25955	ATT45	.11253
ATT10	.19279	ATT46	.23593
ATT11	.24468	ATT47	.29096
ATT12	.34963	ATT48	.34617
ATT13	.15477	ATT49	.08499
ATT14	.46732	ATT50	.14934
ATT15	.25329	ATT51	.29910
ATT16	.18532	ATT52	.38228
ATT17	.30105	ATT53	.41561
ATT18	.04259	ATT54	.10836
ATT19	.21146	ATT55	.33114
ATT20	.31879	ATT56	.13608
ATT21	.26279	ATT57	.35470
ATT22	.22168	ATT58	.19088
ATT23	.13835	ATT59	.13228
ATT24	.27344	ATT60	.32087
ATT25	.40319	ATT61	.31694
ATT26	.16019	ATT62	.40019
ATT27	.20450	ATT63	.25535
ATT28	.42741	ATT64	.08553
ATT29	.17436	ATT65	.32081
ATT30	.14657	ATT66	.25374
ATT31	.11339	ATT67	.22396
ATT32	.10629	ATT68	.25234
ATT33	.27707	ATT69	.24956
ATT34	.32709	ATT70	.30195
ATT35	.23984		

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
1	7.99575	11.3	11.3
2	4.14272	5.8	17.1
3	3.17785	4.5	21.6
4	3.06226	4.3	25.9
5	2.75324	3.9	29.8
6	2.62354	3.7	33.5
7	2.45551	3.6	36.9
8	2.10999	3.0	39.9
9	2.07649	2.9	42.8
10	1.97375	2.8	45.6
11	1.92207	2.7	48.3
12	1.79056	2.5	50.8
13	1.75217	2.5	53.3
14	1.66814	2.3	55.6
15	1.59531	2.2	57.9
16	1.55945	2.2	60.1
17	1.49523	2.1	62.2
18	1.40904	2.0	64.2
19	1.35126	1.9	66.1
20	1.33250	1.9	68.0
21	1.31989	1.9	69.8
22	1.21060	1.7	71.5
23	1.18536	1.7	73.2
24	1.10610	1.6	74.7
25	1.03740	1.5	76.2
26	.95239	1.3	77.5

EIGENVALUES FOR THE 5 FACTOR UNROTATED SOLUTION

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
1	7.28952	41.6	41.6
2	3.44493	19.6	61.2
3	2.45181	14.0	75.2
4	2.32462	13.3	88.4
5	2.02769	11.6	100.0

COMMUNALITIES & EIGENVALUES FOR 5 FACTOR ROTATED SOLUTION: ATTITUDE TEST

ORIGINAL MATRIX - EIGENVALUES

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
1	3.60377	30.0	30.0
2	1.58033	13.2	43.2
3	1.26794	10.6	53.8
4	1.11672	9.3	63.1
5	.90318	7.6	70.6
6	.83351	6.9	77.6
7	.65111	5.4	83.0
8	.58878	4.9	87.9
9	.46274	3.9	91.8
10	.37522	3.1	94.9
11	.32179	2.7	97.6
12	.29082	2.4	100.0

VARIABLE	COMMUNALITY
D4 Cognitive Test	.85816
E1 English Test	.61755
Gender	.29824
D1 Dialect Error	.21232
F1 Composite 1	.53517
F2 " 2	.77517
F3 " 3	.75954
F4 " 4	.23448
F5 " 5	.15226
A2 Anxiety	.11044
NEWLOT Experimental Grp.	.42303
RACE	.51853

EIGENVALUES FOR 4 FACTOR UNROTATED SOLUTION

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
1	3.20523	55.6	55.6
2	1.16553	20.7	77.3
3	.69283	12.4	89.7
4	.52474	10.3	100.0

COMMUNALITIES & EIGENVALUES FOR INTERRELATED VARIABLE 4 FACTOR  
 ROTATED SOLUTION - FACTOR LOADINGS CITED TABLE 1919

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